

AUG - 619

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

No. 218

To the
United States Political Adviser to
The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers,
Tokyo.

The Acting Secretary of State encloses for the
information of the Political Adviser copies of SWNCC
documents as listed below.

Enclosures:

1. Decision amending SWNCC
16/10, copy no. 45.
2. SWNCC 52/20, copy no. 45.
3. SWNCC 211/10, copy no. 45.
4. Status of Papers, SFE,
30 July, copy no. 2.

TOP SECRET

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-646

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RECEIVED
AUG 6 1946

Handwritten initials: AB

Handwritten initials: JA

FE:JKPenfield:hst
8-6-46

AUG

8 1946

AUG - 6 1946

My dear Archbishop:

The War Department through the Commander-in-Chief, Army Forces, Pacific, Tokyo, Japan at the present time is authorized as an emergency measure to sell essential supplies and furnish essential services in Japan to official establishments and personnel of foreign nations which are not serving a military purpose only in cases where the small size of the national representation does not render it feasible to establish logistic independence, and where the provision of certain generally unavailable items of supply, such as petroleum, is involved.

Payment should be made by the establishment of adequate dollar credits through deposit of a check payable to the Treasurer of the United States with the Office of the Chief of Finance, Attention: Receipts and Disbursement Division, Room 4A 320 Pentagon, Washington 25, D. C. With the exception of petroleum which will be billed separately to you, essential supplies and services in Japan will be furnished to official establishments and personnel of the Holy See after authorization by the Commander-in-Chief, Army Forces, Pacific up to the extent that the Finance Officer 240th Finance Disbursing Section, Tokyo, has been notified of the availability of credit through prior dollar deposits in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Adm.	
Rev.	
Out.	
Dist.	

J. H. Hilldring
Assistant Secretary

His Excellency
The Most Reverend
Amleto Giovanni Cicognani,
Archbishop of Laodicea de Frigia,
The Apostolic Delegate,
Washington, D. C.

JK:NCottrell:mw

7-24-46

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740.00119 CONTROL
(JAPAN) / 8-646

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740.00119 CONTROL
(Japan) / 8-646

LEGATION OF SWEDEN
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

Nr. 315

OFFICE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
DISTRIBUTION OFFICE
FILE HPZ
AUG 20 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
AUG 19 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Sweden presents his compliments to the Honourable the Acting Secretary of State, and has the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of his note dated August 3, 1946, containing information as to establishing dollar credits in favour of official establishments and personnel of foreign nations in Japan. The Chargé d'Affaires has not failed to forward the above information to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Washington, D.C., Aug. 6, 1946.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-646

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 AUG 8 PM 3 39

RECORDS BRANCH

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AND KOREAN
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 14 1946

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AUG 21 1946

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740.00119 Control Paper

AUG 6 1946

RESTRICTED

No. 217

To the

United States Political Adviser to the
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers,
Tokyo.

The Acting Secretary of State encloses for the
information of the United States Political Adviser a
copy of the Department's reply to a note received from
the Italian Ambassador regarding a request for permis-
sion for Mr. Alfredo Tarabocchia, a representative of
the Italian shipping company "Lloyd Triestino", to
proceed to Japan for the purpose of looking after the
interests of this country.

July 19

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-646

Enclosure:

Note to Italian Ambassador,
July 31, 1946.

DCR NE Unit
AUG 5 1946 P.M.
Handwritten initials and checkmarks

Stamp: A copy of the original note

Handwritten initials
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8-2-46

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740.00119 Control
Japan/8-646

COPY

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Italian Ambassador and has the honor to refer to his note of July 19, 1946, in which permission is asked for Mr. Alfredo Tarabocchia, a representative of the Italian shipping company "Lloyd Triestino", to proceed to Japan for the purpose of looking after the interests of this company.

The critical shortage of food and housing in Japan at the present time has made it necessary to limit the granting of military permits for entry into Japan to officials representing their countries at the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, military personnel, civilian personnel attached to the occupation forces, a few missionaries, and a limited number of families of the foregoing. Thus far it has not been possible to permit the entry into Japan of individuals desiring to engage in business or to take care of private business affairs.

The Department has received numerous requests from businessmen and other individuals who desire to return to Japan, but in no case has permission been granted by the Supreme Commander for them to enter the country. When the critical conditions existing there have sufficiently improved, it is expected that these restrictions will be lifted. Therefore, it is regretted that it will be necessary for Mr. Tarabocchia to delay his trip to Tokyo until such time as conditions have become more favorable.

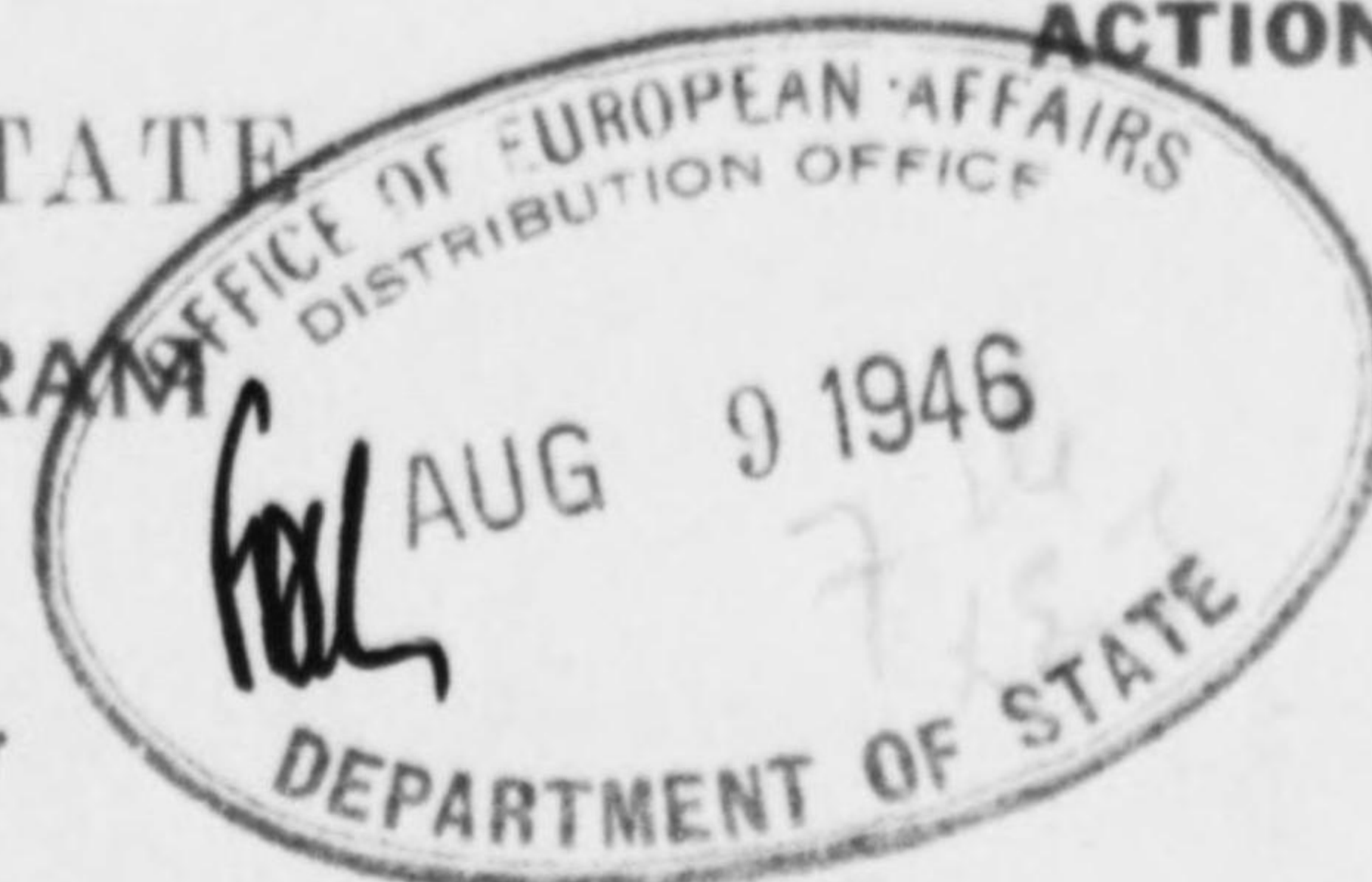
Department of State,

Washington, July 31, 1946.

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION COPY



2-M

Moscow

Action-EUR
Info:

Dated August 8, 1946

Rec'd 4:09 p.m., 8th

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FE No paraphrase necessary
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~~LET BE~~
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3135, August 8, 6 p.m.

~~JW~~

While Thompson was here we requested him to pass on to interested officers in Department information regarding efforts of British Embassy here, prompted by MacMahon-Ball's offer to mediate between Derevyanko and American representative on Allied Commission for Japan, to bring MacMahon-Ball under control.

Recent item in Soviet press stating that MacMahon-Ball supported Derevyanko's position in Allied Commission meeting was called to attention of British Foreign Office by British Embassy Moscow. British Embassy has now been informed by Foreign Office that Attlee is going to take up with Evatt MacMahon-Ball's attitude in Allied Commission (*) pointed out that it does not represent that of United Kingdom Government.

As this information touches upon relations between United Kingdom and a Dominion it should be treated with circumspection.

DURBROW

(*) Apparent omission.

WTD:GWP

SECRET

Confidential File

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) /8-846

LRC

PERMANENT RECORD COPY: THIS COPY MUST BE RETURNED TO DC/R CENTRAL FILES WITH NOTATION OF ACTION TAKEN.

No. 3029

AMERICAN CONSULATE
GENERAL

Bombay, India, August 8, 1946

FR
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DCR

UNRESTRICTED

SUBJECT: Indian Criticism of Policy of American Military Government in Japan.

1-1085

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch no. 2720 transmitting an editorial from the Times of India criticizing General MacArthur, as well as to subsequent despatches relative to Indian criticism of American policy in Japan, and to enclose a copy of an editorial appearing in the Times of India of August 7, 1946, written in response to a Reuter despatch entitled "Britain Made to Look Small in Jap Eyes" which appeared in the Sunday Standard of August 4, 1946, a copy of which is also enclosed.

The Reuter despatch, originally cabled by a special correspondent of the Daily Mail, Osaka, declares that British and Empire troops in Japan, after half a year of occupation, are complaining that they have been given a 'Cinderella' role by the American Military Government, and feel that it might be better under the circumstances to leave Japan. The despatch says that in the opinion of men from the United Kingdom, India, Australia and New Zealand their job of occupation is a thankless one. They say that they are in the worst areas of Japan, and that they are housed poorly, unlike the Americans who occupy every important Japanese city and tourist center and have all the best European style hotels.

The Daily Mail correspondent further states that, according to the British troops, the Japanese are perfectly aware that they are "poor relations", and that all the official contact with the Japanese local administration is retained by the Americans whose Military Government has a team in the British area for that purpose. No requisitioning may be done by the British without the approval of the Americans, and for this approval long delays are encountered.

Officers and

UNRESTRICTED

TO: _____
BY: *[Signature]*
DATE: _____
DIST: _____

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-846

CS/A
740.00119 Control
Japan/8-846

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 5 - 1946
DIVISION OF FOREIGN
REPORTING SERVICES

AIR MAIL despatch no. 3029
Bombay, India
August 8, 1946

- 2 -

Officers and men who talked with the Daily Mail correspondent would not allow their names to be used, because they said that Commonwealth headquarters reacted savagely to the slightest criticism. According to one Scottish sergeant, London must surely know that Britain is being made to appear as a fourth-rate power in the eyes of the Japanese. Many of the British officers and men feel that the situation would be largely corrected and national pride enhanced if the zone of British occupation were extended to include the Osaka-Kobe area, the main center of British influence in Japan before the war.

Some also suggested that it would have been wiser to have left the whole occupation to the Americans and, like the Russians, to have maintained only a Military Mission in Tokyo.

✓
SIC
The Times of India, in an editorial comment on August 7, 1946, says that the general reaction to the above report will be one of amazement and disquiet. Hitherto, says the editorial, whereas there have been bitter feelings amongst the delegates on the Allied Control Council in Tokyo, the feeling had not spread among officers and men of the British occupation forces. The editorial goes on to state that the time has come when something must be done about American policy in Japan, reinforcing this statement with the assertion that complaints by Commonwealth forces there are not without justification. The editorial charges that the American Military Government has clearly not gone out of its way either to facilitate British occupation or to correct the impression among the Japanese that the Commonwealth forces are merely "token". The Times of India feels that the withdrawal of British troops is not the answer to the problem, and concludes at the end that if America's complaints relative to Russia's independent policy in Korea are to be received sympathetically, America herself would do well to re-consider her own position in Japan.

Both, the article in the Sunday Standard and the follow-up editorial in the Times of India are in line with the tendency hitherto noted for Indians to be critical of America's policy in Japan and to seize upon any reports which can be construed unfavorably to the American Military Government.

Respectfully yours,



Howard Donovan
American Consul General

Enclosures:

UNRESTRICTED

AIR MAIL despatch no. 3029
Bombay, India
August 8, 1946

- 3 -

Enclosures: *Att N*

1. Copy of editorial from the Times of India,
August 7, 1946
2. Copy of editorial from the Sunday Standard,
August 4, 1946, entitled "Britain Made
to Look Small in Jap Eyes".

800
J.V.MARTIN, JR.:df:mc

Original and hectograph to the Department

Copies to:

American Mission, New Delhi
American Embassy, London
Political Advisor to General MacArthur, Tokyo

UNRESTRICTED

AIR MAIL

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 3029 dated August 8, 1946 from Howard Donovan, American Consul General, Bombay, India, entitled "Indian Criticism of Policy of American Military Government in Japan."

TIMES OF INDIA

Bombay - August 7, 1946

Copy - ad

The general reaction to the report that relations between British Empire occupation troops in Japan and the Americans have reached a stage when the feeling is that British troops might just as well quit, will be one of amazement and disquiet.

Hitherto, there have been bitter feelings on the Allied Control Council in Tokyo, and sharp words have been exchanged among the delegates, but indications that this feeling has spread among officers and men of the British occupation forces is more disturbing.

Clearly it is time something was done about American policy in Japan. Complaints by Commonwealth forces that they are made to "look small" and to play a "Cinderella role" are not without justification, as nothing can apparently be done by British troops without prior permission from the American military Government - a Government which has clearly not gone out of its way either to facilitate British occupation or to correct the impression among Japanese that the Commonwealth forces are merely "token".

To withdraw British troops, or to leave occupation tasks to America alone as Russia has done, is no answer to the problem. If America's complaints regarding Russia's independent policy in Korea are to receive a sympathetic hearing, America herself would do well to reconsider her own position in Japan.

AIR MAIL

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no. 3029 dated August 8, 1946, from Howard Donovan, American Consul General, Bombay, India, entitled "Indian Criticism of Policy of American Military Government in Japan".

COPY:mc

Sunday Standard, Bombay

August 4, 1946

BRITAIN MADE TO LOOK SMALL IN JAP EYES

- Charge Against Yanks

London, Aug. 3.

British and Empire troops in Japan, after nearly six months of occupation, are openly asking if, under the existing circumstances, the presence of the Commonwealth force in Japan is worth while, cables the "Daily Mail" special correspondent from Osaka. "They complain of a 'Cinderella' role," he adds.

Declaring this to be the opinion of men from the United Kingdom, India, Australia and New Zealand, he says that one officer told him: "We soon learned that we had a thankless job in one of the worst areas of Japan. Whatever higher levels may say, it was not long before we soldiers knew that our part in the Allied occupation was simply that of Cinderella. We sit in back rooms without even decent leave centres. The Americans, who occupy every important Japanese city and tourist centre, have all the best European style hotels."

'Poor Relations'

Another officer was quoted as saying: "The Japanese are well aware that we are poor relations. The Japanese know that all official contact with the Japanese local administration is retained by the Americans whose Military Government has a team in our area for that purpose."

The "Daily Mail's" correspondent added: "Before the British can even put up a partition in a building which the Americans have allowed them to requisition from the Japanese, they must wait from six to eight weeks until permission is obtained from distant Yokohama or Tokio.

"Every critical officer and man of the Empire force with whom I have talked stipulated that his name must not be used because Commonwealth headquarters reacts savagely to the slightest criticism.

"One Scottish sergeant said: 'They must know that Britain is being made to look a fourth-rate power in the eyes of the Japanese. If London does not know this, then Britain is not being well served in Japan' ".

This is a cross section of what admittedly is more critical

opinion among

AIR MAIL

enclosure no. 2
despatch no. 3029
Bombay, India,
August 8, 1946

- 2 -

opinion among Empire officers and men who generally agree that there would be less 'grousing' and that national pride would be enhanced if the zone of British occupation were extended to include the Osaka-Kobe area, the main centre of British influence in Japan before the war.

Some sterner soldier critics are suggesting that it would have been wiser to have left the whole occupation to the Americans and, like the Russians, merely maintained a Military Mission in Tokio. - Reuter.



EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Moscow, August 8, 1946

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No. 309

*Pravda low - I A
says alright wa
at navy 8/8/46*

DC/R

Subject: Pravda Attack on Chairman of Allied Council
for Japan.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The Chargé d'Affaires ad interim has the honor to refer to the Embassy's telegram 3082, August 2 and in connection therewith to enclose a translation of the article appearing in Pravda on August 2nd which was summarized in the telegram under reference.

It will be noted that Demidov's article in Pravda is strongly critical of the American Chairman of the Allied Council for Japan. Demidov's theme is that the chairman's rules of procedure may by themselves be counted "as a serious obstacle to the regeneration of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people," and that the chairman was "acting as the enemy of democracy and the protector of Japanese reactionaries still existing happily under the occupation." The author concluded, however, that "the trouble does not just lie with Acheson but with the policy which he pursues."

Demidov's attack on the American Chairman is an exercise in name calling which goes to somewhat further lengths than the average Soviet diatribe. It does not achieve the heights of invective bestowed upon either Mr. Brooks Atkinson or Mr. Churchill, but it leaves no doubt as to the official Soviet hostility toward the American Chairman of the Allied Council for Japan. Such hostility is of course inevitable so long as the USSR is determined to undermine the American position in Japan, and those activities meet resistance.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-846

*XR 740.00119
Control (P)*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FOREIGN REPORTING SERVICES
AUG 23 1946
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Enclosure: *all*

Translation of Pravda article by Demidov (3 pages).

Original and Hectograph to the Department.
Copy to Tokyo.

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Mail
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SEP - 5 1946

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Enclosure to
Despatch No. 309
August 8, 1946
Moscow

Translation of Article in Pravda, August 2, 1946

WHY THE DECISIONS ON THE DEMOCRATISATION OF JAPAN
ARE NOT BEING CARRIED OUT By K. Demidov

For some time the Allied Council for Japan has been attracting the special attention of the international press. It is not, however, a question of the decisions adopted or the recommendations given by the Allied Council in the interests of democratising Japan, but of more than strange regulations being established in the Council by its US Chairman Acheson. These regulations are such that they may by themselves count as a serious obstacle to the regeneration of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. As US representative, Acheson is acting as the enemy of democracy and the protector of Japanese reactionaries still existing happily under the occupation. As Chairman of the Council he is obviously making it its task to undermine the Potsdam decisions and the co-operation of Allies.

On the 10th July the Soviet representative Derevyanko made recommendations for labour legislation designed to remove one of the most serious obstacles to the democratisation of Japan and assist Japanese workers who are almost entirely without rights or legal protection. In his proposal Derevyanko summarised the normal state of labour legislation in Britain, France and the USA and suggested nothing that might go against the international practice of the trade union movement.

Nevertheless the Soviet proposal brought forth a wild outburst from Acheson. Instead of subjecting Derevyanko's recommendation to a businesslike discussion Acheson plunged into arguments about Communism, exhibiting scandalous ignorance and unrelieved obscurantism. He expounded on the theme that Communism was destroying the trade unions and that the Council was not called upon to plant Communism in Japan.

Forgetting his duties as Chairman Acheson began to cross-question Derevyanko on the situation of Soviet trade unions in the spirit of fascist slanderers. It was quite clear that the Chairman of the Council was not aware of the institution in which he was working.

His garrulity was not influenced by the British representative Ball who pointed out that Derevyanko's recommendations did not envisage anything new or, of course, anything "Communistic."

This indecent scene on the Council became the property of the press. The scientific-economic Department

of the

Enclosure to
Despatch No. 309
August 8, 1946
Moscow

- 2 -

of the Supreme Command endeavoured to protect Acheson in a special statement, but in fact this defence turned into accusation. The statement said nothing whatever about "the inculcation of Communism," etc. but declared that "all the Soviet proposals have in principle been either completely or partially embodied in existing or proposed legislation which has already passed through the first stage of examination and compilation by the Government."

The statement adds that "the Soviet proposals contain nothing new except the article providing for the taking-over and management of enterprises by workers on strike."

This statement contradicts the facts and bears out Derevyanko's declaration that very little has yet been done in Japan for democratic labour legislation. It throws light on why so little has been done and why the democratisation of Japan is proceeding at snail's pace. It is clear that people like Acheson desire to put a brake on the fulfillment of the Potsdam decisions by shouting about "Communism." Acheson himself personifies that obstacle which the Potsdam decisions demand to remove.

His outburst on the 10th July was not merely the consequence of rudeness and bad upbringing, but a well-thought out tactic intended to disrupt the co-operation of the powers.

A similar ugly scene was caused in the Council on the 24th July when Derevyanko entered the recommendation on the question of the unrestricted dissemination of fascist literature in Japan. It should be noted that Hitler's and others' books are still being distributed.

Again in this case Derevyanko's proposal contained nothing unusual. He had the right and was bound to demand that measures should be taken to destroy militarist-fascist literature in the same way as this has been done in Austria and Germany. Acheson likes to put on an appearance as though the decisions of the Allied Conferences were not written for Japan and that the latter has been turned into the patrimony of a group of American reactionaries. He himself regards the Council as his own office in which he is dictator.

This is why Derevyanko's lawful proposal again aroused thunder from the pig-headed Chairman. His speech was quite indecent coming from the Chairman and was a defence of the freedom of fascist propaganda as though this were indeed genuine freedom of speech. He called the

destruction

Enclosure to
Despatch No. 309
August 8, 1946
Moscow.

- 3 -

destruction of fascist books an imitation of the fascist bonfires on which Nazis heaped world literary classics.

Atcheson's rudeness led to the "Chicago Sun" appealing for his dismissal.

But the trouble does not just lie with Atcheson but with the policy which he pursues by such uncouth methods.

:jh

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
~~Eastern~~
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS



August 9, 1946

~~IKE~~
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Zaph
Loring
for me
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REB

BC - Mr. Wailes

FE - Mr. Vincent

When I was in Moscow John Davies informed me that the British Embassy, having learned that the Australian representative on the Allied Commission for Japan was taking a line which was in conflict with our policy, took the matter up with the Foreign Office which in turn instructed the British High Commissioner in Australia to discuss the matter there. As a result, the Australian representative on the Allied Commission was instructed to abandon his support of the Soviet position on this matter and to align himself with the United States representative.

The British Embassy ~~then~~ thought it would be helpful in keeping the Australian representative in line if more information could be furnished the British representative in advance and also if our position on various questions could be explained to the Australian representative. Part of his attitude appeared to be due to pique at not being informed, as well as his inability to understand all the implications of his actions.

I mentioned this matter to Penfield on my return here.

740.00119 CONTROL
(JAPAN) / 8-946
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Llewellyn E. Thompson

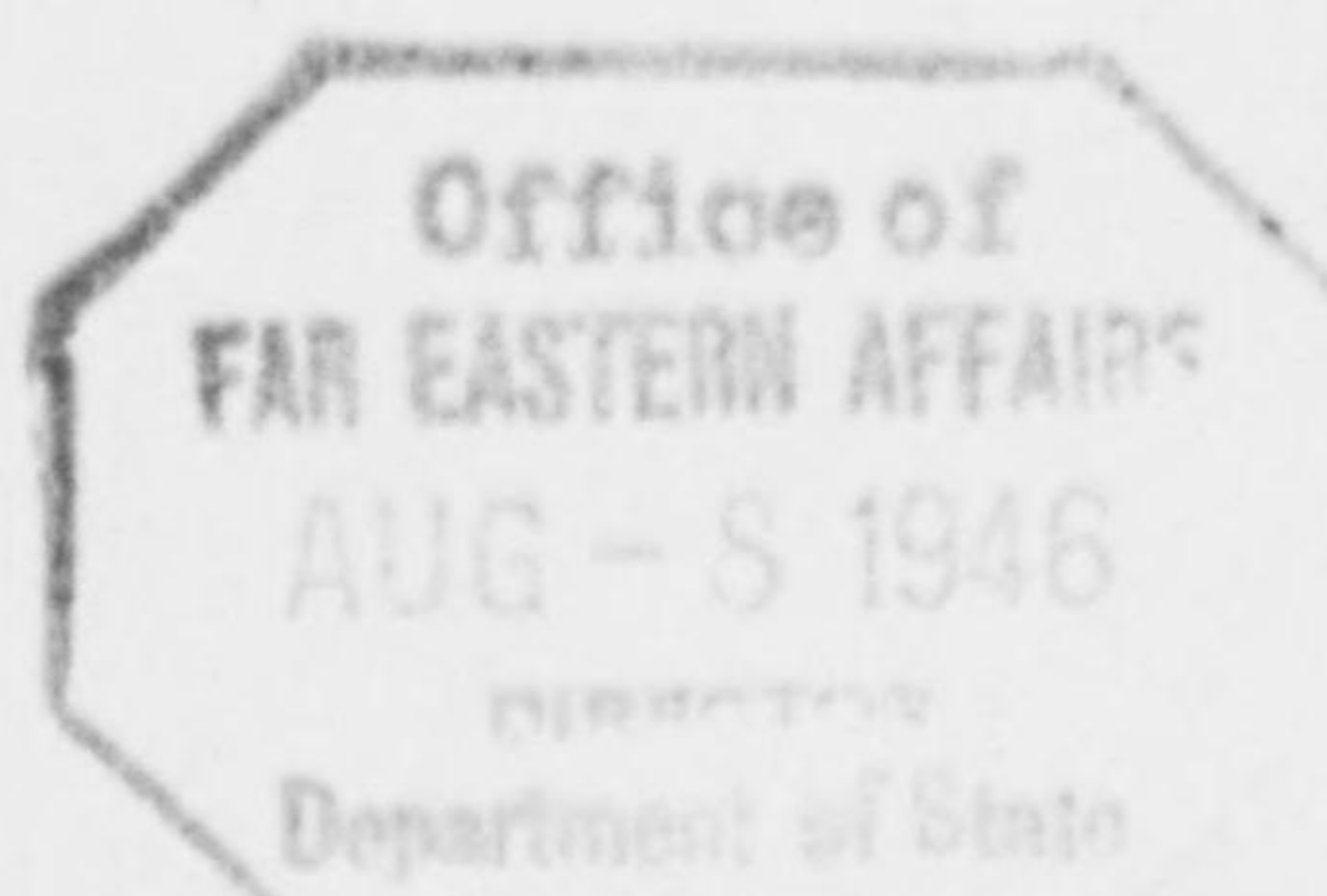
AUG 29 1946

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740.00119 Control
(Japan) / 8-946

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JA

August 6, 1946.

My dear Mr. Vincent:

I am informed by the Canadian Government that the Canadian Liaison Mission to Japan, headed by Mr. E.H. Norman, sailed from Vancouver on August 2nd aboard the "S.S. General Meigs" of the Dollar Steamship Line, for Uraga. The vessel will debark there a party of Japanese being repatriated from Canada.

The Canadian Mission, including Mr. Norman, consists of five persons, three men and two women. It would be appreciated if you would request the War Department to notify SCAP in Tokyo of the Mission's sailing and be good enough to present our request that transportation might be placed at their disposal for travel from Uraga to Tokyo. I am informed that they will require one truck for baggage and one for a crated car, in addition to personal transportation. SCAP, I believe, has already made arrangements for initial billets for this party.

Yours sincerely,

Handwritten routing slip with 'JCF - NF Unit' and other illegible markings.

Handwritten signature of Thomas A. Stone

Thomas A. Stone, Chargé d'Affaires.

John Carter Vincent, Esq., Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Room 360, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) 740.00119 Control (Japan) /8-946

AUG 15 1946

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8-946

JA

AUG 12 1946

My dear Mr. Chargé d'Affaires:

I have received your letter of August 6, 1946 with regard to the departure of the Canadian Mission for Japan. We have notified Tokyo of the Mission's expected arrival at Uraga and have requested that SCAP be informed of the transportation needs of the Mission, as described in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

OCF NE Unit
[Signature]

John Carter Vincent
Director
Office of Far Eastern Affairs



Thomas A. Stone, Esquire,

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Canada.

JA:JKEmmerson:mls
8-9-46 *[Signature]*

AUG 12 1946 P.M.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-946

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740.00119 Control (Japan)
[Signature]

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : JK - Mr. Edwin Martin

DATE: August 9, 1946

FROM : DRF - Charles B. Fahs *CBF*

SUBJECT: Determination of the Peaceful Needs of Japan

This memorandum has been prepared at the request of Mr. Charles Hodge for the use of JK.

This Document Must Be Returned to
OC/R 740,00119-CONTROL
Central (JAPAN) 78-946
Files CSBM

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Attachment

Research for Far East Div.

DRF:MSBrowne:WGJones:mc

OC/R
Ansl. 4
Rev.
Cat. <i>BM</i>

740,00119 Control
(Japan) 78-946

RESTRICTED

DETERMINATION OF THE PEACEFUL NEEDS OF JAPAN

(A Rejoinder to the USSR Statement in FEC C2-018/1)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

OCL-3436 .57

August 7, 1946

Comments on a USSR paper which discusses the period to be used as an appropriate base for the determination of Japan's peaceful needs.

Distributed by

OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION AND LIAISON

(OCL)

RESTRICTED

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Control 3230

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Information	
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Moscow
Dated August 10, 1946
Rec'd 1:21 p.m., 10th.

JA
File
8-28-46

No paraphrase necessary.
Revised to Tokyo
Aug 12 1946
SECSTATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
AUG 11 1946
10:00 am
Department of State

3156, August 10, 4 p.m.

Independent attitude displayed by Soviet Military in Japan (DEPCIR August 8, Noon) seems to parallel behavior of Soviet military representatives in Italy last year. Dept will recall that when such behavior was brought to our attention we recommended in part that SACMED take local military administrative action including detention of any Soviet representatives who acted in unauthorized manner (EMB's 3771, November 5, 1945).

740.00119 Control (Italy) / 11-545

Soviet Military authorities themselves strictly enforce security measures and cannot logically object if we do same. So far as our view has a bearing on issue we feel that SCAP would be justified in taking firm measures to keep Soviet officers in bounds.

DURBROW

EDA-CWD
SECRET

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-1046

AUG 28 1946
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Confidential File

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Collect

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

PREPARING OFFICE WILL
TYPE HERE CLEARLY THE
CLASSIFICATION OF THE
MESSAGE:

Department of State

SECRET

Charge Department:

Washington

Charge to

No paraphrases necessary.
SECRET

AUG 16 1946
8P

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

TOKYO

INFO: WAR DEPT CHIEF OF STAFF

FOR POLITICAL ADVISER

Following 3156, Aug 10, from Moscow repeated for
your INFO:

(Code Room: Please repeat Moscow's 3156, AUG 10.)

*Req. Behavior of Soviet
military representatives
in Japan*

740.00119 Control (Japan)
FE

Ascheron Acting
(J.H.H.)

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DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
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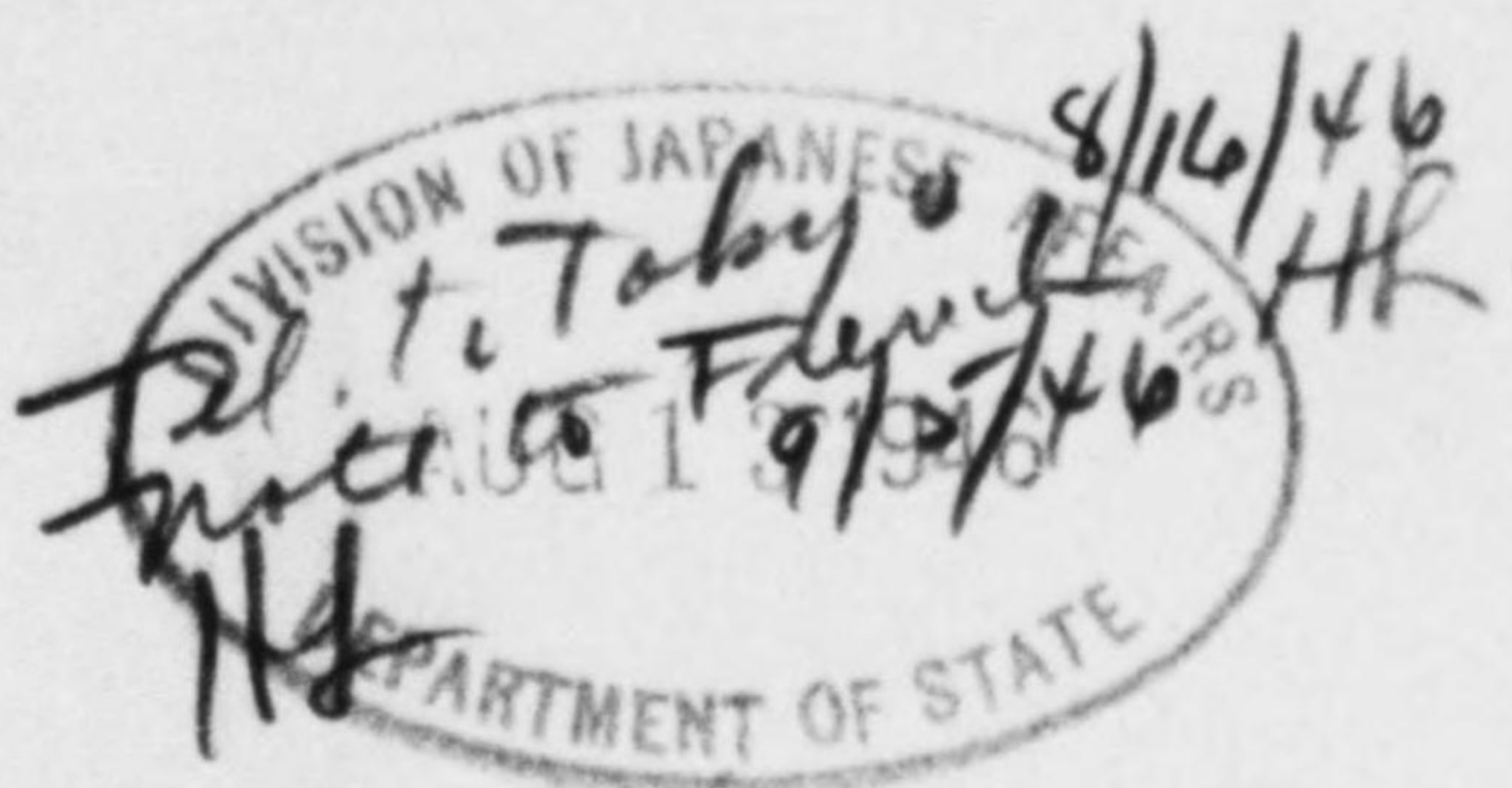
8-1046

Ambassade de France
aux Etats-Unis

Washington, le 10 août 1946.

NO 507

JCW/YD



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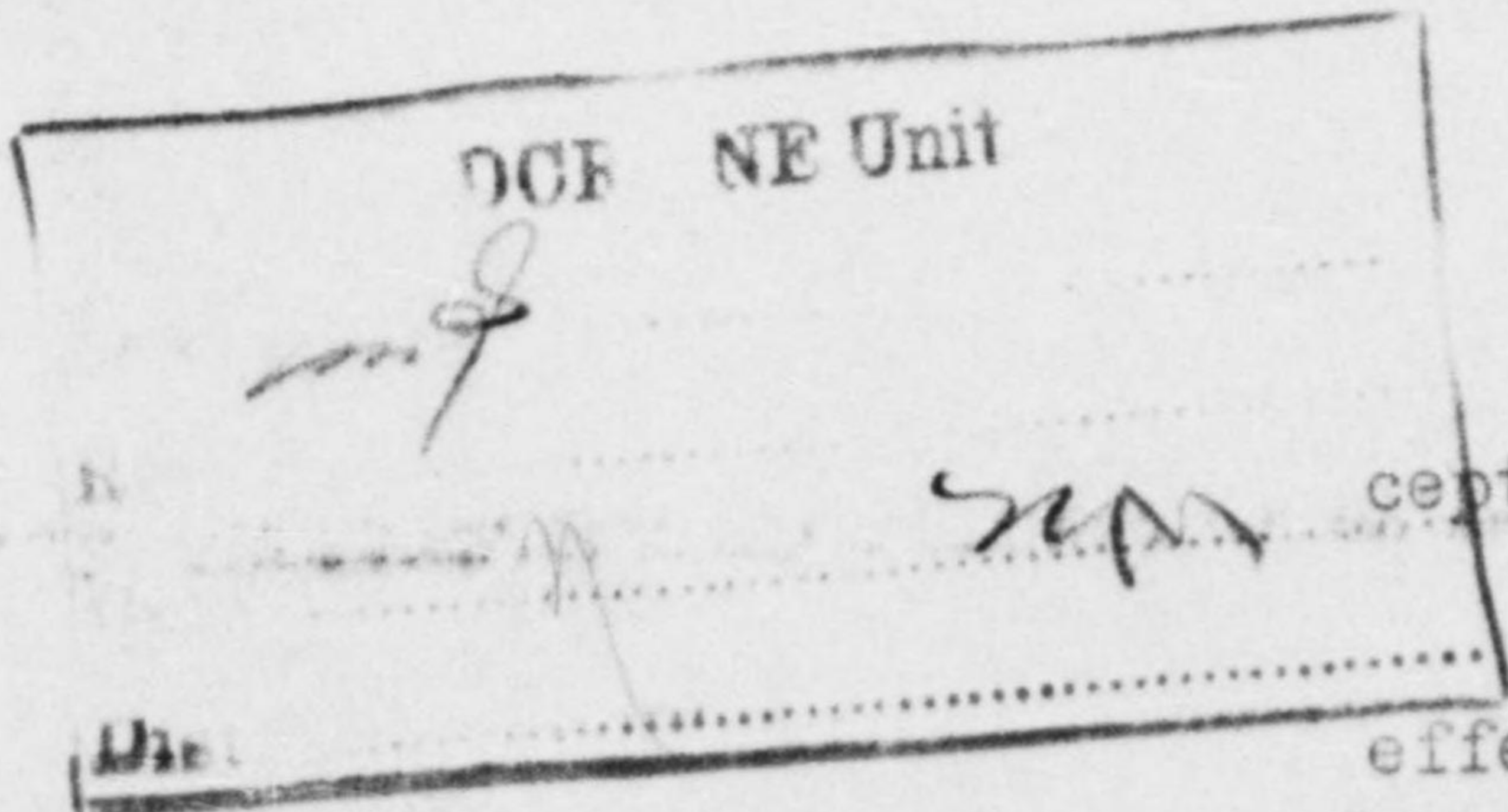
740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-1046

L'Ambassade de France présente ses compliments au Département d'Etat et a l'honneur d'appeler son attention sur ses notes précédentes No 874 du 31 octobre 1945 et No 61 du 21 janvier 1946 concernant une demande d'autorisation d'entrée au Japon en faveur de M. Oiry représentant de la société française "Air Liquide".

Dans sa réponse en date du 7 février 1946 le Département d'Etat invoquait les difficultés matérielles d'existence au Japon pour s'opposer, temporairement, à l'entrée de toute personne chargée d'une mission de caractère commercial, laissant entrevoir, cependant, pour l'avenir, la possibilité d'un assouplissement de la règle que s'est donnée le Commandement suprême allié à Tokio.

L'Ambassade tient toutefois à souligner le caractère exceptionnel de la demande formulée en faveur de M. Oiry. En effet, aux termes d'un accord conclu à Tokio avec SCMP, le relève unité contre unité; des agents des sociétés françaises

Département d'Etat,
Washington, D.C.



SEP 12 1946

SEP 17 1946

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DS/HH 740.00119 Control (Japan)

- 2 -

au Japon prévoyait le retour en France de M. Aitelli, ingénieur de l'Air Liquide à Kobé et son remplacement immédiat par M. Oiry agent de la même société.

C'est en invoquant les assurances formelles données à cet égard par les services américains à Tokio que l'Ambassade se permet de demander à nouveau que les instructions nécessaires soient données pour permettre à M. Oiry de se rendre au Japon./.

L'Ambassade saisit l'occasion de la présente note pour renouveler au Département d'Etat les assurances de sa très haute considération.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CENTRAL TRANSLATING DIVISION

[TRANSLATION]

TC NO. 27889

No. 507

JCW/YD

The Embassy of France presents its compliments to the Department of State and has the honor to call its attention to its previous notes No. 874, of October 31, 1945, and No. 61, of January 21, 1946, concerning a request for authorization of entry into Japan on behalf of Mr. Oiry, representing the French company, "Air Liquide."

In its reply under date of February 7, 1946, the Department of State cited the material difficulties of existence in Japan in order to oppose, temporarily, the entry of any person charged with a mission of a commercial nature, indicating, however, for the future, the possibility of a modification of the rule which the Supreme Allied Command at Tokyo has established.

The Embassy is nevertheless anxious to emphasize the exceptional nature of the request formulated on behalf of Mr. Oiry. Indeed, by the terms of an agreement concluded at Tokyo with SCAP, "le relève unité contre unité"; [sic --apparently incomplete] the agents of the French companies in Japan provided for the return to France of Mr. Aitelli, engineer of the Air Liquide at Kobé, and his immediate replacement by Mr. Oiry, agent of the same company.

It is by reciting the formal assurances given in this respect by the American offices at Tokyo that the Embassy takes the liberty again of requesting that the necessary instructions be given to permit Mr. Oiry to proceed to Japan.

The

Department of State
Washington, D. C.*File 740.50119 with 14 papers / 8-10-46*

-2-

The Embassy avails itself of the occasion of the present note to renew to the Department of State the assurances of its very high consideration.

The Acting Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the French Republic and with reference to the Embassy's note of August 10, 1946, in regard to a permit to enter Japan for M. Oiry, representative of the French company, "Air Liquide," has the honor to inform His Excellency that the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers has granted permission to M. Oiry to proceed to Japan.

It is pointed out that this clearance has been granted as an exception to the policy of not permitting businessmen to enter Japan. In a very few exceptional cases the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers has approved the replacement of businessmen who are already in Japan, who have been without leave of absence for a number of years, whose health and other circumstances require they return home, and whose replacements are able to travel to Japan and to live in Japan entirely independent of the United States Army and of occupation resources.

Department of State,

Washington, September 9 9 57/46 pm

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-1046

740.00119 Control
Japan / 8.10.46
CS/A

SEP 9 1946
SEP 12 1946 P.M.

As a copy of the signed original.
FE WE LHM A-H

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PREPARING OFFICE WILL INDICATE WHETHER

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

PREPARING OFFICE WILL TYPE HERE CLEARLY THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MESSAGE:

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Collect

Department of State.

Charge Department:

Washington

CONFIDENTIAL

Charge to

AUG 20 1946
7 pm

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

TOKYO

INFO: WAR DEPT CHIEF OF STAFF
FOR POLITICAL ADVISER

French GOVT previously requested permission for Mr. Oiry, representative Society l'Air Liquide proceed Tokyo and was refused on basis general policy prohibiting entry businessmen into Japan. EMB now repeats request stating SCAP formally agreed permit Oiry enter Japan for purpose replacing Mr. Aitelli, engineer Air Liquide, who was returned to France. DEPT desires SCAP's comments.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-1046

Acheson (acting)

(Ref)

DISTRIBUTION DESIRED (OFFICES ONLY)

- FE
- WE
- A-H

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AUG 20 1946

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WAR DEPARTMENT
CLASSIFIED MESSAGE CENTER
INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

RESTRICTED TOT

PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS RESTRICTED CORRESPONDENCE
PER PARAGRAPHS 51 (1) and 60 (a) AR 380-5.

From: SCAP, Tokyo, Japan

To: War Department for WARCOS; pass to SECSTATE

Nr: C 64064 Atcheson's 364 12 August 1946

I shall expect to make comment at special procedural meeting Allied Council Tuesday morning August 13 as follows:

"This is a special meeting called for the purpose of reviewing the procedural organization of the council with a view to determination of what procedures, to be observed by all members, may be expected to facilitate and regularize the councils work, to place the council on a businesslike basis and in general to improve the work of the council.

Before we enter into discussion of details, I wish to offer comment in regard to what in my mind is the fundamental question before us. It is a question which long has given me concern both as United States member and as chairman having responsibility for the conduct of meetings. It is the broad question of the councils possible contribution to the furtherance of the occupation in cooperation with the Supreme Commander.

I am sure that the other members would wish me to offer some concrete solution of the fundamental question which I have mentioned. I propose to offer what I feel to be such a solution along broad and far reaching lines.

There are perhaps a number of reasons for the state of affairs which has arisen in the council. I have neither intention nor desire to engage in a survey of the councils past activities or to undertake a general probing into the various aspects of this situation. On one important aspect however, I think I may freely touch.

CM IN 2554

(12 Aug 46)

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740.00119 CONTROL (CJAPAN)
/8-1246

OCT 4 1946
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(Japan) 8-1246
CS/V

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WAR DEPARTMENT
CLASSIFIED MESSAGE CENTER
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RESTRICTED TOT

Page 2

From: SCAP, Tokyo, Japan

Nr: C 64064 Atcheson's 364 12 August 1946

Observers of our proceedings have had the impression, rightly or wrongly, that there is resentment in the council that the United States, by dictate of circumstance, has taken a predominant role in the occupation. There should be a way to overcome this obstacle to a smoother and more effective working of the council and the proposal which I shall submit to you in due course has that end specifically in view.

But I must say at this juncture that I do not know why any such feeling should exist.

Militarily it fell to the United States, through no desire of its own, to take leadership in the great sacrifice of lives and materiel and in the heart breaking effort necessary to encompass the defeat of Japan through the long years and over the vast spaces between Pearl Harbor and Atsugi. It fell to United States Forces under General MacArthur to venture the historic landing into the armed camp that was Japan in late August and early September 1945. It fell to the United States to maintain the occupation for many months alone.

In the field of political matters it fell to the United States to formulate and put into effect the initial Post Surrender Policies for the occupation. Some time before the surrender, the United States invited the other allies to join in establishing a Far Eastern Advisory Commission, but the response was such that the commission was not set up until several months after the surrender. Meanwhile, the United States had no recourse but to carry forward the task

CM IN 2554

(12 Aug 46)

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Page 3

From: SCAP, Tokyo, Japan

Nr: C 64064 Atcheson's 364 12 August 1946

and lay down necessary policies to achieve Allied objectives as set forth in the Potsdam Declaration. The allies subsequently gave approval to United States policies and the actions thus taken. The Far Eastern Commission has been functioning since February and is formulating allied policy decisions. What General MacArthur is engaged upon, therefore, is the momentous enterprise of moulding into history the concrete results of agreed upon Allied policies.

The occupation authorities already have Jap cooperation. More and more as time goes on, the Japs have come to realize with increasing force and clarity that our ultimate aims are in the best interests of the Japs as well as in the interests of the world at large.

If we accept that the agreed upon policies of the allied govts continue to be in fact the policies of those govts, it is incontrovertible that all the allies seek in fact the goals which they have announced as common. And if this is the case, it follows that the allied representatives on this council must wish to see the occupation continue a success. It follows that the occupational authorities may rightly expect the wholehearted collaboration of all allied representatives. It follows that the allied representatives sitting here will give the Supreme Commander for the allied powers ungrudging cooperation in the great task to which he is committed on behalf of their govts as well as on behalf of his govt and mine. I hope that this will come to be considered a fundamental principle, and that in placing subjects on the agenda, and

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(12 Aug 46)

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INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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page 4

From: SCAP. Tokyo, Japan

Nr: C 64064 Acheson's 364 12 August 1946

in presenting and discussing agenda subjects, the members will make that principle the basis of future proceedings in the council.

There is a long step which we can take toward facilitating and enhancing allied cooperation at this table by broadening the forum of discussion so that all available allied resources in knowledge and experience can be utilized to practical advantage and all directly concerned allies, contribute on the spot to the furtherance of allied objectives. General MacArthur and I propose that the council invite representatives of those eleven allied powers which waged the Pacific war and which now have missions in Tokyo to sit here with us, informally and unofficially, and contribute their views. We would be glad to see our friend the British Ambassador sitting at this table. We would be glad to see our friend General Pechkoff, the French Ambassador, at the council table. We would be glad to have our friend General Schilling, Head of the Netherlands Military Mission, here with us. We would be glad if a representative of the Philippine Govt were to join in our discussions. We would be happy to have all allied representative concerned make a valued contribution to our work and to the furtherance of occupation objectives.

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(12 Aug 46)

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INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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Page 5

From: SCAP, Tokyo, Japan

Nr: C 64064 Atcheson's 364 12 August 1946

There are, as you know, eleven nations represented on the Far Eastern Commission, which is now the allied agency for the formulation of policies, principles and standards in regard to occupational matters within the commissions jurisdiction. It would be helpful to the Supreme Commander to have the advice and counsel of individual representatives of all those eleven nations. General MacArthur desires and seeks constructive advice and counsel from any and every source to assist him in his discharge of the tremendous responsibilities which rest upon his shoulders. That he seeks and welcomes the advice and counsel of all is, in my opinion, a reflection of the great wisdom, profound insight, and far seeing statesmanship with which he has handled the occupation.

Revision of the terms of reference of the council is not proposed and is not in our hands. But we can nevertheless invite the Chief Allied representatives in Tokyo to join with us at the council table, informally and unofficially, in the discussion of substantive matters, other than procedural, which may properly be brought before the council. By so doing, I submit, we will unquestionably increase the effectiveness of the council in assisting the Supreme Commander, and will bring the council to the forefront of the field, so vital today to all the world, of international good will and cooperation".

End.

ACTION : ID (State)
INFO : AAF, ASW, CAD, P&O

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(12 Aug 46) DTG 120737Z cj

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DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION COPY

Office of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS AUG 14 1946 8:15 AM Department of State

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Action: FE

Info:

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Control 3984

No paraphrase necessary

SECSTATE

Action	JA
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FE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CA	<input type="checkbox"/>
JA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SEA	<input type="checkbox"/>
PI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Tokyo via War

Dated August 12, 1946

Rec'd 2:55 p.m., 13th

Handwritten initials and stamps: 8/20/46, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AUG 14 1946, DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS

364, August 12.

I shall expect to make comment at special procedural meeting Allied Council, Tuesday morning, August 13 as follows:

"This is a special meeting called for the purpose of reviewing the procedural organization of the council with a view to determination of what procedures, to be observed by all members, may be expected to facilitate and regularize the council's work, to place the council on a businesslike basis and in general to improve the work of the council.

"Before we enter into discussion of details, I wish to offer comment in regard to what in my mind is the fundamental question before us. It is a question which long has given me concern both as United States member and as chairman having responsibility for the conduct of meetings. It is the broad question of the council's possible contribution to the furtherance of the occupation in cooperation with the Supreme Commander.

"I am sure that the other members would wish me to offer some concrete solution of the fundamental question which I have mentioned. I propose to offer what I feel to be such a solution along broad and far reaching lines.

"There are perhaps a number of reasons for the state of affairs which has arisen in the council. I have neither intention nor desire to engage in a survey of the council's past activities or to undertake a general probing in the various aspects of this situation. On one important aspect, however, I think I may freely touch.

Observers of our

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740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-1246 LRC

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-2-, #364, August 12, from Tokyo via War.

Observers of our proceedings have had the impression, rightly or wrongly, that there is resentment in the council that the United States, by dictate of circumstance, has taken a predominant role in the occupation. There should be a way to overcome this obstacle to a smoother and more effective working of the council and the proposal which I shall submit to you in due course has that end specifically in view.

"But I must say at this juncture that I do not know why any such feeling should exist.

"Militarily it fell to the United States, through no desire of its own, to take leadership in the great sacrifice of lives and materiel and in the heart breaking effort necessary to encompass the defeat of Japan through the long years and over the vast spaces between Pearl Harbor and Atsugi. It fell to United States Forces under General MacArthur to venture the historic landing into the armed camp that was Japan in late August and early September 1945. It fell to the United States to maintain the occupation for many months alone.

"In the field of political matters it fell to the United States to formulate and put into effect the initial Post Surrender Policies for the occupation. Some time before the surrender, the United States invited the other Allies to join in establishing a Far Eastern Advisory Commission, but the response was such that the commission was not set up until several months after the surrender. Meanwhile, the United States had no recourse but to carry forward the task and lay down necessary policies to achieve Allied objectives as set forth in the Potsdam Declaration. The Allies subsequently gave approval to United States policies and the actions thus taken. The Far Eastern Commission has been functioning since February and is formulating Allied policy decisions. What General MacArthur is engaged upon, therefore, is the momentous enterprise of moulding into history the concrete results of agreed upon Allied policies.

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-3-, #364, August 12, from Tokyo via War.

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"If we accept that the agreed upon policies of the Allied govts continue to be in fact the policies of those govts, it is incontrovertible that all the Allies seek in fact the goals which they have announced as common and if this is the case, it follows that the Allied representatives on this council must wish to see the occupation continue a success. It follows that the occupational authorities may rightly expect the wholehearted collaboration of all Allied representatives. It follows that the Allied representatives sitting here will give the Supreme Commander for the Allied powers ungrudging cooperation in the great task to which he is committed on behalf of their govts as well as on behalf of his govt and mine. I hope that this will come to be considered a fundamental principle, and that in placing subjects on the agenda, and in presenting and discussing agenda subjects, the members will make that principle the basis of future proceedings in the council.

"There is a long step which we can take toward facilitating and enhancing Allied cooperation at this table by broadening the forum of discussion so that all available Allied resources in knowledge and experience can be utilized to practice advantage and all directly concerned Allies, contribute on the spot to the furtherance of Allied objectives. General MacArthur and I propose that the council invite representatives of those eleven Allied powers which waged the Pacific War and which now have missions in Tokyo to sit here with us, informally and unofficially, and contribute their views. We would be glad to see our friend the British Ambassador sitting at this table. We would be glad to see our friend General Pechkoff, the French Ambassador, at the council table. We would be glad to have our friend General Schilling, head of the Netherlands Military Mission, here with us. We would be glad if a representative of the Philippine Govt were to join in our discussions. We would be happy to have all Allied representatives concerned make a valued contribution to our work and to the furtherance of occupation objectives.

"There are

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-4-, #364, August 12, from Tokyo via War.

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ATCHESON

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-4-, #364, August 12, from Tokyo via War.

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ATCHESON

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PREPARING OFFICE
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PREPARING OFFICE WILL
TYPE HERE CLEARLY THE
CLASSIFICATION OF THE
MESSAGE:

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Department of State

PLAIN

Charge Department:

Washington

Charge to

SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

TOKYO

INFO: WAR DEPT CHIEF OF STAFF

FOR POLITICAL ADVISER

Canadian EMB requests SCAP be notified that
Canadian Mission consisting five persons sailed
SSGENERAL MEIGS August 2 for Uraga. EMB requests
transportation be made available Uraga to Tokyo
consisting two trucks for baggage crated car in
addition personal transportation.

Acheson
(Acting) (initials)

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-1246

740.00119 Control 8-1246
(Japan)

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DIVISION OF
GENERAL SERVICES
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8-9-46

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AUG 22

FORM DS-516
5-13-47

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CHARGE SLIP

FILE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENT	CHARGE TO-	DATE OF CHARGE
740.00119 Control (Japan) / 8.12.46	to Tokyo T-Document 8/20/46	L Rumson	5-17-51
			176

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CHARGE SLIP

FILE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENT	CHARGE TO-	DATE OF CHARGE	CLERK'S INITIALS
9 Control (Japan) / 8.12.46	to Tokyo T - Unsub 8/20/46	L Rumson	5-17-51	MKB
			176332	

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION COPY

1

Tokyo via War

Action: SA/M

Dated August 13, 1946

Info:

Rec'd 3:27 p.m., 13th

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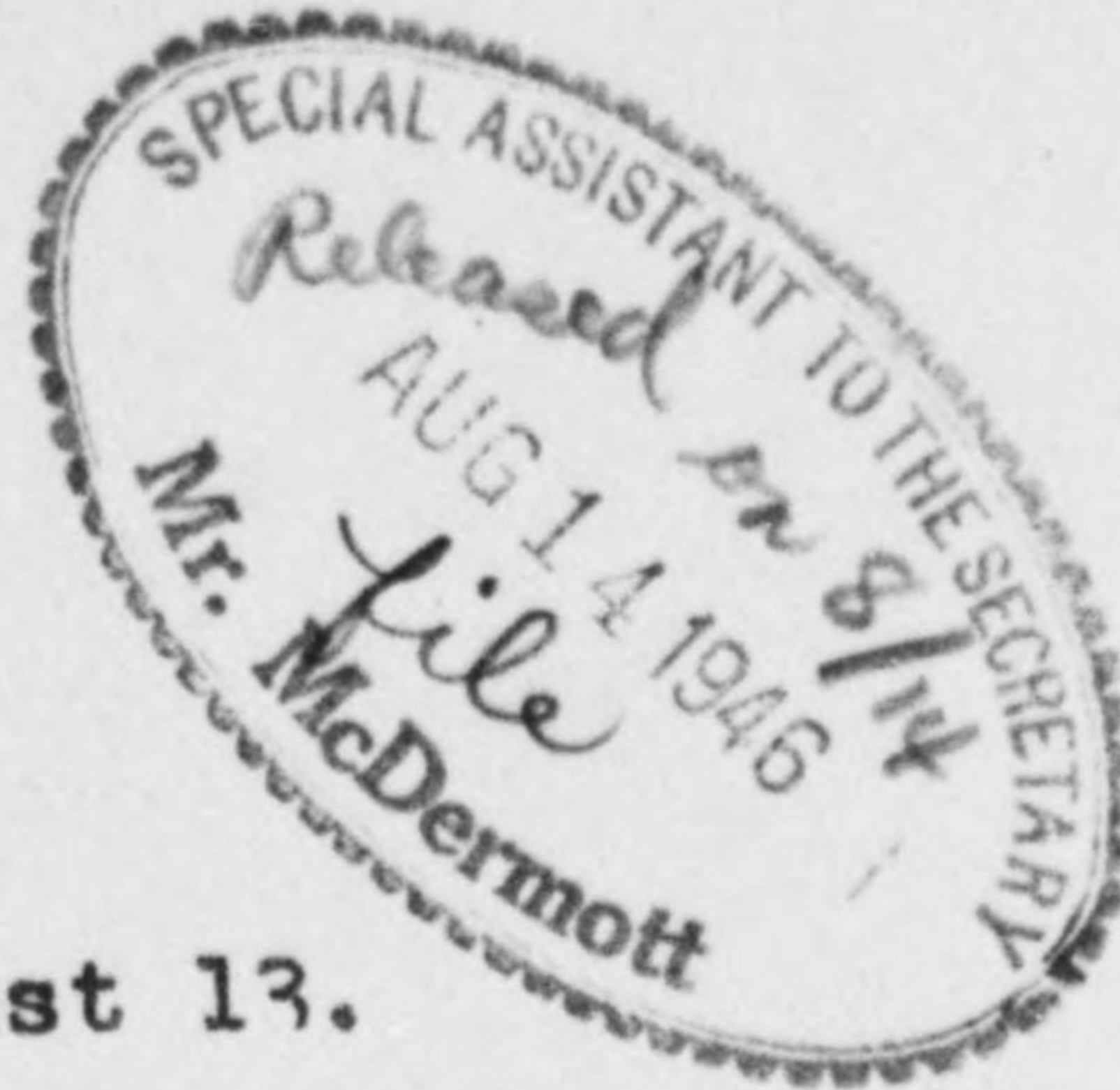
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PRIORITY

368. August 13.



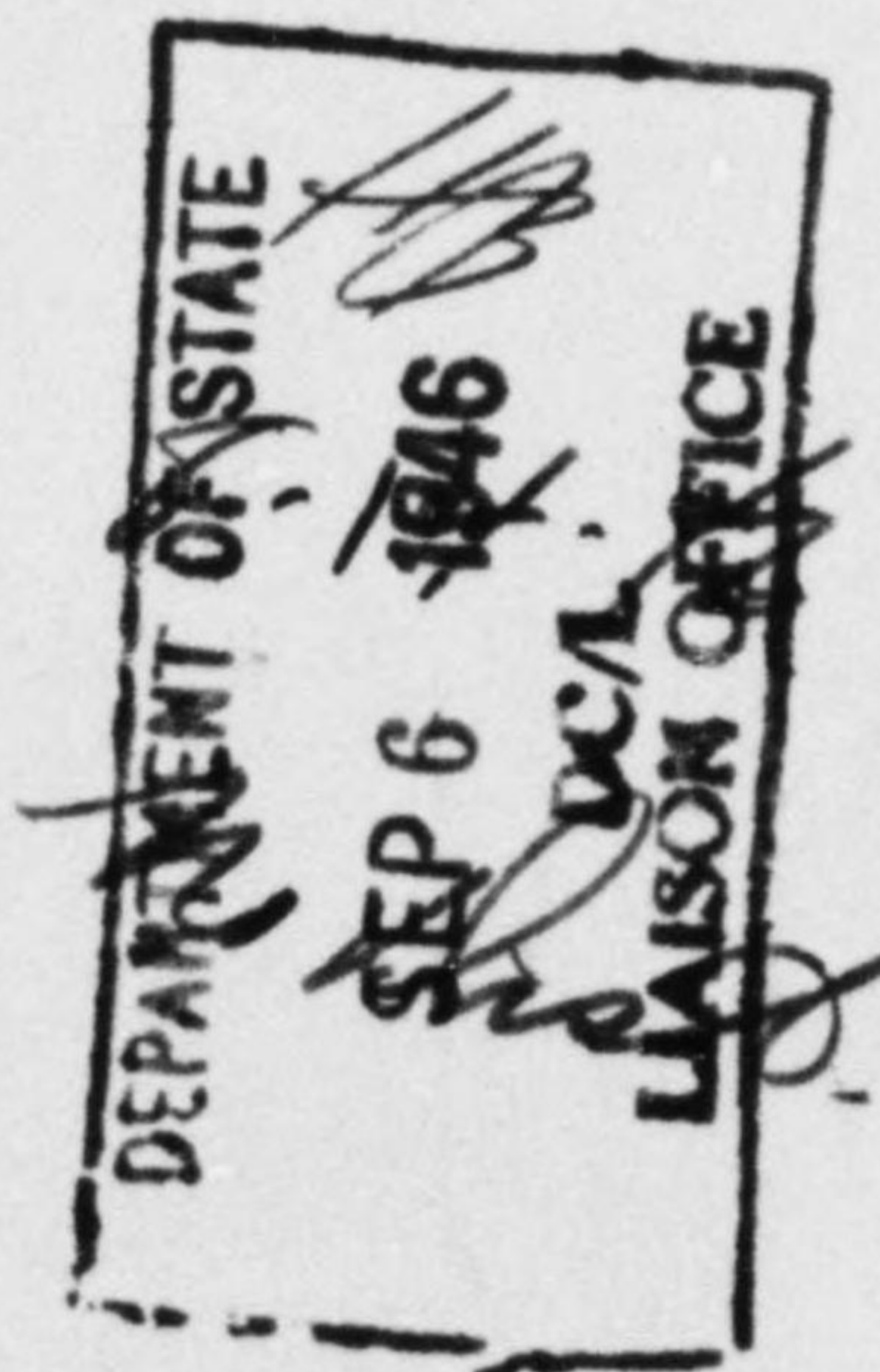
As all press radio except Tass stopped by strike,
please release to press contents my 364, 12 August.
(Sent as C 64064).

ATCHESON

NOTE: Tokyo's telegram 364 of August 13 contains Mr.
Acheson's comment made at special procedural
meeting of Allied Council, Tuesday morning,
August 13. (CWO-FED)

LMS:JSP

PLAIN



SEP 3 1946

FILED

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) /8-1346

L.L.

PERMANENT RECORD COPY: THIS COPY MUST BE RETURNED TO DC/R CENTRAL FILES WITH NOTATION OF ACTION TAKEN.

Mr. Cottrell,
Check for \$1,880
held in DF pending receipt
of your letter of transmittal.
Will be attached at that
time.

H. J. Wetzel

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AND KOREAN
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OCT - 4 1946

Catwell

*Noted
DF
(3/9/46)*

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AND KOREAN
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EMBASSY
AUSTRALIAN
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

No. 276/46.

NOV 22 1946
ans. drafted 10/8 76 (9K)

14th August, 1946.

His Majesty's Australian Chargé d'Affaires

DC/R

ad interim presents his compliments to the Acting Secretary of State and, with reference to Mr. Acheson's notes of May 15th, 1946, and August 5th, 1946, relating to the furnishing of essential supplies and services to official establishments and personnel in Japan which are not serving a military purpose, has the honour to enclose herewith a certified cheque in the amount of \$1,000.00, made payable to the Treasurer of the United States, for deposit with the Office of the Chief of Finance, Receipts and Disbursement Division, Room 4A 320 Pentagon, Washington 25, D. C.

Handwritten signature/initials

RECEIVED
AUG 21 1946
DIVISION OF FINANCE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Acting Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AND KOREAN
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OCT - 4 1946

*JK: 1. ans drafted 10/8
2. let to War "nc"*

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 8-1446

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21 1946

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*740.00119 Control
(Japan) / 8-1446*

His Excellency

The ~~Acting~~ Secretary of State presents his compliments to/the

Ambassador

~~Charge d'Affaires~~ of the Australia ~~Embassy~~ and ~~refers to note~~

has the honor to refer to the Embassy's

No. ~~200000~~ 276/46, of ~~dated~~ August 14, 1946 enclosing a check in the

amount of \$1,000 to be applied for essential supplies and services of Australian official establishments and personnel in Japan, which are not serving a military purpose.

The check has been forwarded to the Office of the Chief of Finance, War Department with instructions to advise the Australian Mission in Japan that a dollar credit in the amount of \$1,000 has been made available to ~~them~~ it.

Department of State,

Washington, October 28 1946

740.00119 Control (Japan)/8-1446

RJM
JK: ~~N~~Attrell:ewl 10/18/46

CR
OCT 22 1946 F.M.
OCT 28

DCR NE Unit
[Signature]
[Signature]

EC
(Cleared per phone -
10/24/46 - A.L. Richards)

[Signature]

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-1446

CS/V
(Japan) / 8-1446
740.00119 Control

Note to DF:

You are holding the check
for enclosure in this
outgoing letter.

✓ 740.0019.
control(johan) / 8 1446

JA.

OCT 23 1946

In reply refer to
JK

The Acting Secretary of State encloses for the information of the Secretary of War, attention of the Chief of Finance, Receipts and Disbursements Division, Exception and Settlement Branch, a certified check for \$1,000 payable to the Treasurer of the US from the Australian Embassy. It is requested that a credit of \$1,000 be made available to the Australian Mission in Tokyo for the purchase of essential supplies and services, and that the Mission be advised of this action.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/8-1446

Unit
M M

Enclosure:

Check for \$1,000 from
the Australian Embassy.

A true copy of
the signed original.

OCT 22 1946 F.M.

JK:NC/strell:ewl

10/17/46

DF 2.8.76

CS/V

740.00119 Control
Japan/8-1446

SIGNED & RECEIVED
IN SWNCC

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, SWNCC

8/21/46
A. H. Mowley

Subject: Directive Regarding Exercise of Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction over Nationals of Members of the United Nations.

There is enclosed a draft directive prepared on the basis of a policy decision unanimously approved at the 23rd meeting of the Far Eastern Commission on August 15, 1946, under the provisions of paragraph II, A, 1, of its terms of reference. It will be noted that the policy decision is quoted verbatim in the enclosed draft directive.

It is requested that the enclosed directive be forwarded to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for transmission to the Supreme Commander for his guidance in accordance with paragraph III, 1, of the terms of reference of the Commission. It is assumed that if the Joint Chiefs of Staff feel that the draft directive does not satisfactorily express the policy decision of the Far Eastern Commission they will refer the matter to the State Department for clarification before transmitting a directive on the subject.

The Secretary General of the Far Eastern Commission has requested that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in transmitting the enclosed draft directive to SCAP, inform him that the Far Eastern Commission agreed to release the policy decision on which the enclosed directive is based to the press, but agreed to withhold such release until the directive had reached the Supreme Commander.

J. H. Hilldring
State Member
State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee

Enclosure:
Draft Directive.

AUG 20 1946

JA:ALDunning/pm
8/16/46

FE
J. V.

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Japan/8-1546

**DRAFT DIRECTIVE FROM JCS TO SCAP
REGARDING EXERCISE OF CRIMINAL AND CIVIL JURISDICTION
OVER NATIONALS OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

The following directive, prepared by the State Department to implement the policy adopted by the Far Eastern Commission on 15 August 1946 under the provisions of Paragraph II, A, 1, of its terms of reference, has been received from the State, War, and Navy Departments for transmission to you for your guidance in accordance with Paragraph III, 1, of those terms of reference:

"1. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers should provide that no criminal jurisdiction of any sort will be exercised by the Japanese courts with respect to nationals of Members of the United Nations, but that such criminal jurisdiction will be exercised by military courts of Members of the United Nations as follows:

"a. In the case of military, naval or air force personnel and persons attached to or accompanying the armed forces, by courts of the nation of the forces of which they are a part. A national of a Member of the United Nations who is present in Japan on official business and for the purpose of performing functions in the interest of the occupation is to be regarded as 'attached to or accompanying the Armed Forces.'

"b. In the case of a national of one of the occupying powers, by a military court of his nationality; and

"c. In the case of other nationals of Members of the United Nations, by the Allied military court having jurisdiction in the particular territory. Such courts should be composed of three members appointed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, one of whom should be a representative of that nation whose national is held for trial, provided that if, in the judgment of the Supreme Commander, selection of such a representative would obstruct or unnecessarily delay the proceedings because of the non-availability of qualified personnel, then a representative of some other nation may be designated.

"2. The authority of the Japanese to take into custody any national of a Member of the United Nations should be strictly limited:

"a. To those areas of Japan not actually in Allied military occupation, and

"b. In such areas, only to those cases in which there is reasonable evidence that a serious offense has

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- 2 -

been committed. The Japanese authorities should be placed under specific orders to hand over such a person forthwith to the nearest Allied military authorities.

"3. Provision should be made that no civil jurisdiction of any sort will be exercised by the Japanese courts with respect to nationals of Members of the United Nations attached to or accompanying the armed forces. Civil jurisdiction in these cases should be exercised in a manner determined by the Supreme Commander.

"4. Decisions in all civil cases affecting other nationals of Members of the United Nations or in which such nationals are or may become parties, should be reviewed by the Supreme Commander or his representative, who may revise the decision or take such other action as may be considered necessary for the protection of their rights.

"5. The Supreme Commander should take such steps as he deems necessary, including suspension of proceedings, to ensure that in the conduct of such civil cases the rights of nationals of Members of the United Nations parties thereto are adequately protected.

"6. It is recognized that the available United States legal officers will be barely sufficient to deal with such cases as involve United States nationals. The Supreme Commander may therefore advise the responsible commanders of other Allied forces that assistance in such cases as involve their nationals must be supplied by them.

"7. The term, 'nationals of Members of the United Nations' as used in this document includes, wherever applicable, organizations and corporations of Members of the United Nations as well as persons."

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Office of
Far Eastern Affairs
August 16 1946
Department of State
DATE: August 15, 1946

TO : FE : Mr. Vincent

FROM : JA : Mr. Borton *HB*

SUBJECT: Statements Made by Mr. Acheson Before Allied Council.

The attached telegram quoting the text of comment to be made by Mr. Acheson at the meeting of the Allied Council on August 13 (Japan time) was first seen in JA in the late afternoon of August 13. Action copy did not reach JA until the morning of August 14. While Mr. Acheson sends advance texts of important statements to be made before the Allied Council these usually arrive, as in the above case, in the Department after such statements have been made in the meetings and reported by press and radio.

It is recognized that the Allied Council is not a policy making body, that it acts in an advisory capacity to the Supreme Commander, and that Mr. Acheson as Chairman of the Council speaks not in his capacity as State Department Political Adviser but as deputy to General MacArthur. Nevertheless, Mr. Acheson's statements frequently have an inevitable relationship to and effect upon United States policy. It is conceivable that there would be occasions when the Department might wish to express an opinion to Mr. Acheson as Political Adviser regarding a statement prepared for issuance to the Allied Council. In matters affecting policy, coordination with the Department and with negotiations in the Far Eastern Commission would seem to be not only highly desirable but essential.

In the present instance, the extending of invitations to eleven Allied Powers to attend meetings of the Allied Council and "contribute their views", albeit "informally and unofficially", is a matter vitally affecting the machinery for the control of Japan set up by the Moscow Declaration and should be subjected to careful consideration. In its implications it goes beyond a mere question of procedure or of implementation of directive

It is therefore suggested that a message along the following lines might be sent to Mr. Acheson:

DEPT appreciates your sending advance copies of statements prepared for meetings of Allied Council. Unfortunately telegrams containing these statements do not usually arrive in DEPT until after meeting has occurred and radio and press reports have been received. While it is realized that circumstances may make it extremely difficult to transmit such

statements

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statements ^{much} ~~very far~~ in advance of meeting dates, ~~DEPT would be grateful~~ if statements particularly those with policy implications ~~might~~ be transmitted as early as possible. ~~In some instances where policy considerations or negotiations in FEQ might be involved DEPT might wish to make appropriate comment to you as POLAD with view to being helpful you and SCAP.~~

I would be helpful to Dept

could

JA:JKEmmerson:mls

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION
2516 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

15 August 1946

The Honorable Dean Acheson
Acting Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
AUG 22 1946
DO
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF CONSUL
DIVISION OF JAPANESE
MEMO FOR SECRETARY
16 Aug 46
AUG 16 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The Terms of Reference of the Far Eastern Commission provide that one of the functions of the Commission should be to "formulate the policies, principles and standards in conformity with which the fulfillment by Japan of its obligations under the Terms of Surrender may be accomplished."

It is further provided that when such decisions are made by the Far Eastern Commission, "The United States Government shall prepare directives in accordance with the policy decisions of the Commission and shall transmit them to the Supreme Commander through the appropriate United States Government agency."

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At the twenty-third meeting of the Far Eastern Commission held at 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., on 15 August 1946, the enclosed policy decision relative to Exercise of Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction Over Nationals of Members of the United Nations, was unanimously approved.

As Secretary General of the Far Eastern Commission, I have been instructed to forward this decision to you on behalf of the Commission, in order that the appropriate directives may be prepared and transmitted to the Supreme Commander in accordance with the Terms of Reference.

The Commission agreed to release the enclosed policy decision to the press, but agreed to withhold such release until the appropriate directive based upon this decision has reached the Supreme Commander. I am sure that the Commission would appreciate your informing the Supreme Commander of this decision at the same time that the directive is transmitted to him.

Respectfully yours,

Nelson T. Johnson

Nelson T. Johnson
Secretary General

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Enclosure

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AUG 23 1946

FAR EASTERN COMMISSION
2516 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

The attached copy of a document unanimously adopted at the twenty-third meeting of the Far Eastern Commission, held at 2516 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., on 15 August 1946, has been compared with the original text and is certified to be a true copy.

Nelson T. Johnson

Nelson T. Johnson
Secretary General

Washington, D. C.
15 August 1946

FD 940.00119 Control (Japan)/8-15-46

ENCLOSUREEXERCISE OF CRIMINAL AND CIVIL JURISDICTION OVER NATIONALS
OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

1. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers should provide that no criminal jurisdiction of any sort will be exercised by the Japanese courts with respect to nationals of Members of the United Nations, but that such criminal jurisdiction will be exercised by military courts of Members of the United Nations as follows:

a. In the case of military, naval or air force personnel and persons attached to or accompanying the armed forces, by courts of the nation of the forces of which they are a part. A national of a Member of the United Nations who is present in Japan on official business and for the purpose of performing functions in the interest of the occupation is to be regarded as "attached to or accompanying the Armed Forces."

b. In the case of a national of one of the occupying powers, by a military court of his nationality; and

c. In the case of other nationals of Members of the United Nations, by the Allied military court having jurisdiction in the particular territory. Such courts should be composed of three members appointed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, one of whom should be a representative of that nation whose national is held for trial, provided that if, in the judgment of the Supreme Commander, selection of such a representative would obstruct or unnecessarily delay the proceedings because of the non-availability of qualified personnel, then a representative of some other nation may be designated.

2. The authority of the Japanese to take into custody any national of a Member of the United Nations should be strictly limited:

a. To those areas of Japan not actually in Allied military occupation, and

b. In such areas, only to those cases in which there is reasonable evidence that a serious offense has been committed. The Japanese authorities should be placed under specific orders to hand over such a person forthwith to the nearest Allied military authorities.

3. Provision should be made that no civil jurisdiction of any sort will be exercised by the Japanese courts with respect to nationals of Members of the United Nations attached to or accompanying the armed forces. Civil jurisdiction in these cases should be exercised in a manner determined by the Supreme Commander.

4. Decisions in all civil cases affecting other nationals of Members of the United Nations or in which such nationals are or may become parties, should be reviewed by the Supreme Commander or his representative, who may revise the decision or take such other action as may be considered necessary for the protection of their rights.

5. The Supreme Commander should take such steps as he deems necessary, including suspension of proceedings, to ensure that in the conduct of such civil cases the rights of nationals of Members of the United Nations parties thereto are adequately protected.

6. It is recognized that the available United States legal officers will be barely sufficient to deal with such cases as involve United States nationals. The Supreme Commander may therefore advise the responsible commanders of other Allied forces that assistance in such cases as involve their nationals must be supplied by them.

7. The term, "nationals of Members of the United Nations," as used in this document includes, wherever applicable, organizations and corporations of Members of the United Nations as well as persons.

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Congress of Industrial Organizations



718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

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Office of
KERMIT EBY, Director
Department of Education and Research

August 16, 1946

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A-B

William Benton
Ast Sec'y of State
State Dept.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bill ;

Here is an extra copy of the Christian Century . I
thought you might be interested in having it.

Sincerely;

Kermit Eby
Kermit Eby

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The **CHRISTIAN CENTURY**

Published Weekly

The Wasted Power of Protestantism

By Charles Clayton Morrison

Labor and the Public Interest
An Editorial

The Dawn of Baptist Unity
An Editorial

Japan Then and Now
By Kermit Eby

15 Cents a Copy

• June 12, 1946 •

Five Dollars a Year

FW 740.00119 Century (Japan) / 8.16.46

In This Issue

KERMIT EBY

recently returned from a visit to Japan, where he went as a member of the commission on educational policies to advise the Allied commander, General MacArthur. Mr. Eby is a minister of the Church of the Brethren and is educational director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. He was formerly secretary of the Federation of Teachers in Chicago and a teacher in the schools of Ann Arbor, Michigan. He has written a number of articles on various aspects of labor problems which have appeared in *The Christian Century* and in other periodicals. His address is 721 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

HAROLD BOSLEY

is minister of the Mt. Vernon Methodist Church, Baltimore, Md. He is the author of *The Quest for Religious Certainty* (1939) and *The Philosophical Heritage of the Christian Faith* (1945). His articles have appeared frequently in *The Christian Century*.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON

asks that this space be used to express his appreciation of the flood of letters he has received in comment upon his series of articles, "Can Protestantism Win America?" He regrets that it is impossible for him to acknowledge them personally, as he would find real pleasure in doing. But he wishes this column to assure their writers that he carefully reads them all and has derived much help from the criticisms and further suggestions, as well as from the generous expression of accord which these letters convey. He hopes to conclude the series with two more articles.

Notice

Issues of *The Christian Century* for May 15, 22 and 29 were delayed by the coal strike, which forced Chicago printing plants to work only 24 hours a week. If your copies have not reached you, please advise us and we will immediately supply the missing issues.

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
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Incorporating: *The Christian Work* (1926), *The Baptist* (1933),
The World Tomorrow (1934).

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Editor*
PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Managing Editor*
HAROLD E. FEY, *Associate Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*

June 12, 1946

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Calendar of Coming Events

- June 5-14. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Friends University, Wichita, Kan.
- June 6-Sept. 6. Seminar on Church Work in Industrial Communities, Detroit.
- June 10-15. Methodist Student Leadership Training Conference, Leesburg, Ind.
- June 10-19. Methodist Youth Caravan Training Centers, Lake Junaluska, N. C.; Abilene, Tex.
- June 11-16. Lutheran Augustana Synod Annual Convention, Duluth, Minn.
- June 11-18. Norwegian Lutheran Church of America Convention, Minneapolis.
- June 12-14. Finnish Suomi Lutheran Convention, Hancock, Mich.
- June 12-16. Lutheran Free Church Convention, Fargo, N. D.
- June 12-16. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Wenatchee, Wash.
- June 12-22. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
- June 13-15. Lutheran Regional Welfare Conference, Fort Wayne, Ind.
- June 14-17. United Presbyterian Church Women's General Missionary Society, Tarkio, Mo.
- June 15-20. Association of Northern Baptist Educational Institutions, Greenlake, Wis.
- June 15-22. Westminster Fellowship Caravan Training Regional Conference, Portland, Ore.
- June 15-22. Westminster Fellowship Work Conference, Labor Temple, New York City.
- June 16-25. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Helen Bush School, Seattle.
- June 17-20. Northern Baptist Convention University Pastors' Conference; National Council Baptist Youth Fellowship, Greenlake, Wis.
- June 17-22. Association of Federal Council Secretaries, Lake Geneva, Wis.
- June 17-22. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.
- June 17-Aug. 9. Augustana College Summer School of Swedish, Rock Island, Ill.
- June 18-23. Golden Jubilee Convention, United Evangelical Lutheran Church, Blair, Neb.
- June 18-23. Danish Lutheran Church Convention, Des Moines.
- June 18-24. New Jerusalem Church (Swedenborgian) Annual General Convention, Kitchener, Ont.
- June 19-23. Rock River Annual Conference, Methodist Church, Aurora, Ill.
- June 19-27. Presbyterian, U.S.A., Institute of Theology, Spokane, Wash.
- June 19-28. Methodist Youth Caravan Training Centers, Williamsport, Pa.; Sioux City, Iowa.
- June 20-26. School of Missions, Winona Lake, Ind.
- June 20-28. Northern Baptist Convention National Youth Conference, Greenlake, Wis.
- June 21-29. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations (including high school division), Durham, N. H.
- June 22-23. National Federation of Men's Bible Classes Annual Conference, Ocean Grove, N. J.
- June 22-29. Westminster Fellowship Caravan Training Regional Conferences, Bowling Green, Ohio; Dubuque, Iowa; San Francisco.
- June 22-29. Westminster Fellowship Work Conference, Camp Arcola, Collegeville, Pa.
- June 23-26. Michigan Council of Churches Conference on Christian Social Action, Kalamazoo.
- June 23-30. Christian Action Conference, Winona Lake, Ind.
- June 23-July 2. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations (including high school division), Mills College, Oakland, Calif.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

U n d e n o m i n a t i o n a l

VOLUME LXIII

CHICAGO, JUNE 12, 1946

NUMBER 24

EDITORIAL

MOST of the comment on recent elections in Europe has stressed the fortunes of the various Communist parties. Thus, the Czechoslovak election has been said to show that the Communist party is gaining power in the country of Masaryk and Benes; the French election that the Communists there are slipping; and the Italian election that, despite popular repudiation of the monarchy, the Communists there are still a long way from being ready to grasp the helm of state. All these interpretations are true enough, but it may be doubted whether they point to the most significant fact in current European developments. This, we believe, is the increasing tendency for the European political struggle to define itself as a division between the Communist parties on the extreme left and Roman Catholic parties as champions of a center or right-of-center policy. In Czechoslovakia the election has left a struggle between the Communists, dominant in Bohemia and in the national parliament, and the Catholic party, dominant in Slovakia. In France the Popular Republican party, with its Catholic orientation, will find its new leadership of the Constituent Assembly directly challenged by the Communists. And in Italy the Christian Democrats, the Catholic party which headed last week's poll, will face its greatest opposition from a Communist-Socialist combination largely under Communist leadership. To an extent never before known in modern politics, Europe seems to be moving toward a struggle between church parties committed to cautious social change and extreme Marxist parties seeking immediate and far-reaching social revolution.

Senate Approves Civilian Control of the Atom

TEN MONTHS after the first atomic bomb blasted humanity into a new age, the United States Senate unanimously approved the McMahon bill and sent it to the House of Representatives. Since the measure provides for complete civilian control of the development of atomic energy, it is clear that the army has lost the first round of its

fight to keep the new form of energy in military hands. The nation's scientists, on the other hand, have won a resounding if not yet decisive victory. This is the more significant in view of the fact that a year ago scientific opinion apparently did not carry a feather's weight in the scale of politics. The McMahon bill as sent to the lower house closely follows the recommendations of the Acheson commission of the department of state. It will thus probably not require extensive alteration when the United Nations is ready to propose a plan for international development. The Senate's bill places the control and development of atomic energy in the hands of a five-man civilian commission, which will be advised by nine civilian scientists and by atomic energy committees of each house of Congress. The military branches of government will appoint a liaison board, but the only authority this board can exercise is to appeal to the President if the commission acts in a manner not to its liking. The measure may of course be radically altered in the House, and it can be taken for granted that the foes of civilian control will now stage a last-ditch battle to gain their ends. The votes of representatives on this issue ought therefore to be watched with care. Of all the legislation which is before them for decision, no bill is more important than this.

Experimental Bomb's Effects Covered Continent

CONGRESSIONAL delay in dealing with the frightful potentialities of atomic destruction has called forth from many quarters a succession of warnings to the American people concerning the shape of things to come. The fact that the warnings have not been heeded emphasizes the seriousness of the situation which now comes to focus in the House. Recently the Eastman Kodak Company reported on the results of several months of investigation into the reasons for the mysterious fogging of shipments of x-ray film. It has discovered that the detonation of the first experimental bomb in New Mexico spread radioactive by-products over an area as great as the continent of Australia. Strawboard made three to eight weeks after the Los Alamos explosion in plants hundreds of miles away was

impregnated by beta rays which were spread by stratospheric winds and precipitated into the middle west by rain. Film packed in boxes made from the strawboard was fogged. The same report revealed that the radioactivity of air in Maryland rose to a peak of almost twice normal sixty hours after the New Mexico blast. This in itself was not dangerous, since the normal radioactivity of air must be multiplied by 10,000 to imperil human life. But what would happen to humanity and to every other living thing if bombs a thousand times as powerful—such as are said to be now available—were released in a barrage? Even planes with a range which would carry them around the earth would not protect a nation from the effects of destruction loosed at an enemy. Now Representative Albert Thomas, Texas Democrat, has told the House of Representatives that the United States has a weapon "far more deadly than the atomic bomb." While he did not specify what it is, the fact that it was developed by the navy's bureau of medicine led Washington reporters to believe that it is a form of bacteriological warfare. So we blunder toward extinction, deaf to all warnings and blindly preparing for the struggle in which we, like Samson, will pull down the temple on our own heads.

Molotov Raises Cry of Encirclement

AMERICANS who heard Secretary Byrnes describe the recent conference of foreign ministers at Paris will scarcely recognize Mr. Molotov's report as applying to the same meeting. Yet they had better treat the Molotov report—which filled seven columns in the *New York Times* of May 28—with the gravity it deserves, for it shows how the top figures in the Russian government view the present world situation and why that situation is deteriorating so rapidly toward war. So far as the mind of the Kremlin is concerned, Mr. Molotov has lifted the iron curtain. We know now what the men who make Russian policy are thinking, and what they presently will have the hordes of Russian people thinking. The revelation is extremely disquieting. Fundamentally, Mr. Molotov's account of the recent conference boils down to a charge that at Paris there was finally revealed an Anglo-American understanding to encircle and thwart the Soviet Union. He does not charge that there is any formal agreement to this effect, but he does insist that it is a working fact which Russia must make the premise of all its international relations. Proof that this working arrangement exists, the Russian foreign minister contends, was supplied at Paris by the American reaching out for bases in all parts of the world (on what basis, he asks, does the United States claim that its security requires a base in Iceland?) and by the way in which Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes backed each other up on questions of the Mediterranean and the Italian colonies. In Mr. Molotov's eyes, every move proposed by Mr. Byrnes at Paris and since was a move to trick Russia and diminish her power. The suggestion for a peace conference was an attempt to get her into a meeting where she would be outvoted 14 to 7. The suggestion for a reference of peace questions to the Assembly of the United Nations was an attempt to catch her in another meeting where she

could be sure from the start that the vote against her would be even larger. But Russia, warned Mr. Molotov, sees through this Anglo-American game, and intends to go her own way. If that breaks up the Big Four, that will be a cause for polite regret. In any event, the position of Russia as a great world power, taking second place to no other power or combination of powers, will be maintained.

Dulles Proposes a Russian Policy

HAVING SEEN how the world situation looks to the Russians, the American citizen is enabled to turn it around and see how it looks to a thoroughly informed, peace-dedicated Christian statesman in the United States. In *Life* magazine for June 3 and 10 John Foster Dulles, chairman of the Federal Council's commission on a just and durable peace, outlines the present state of American-Russian relations and tells what he thinks must be done to avoid an approaching tragedy. It is impossible in this brief compass to do justice to the Dulles articles; every responsible American should read them in full and give them the careful pondering they deserve. In his first article Mr. Dulles argues that both Soviet ideology and power politics are bringing the U. S. S. R. to the verge of an open break with the capitalist world, whose leadership is now in the hands of America. In his second he outlines five steps which he believes the United States should take in order to convince the realists in the Kremlin that a change in their policy would be to Russia's own advantage. These steps, in order, would be: (1) a rededication of this nation to a vital belief in the God who wills freedom for his children; (2) positive action to advance the social welfare of all who live within the capitalist orbit; (3) maintenance by the United States of a strong military establishment; (4) economic and humanitarian aid for the needy portions of the earth, including the countries of our recent enemies; (5) just treatment for the occupied countries. We agree with all save the third of these proposals. In that instance we fear that Mr. Dulles has embraced the fallacy of the generals and admirals, failing to see that any nation with a monopoly of the atom bomb is armed beyond need for mass armies or more battleships. But the articles as a whole are of the utmost importance. There is no panic in them, and no war-mongering. But there is a sober appraisal of an exceedingly serious and dangerous situation, and one which, it is impossible not to feel, the author fears is likely to become worse before it becomes better.

Argentina Acts to Bar Protestants

SEVERAL WEEKS ago Dr. George P. Howard charged, in an article in these pages, that one of the most powerful factors contributing to the victory of Colonel Perón in the Argentine election was the support given the fascist-minded colonel by Roman Catholic elements in that country. (See "What Happened in Argentina's Election" in our issue for April 24.) The charge was vigorously denied by a portion of the Catholic press in this country, and Dr. Howard, despite his Argentinian citizenship, was accused of everything from invincible ignorance to down-

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right mendacity. On June 2, however, we discovered, tucked away in two inches on page 21 of the *Chicago Sun*, an Associated Press dispatch from Buenos Aires which stated that a new decree "forbade the establishment of new Protestant missions or churches to work among the Indians [in Argentina] and required that in the future all Protestant sects must be approved by the local Catholic bishop before they can deal with the government." Most newspapers, we are told, did not print the item at all. Did yours? Its significance is clear. It shows how close is the understanding between the Perón regime and the Roman Church authorities, and how swiftly this regime has acted to place all Protestant work in Argentina at the mercy of the Roman hierarchy. It also indicates that the campaign launched three years ago by the hierarchy in the United States to end Protestant growth in Latin America has not been abandoned, but is a lively and growing threat.

Siam Seeks Aid from United Nations

SIAM has made formal application for admission to the United Nations as a member state. Coming on top of that country's repeated complaints against France for violation of Siamese territorial integrity, this application confronts the world organization with the necessity of making an important decision concerning peace in Asia. The French claim that they are merely reclaiming territory that Siam took with the aid of Japan during the war. The Siamese rebuttal is that the areas in dispute were originally attached to Siam and were alienated during the period of French imperialist expansion. Her government maintains that it is placed at a serious disadvantage in upholding its cause in this dispute with France because it is barred from participation in the United Nations. That this is a fact can hardly be doubted. It points up the urgency which lies upon the United Nations to universalize its membership at the earliest possible moment. So long as small nations such as Siam and Korea remain in effect outside the world organization, they are defenseless against the rapacity of empires whose long traditions of ruthless imperialist expansion still operate wherever they are given an opportunity to do so with impunity. Every such spot therefore becomes the breeding place for war, and war, once started anywhere, is likely to engulf everybody. The United States, which never declared war on Siam, should champion its immediate admission to the United Nations. France is reported to have asked for British-American intervention to settle the border dispute. Some sort of agreement might be reached by this method, but an opportunity to strengthen the United Nations would be lost. Neither the United Nations nor the United States at this juncture can afford to miss a single opportunity to strengthen world organization.

'Uncle Sam in the Slave Trade

OF ALL the horrible conditions left by the war, none can surpass in infamy the conduct of the nations which claimed to be fighting for freedom and have followed their victory by making slaves of their prisoners.

Press reports state that the United States has just about completed divesting itself of its last German prisoners, with the final 118,000 landing in England to take up forced labor there. Another 34,000 are being transferred from Canada, and a smaller number from prison camps in Europe. In England these prisoners are being put to work on farms, in factories and in mines. Their employers pay the government the prevailing wages for the work they do, which generally runs from \$15 to \$20 a week. The government pays the unskilled prisoners 10 cents a day, and the skilled twice that. Then it pockets the difference. It is estimated that the government will make a profit of about \$250,000,000 a year on the transaction. Prisoners are being forced to labor on even worse terms in France. It is generally believed that Russia is holding 2,000,000 war captives in labor battalions, and that any who come through the experience alive will have reason to account themselves lucky. Since the facts about this slave labor began to come to light, there has been a widespread tendency to excoriate the part being played by our allies, especially the British. It certainly seems that a socialist government could find a better way to add a quarter-billion to its treasury. But what right has the United States to throw stones? If Britain and France—not to mention Russia—are slave drivers, what are we but slave traders? We must shoulder the responsibility for having sent our prisoners into this bondage. This whole terrible business proves how brutalized the conscience of Western man has been by the war. Every nation concerned has cause to be ashamed of itself. And every Christian in every nation concerned should register his protest with his government.

Vatican Reorganizes Church in China

BY A DECREE dated April 11 but just now published, the Vatican released the Roman Catholic Church in China from missionary status. Henceforth it is to be governed by its own hierarchy, which will be headed by Thomas Cardinal Tien. Cardinal Tien, the first of his race to be appointed to the cardinalate, will rule the new national church from Peiping. The church will consist of twenty ecclesiastical provinces, each with its own archbishop. Beneath them 79 suffragan bishops will serve the expanding responsibilities of the church throughout the country. The Roman Catholic Church in China therefore attains the status which was accorded to the church in the United States as recently as 1908. The pronounced expansion of the American church in the generation which has followed its reorganization here is likely to be repeated now in the Far Eastern republic, which already has twice as many Catholic as Protestant adherents. What does this step imply as to the future of evangelical Christianity in the most populous nation in the world? The answer depends in considerable part on the policies adopted by the mission boards of British and American churches, and particularly by the latter. If the mission boards do not accelerate the movement for the establishment on a firm foundation of the Church of Christ in China, if they do not greatly strengthen the National Christian Council in that country, it means that the influence of evangelical

faith will certainly decline in the next generation. There is already a tendency in some quarters to consider that the end of the war should signalize a return to "missions as usual." The action of the Vatican ought to put a stop to that nonsense, and for good.

The Dawn of Baptist Unity

THE MOST IMPORTANT recent event in the life of any Protestant denomination in this country has been the achievement by the Northern Baptist Convention of a solid basis for unity in its own ranks and for cooperation with other churches. The totally unexpected thing that happened at the Baptists' annual gathering in Grand Rapids was described in the news pages of *The Christian Century* last week. The details need not be repeated here. It is sufficient to recall that when the convention opened this denomination stood trembling on the edge of disaster. When it closed, the denomination emerged unified, confident and grateful to Providence for unfolding a series of events and developing a spirit which no one contrived or even conceived as possible. What had brought to pass this change?

Most of the 4,400 delegates approached Grand Rapids with minds full of grave questions concerning each other and doubts concerning the immediate future of their denomination. These questions grew out of the expectation that at this convention the organized fundamentalists would climax with complete or partial success their years of effort to overturn a cooperative denominational policy and to overthrow a leadership which acted on its belief that the denomination should behave in an orderly, forbearing and Christian manner. Only a few believed that such a victory would settle anything. Years of deepening controversy seemed inescapable. But how could the denomination go on as a house divided against itself? And if it divided, as partisans at both extremes openly advocated, how could the two remnants hope to deal with issues whose magnitude was felt to be too great even for a united denomination?

The main body of Baptist delegates therefore came to this year's convention deeply troubled. They asked themselves whether it was inevitable that a denomination which cherished the autonomy of the local church must necessarily be victimized by every determined minority that refused to be bound by scruples against the use of pressure group methods. The circumstances presented by fundamentalist action prior to and in Grand Rapids left them no alternative but to try to raise a defense against such methods. It is now clear that they succeeded, preserving at the same time the principles which run deep in Baptist tradition. They succeeded by achieving a conception of the church which transcended the localism of complete congregational sovereignty by including the freedom of the local church in a higher principle of unity. That principle not only makes it possible for Baptists to work together more effectively than they have done but also to cooperate with other Christians as a matter of conviction rather than of sufferance and expediency.

Two solutions to tendencies toward disunity, which had reached a climax, were offered to the Grand Rapids convention. The first was creedal. Fundamentalists declared that separatistic tendencies made it no longer possible for the denomination to trust its missionaries and secretaries when they affirm their faith in Christ and in his gospel. So they held that the church must spell out its understanding of the gospel in the precise terms of a creed. Unity was to be achieved by requiring the representatives of the several agencies to sign on the dotted line. The alternative which was chosen was organic, not verbal. It equipped the convention with a strength it had not previously possessed to make it the genuinely representative voice and arm of Northern Baptists. In choosing this alternative, the convention became in fact and in its constitution a body which decided on the basis of full and free democratic discussion the necessary fundamental questions of faith and order as well as of life and work.

The significant thing which happened at Grand Rapids was the emergence of the convention as the Baptist churches in deliberation, in prayer and in action. No other interpretation adequately explains the decisions reached on a variety of issues. Chief among these was the establishment of what was there referred to, somewhat inaptly, as proportional representation. This was the decision that henceforth local churches shall be represented in the convention on the basis of their participation in the work of the denomination. If the church supports the missionary, educational and benevolence program of the denomination fully, it is accorded representation in the convention by the full number of delegates to which the size of its membership entitles it. If, on the other hand, the church gives nine-tenths of its support to movements and persons which cannot meet the standards or achieve the purposes democratically set by the convention, the church is entitled to only one-tenth of the representation in the convention which it would otherwise have.

The remarkable reintegration which set in as soon as this decision was reached marks a great forward step in a far-reaching process of unification. It is only fair to state that this process has been going on ever since the formation of the Northern Baptist Convention in 1907. Previous to that time the national agencies had held competing "May meetings" at which decisions essential to the cooperative work of the churches were reached. The convention brought all these agencies together for the first time only a generation ago. But they still competed in their appeals to the local churches on which they all depended. So in 1920, partly as a result of the Interchurch World Movement, the joint convention set up a unified budget. Claims for support were thereafter passed upon in their relation to each other by representatives of churches which rightly saw that separate Christian enterprises must acknowledge their relationship to the one great task of bringing the world to Christ.

It is no accident that the rise of the fundamentalist movement in the denomination dates from this time. On the basis of a narrow biblicism the fundamentalists sought to put a stop to the evolution of the convention as the voice of the whole denomination. They sought to prevent it from speaking on the issues which all the churches confront together and reaching decisions which are essential

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if their mission is to be carried out in the world. During the short generation which followed, they repeatedly challenged a trend which is inherent in the nature of the Christian church. The fact that they found no other explanation for this trend than their claim that it was produced by board secretaries' thirst for power reveals the limitations of their understanding of what was happening before their eyes. For it was not the boards but the denomination which was emerging and bringing the boards themselves into line with its inclusive mission.

This does not mean that Baptists have now embarked on a course which will destroy the integrity of the local church. The opposite is true. The fundamentalists discovered this when they attempted to tamper with the representation of local churches at Grand Rapids by disfranchising the small group of representatives elected by these churches who happened to be board secretaries. They failed in this, as they did also in their opposition to giving local churches the right to vote in the convention on the basis of their proportionate contribution to the common task. Furthermore, any church which makes any contribution to the work of the church is still entitled to one representative, no matter how small its contribution. Other safeguards, long embedded in historic Baptist procedure, assure the local church that it is not to be overwhelmed in a system in which it has no check on the actions of the denomination. But the issue which is now decided, and decided we believe for good, is that Baptists are no longer shut up within the narrow limitations of localism, but may act unitedly on the great issues which call upon the church of Christ to rise and fulfill its divine purpose.

It is important that the action at Grand Rapids be not misunderstood from another angle. Some of the "liberals" of the denomination, notably some of the members of the Roger Williams Fellowship, hailed the events of the convention as a victory for what has been called modernism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The convention decided against the program of fundamentalism, but it did not thereby commit itself to any other extreme in theological thought. The modernist position was not even presented to the convention. The reason, as Professor Sidney Mead of the University of Chicago reminded the Roger Williams Fellowship at its final meeting, is found in the fact that "liberals" disagree among themselves and are "in perpetual confusion concerning . . . the great issues of our time." He rightly reminded his hearers that "the real issue today is theological" and insisted that "you are not facing the real issue before our generation and you have got to do it or make the Baptist churches of this country progressively irrelevant to this century."

Protestants throughout America will rejoice that the Northern Baptist Convention has at last achieved a basis for the reintegration of its life as a church. This was signaled by the convention's overwhelming endorsement of the denomination's continuance in and support for the Federal Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches, which represents a victory for all Protestantism. Baptist disunity has long constituted a major source of weakness in all cooperative effort. While this will continue so long as the Southern Baptist Convention persists in regarding itself as nothing more than an isolated sectional body, a strong infusion of new vigor into the whole struc-

ture of cooperative Christianity may now be expected as a result of the Grand Rapids convention.

The significant thing about what happened at Grand Rapids is not the completeness of the answers there hammered out on the great issues which face all churches, the Baptist included, today. Some questions were answered, definitely and fully. Others found a partial answer. Still others remain to be defined as well as worked out. But a beginning was made when all were cast in a new light by the events of the convention. Those events have had no parallel in recent Protestant history. They have already produced an amazing change in Baptist minds. That change can only be described as the rebirth of faith as a result of the achievement of a basis for unity.

Labor and the Public Welfare

THE NATION should rejoice that sober second thought in the Senate has saved it from the disastrous labor legislation which a wrathful President and a stampeded House almost rushed into law. But although the immediate danger of irremediable legislative folly has passed, and though the great strikes in coal and transportation have ended, the American people are right in their instinctive feeling that the effects of the industrial crisis of recent weeks will be felt for a long time to come. The great strikes, and the public reaction to them, may not have ushered in a social revolution for the United States. It is too early to be sure about that. But they certainly had revolutionary significance, and it is time all of us did some hard, sustained thinking about what has happened and what it means.

A few years ago one of the church organizations published a book entitled *The New World of Labor*. We don't remember who wrote it, or who published it, or anything about it except the title. But that title keeps coming back to mind these days, for it is clear that the country is now forced to reckon with a "new world of labor." The union labor that industry and government have been dealing with ever since the start of the automobile strike is a very different entity from the union labor of, say, a decade ago. This is labor with a new sense of power. Its membership is five times what it was in 1933. Much of it is organized in mass unions which have proved their ability to conduct mass strikes tying up basic industries across the entire country.

There are some who still fail to see how different a complexion this new world of labor gives the industrial struggle. The mass, or industrial, union quickly accumulates a large treasury, is able to command almost perfect discipline from its members, and can face the largest units of corporate power with a power of at least equal strength. In recent major strikes, so complete has been this union discipline that frequently the strikers have not employed more than token picket lines and employers have made almost no efforts to recruit strike-breakers. Had the crisis been long continued, the one exception might have come in the railway strike, where labor clings to the traditional pattern of a score of craft unions within a single industry, their

multiplicity tempting management to try to play one craft off against another. But the very absence of violence in this year's great strikes has testified to the solidarity in the labor ranks once battle has been joined.

What does this mean to the national economy? From labor's standpoint, it means that there are now a number of unions able not only completely to tie up major industries but, because of the interdependence of our modern industrialized society, to bring the entire national production and distribution system to a standstill. Labor theorists have long talked of a day when that might be accomplished; now it is a fact. Of course, it gives the entire labor movement a new feeling of power. Power is a heady wine. There is no guarantee that union leaders will always use it wisely. On the contrary, there is every reason to expect that there will be times when they will abuse it.

On the other hand, there are still great portions of the nation's industrial management which are not prepared to admit that this change in the character of the unions has brought a corresponding change in the nature of the industrial problem. Too many industries persist in trying to deal with employment issues as though these were still the good old days when the workers in a factory here, a mine there, a single railroad or small group of railroads yonder walked out. They still think that the dominant political power in this country is in the keeping of a combination of business and farmers. Most Republicans, for example, apparently cling to a belief that the way for their party to get back into office is by wooing the power of that combination. Presently they will wake up, as the politically prescient Franklin D. Roosevelt did years ago, to realize that the political and economic balance has shifted.

How is the nation to deal with this shift? Old-line leaders, both in industry and in the unions, continue to think in terms of collective bargaining, negotiations across a clearly drawn battleline, and if necessary strikes. There has, to be sure, been opposition to strikes in the past, but this has come mainly from "idealists" who have had little contact either with the men who run the corporations or with those who direct the unions. Political liberals and social-gospel church leaders have accepted collective bargaining as the one sure means of attaining industrial justice and have defended strikes, in the event such bargaining breaks down, as labor's final answer to the coercive power of great capital.

In the present situation, however, collective bargaining is no longer in any true sense bargaining. Just as there was no true bargaining when a corporation could say to the unorganized worker, "Work on our terms or we will leave your wife and children a prey to hunger," so now there is none when the president of a union can say, "Give us what we demand or we will leave the nation's cities a prey to hunger." Any "bargaining" done under such conditions is a contract signed under duress. Strikes to enforce such bargaining cannot be endured because of the punishment which they inflict on the total community.

Appalled by the effects of such mass strikes, which make domestic wars in industry almost as destructive as the total wars of international conflict, the public demands government action. Let there be new methods of fact-finding; let required cooling-off periods be lengthened; work out new methods for speeding up labor board hearings and

giving more authority to decisions thus reached. Some even go beyond such demands to call for compulsory arbitration and limitations on the right to strike in certain industries. But the events of recent days should have shown how slender are all such protections of the public interest, no matter how multiplied. If the Case bill, for example, as passed by Congress, had been in effect, there is no reason to believe that it would have headed off a single one of the recent mass strikes. And attempts to limit the right to strike or to enforce arbitral awards are bound finally to run up against the inalienable right of the worker to refuse to work. If that goes, democracy goes, and the United States becomes a police state, a slave state.

What is the answer? Neither political leadership, as exemplified by Mr. Truman and Congress, nor liberal thinking, including what passes for that in the economics and sociology departments of our colleges, seems to have any answer. All they can propose is modifications, which they hope will turn out to be improvements, in methods of bargaining and of balancing coercions. But that is to agree that industry is to continue to exist in a state of warfare and to try to control the eternal conflict by regulating the weapons. It is like trying to draw up new rules for the protection of civilians in an atomic war. However, labor has no more to offer, except from a very few of its younger leaders, of whom only the Reuther brothers have so far risen to national prominence.

Of course the communists have their answer. They would end the war by establishing a proletarian state, with all power in the hands of the workers. But that requires warfare until all ownership is liquidated and a state bureaucracy capable of imposing unimaginable tyranny imposed. Let those who think this would produce some sort of democratic order because it would be called a workers' state ask in how many unions even now the rank-and-file has any real control. In a few, yes; but not in many. There are afloat few more fantastic fairy tales than the ideas of what goes on in the actual running of most labor unions held by the average liberal churchman.

There is likewise the old-line socialist, or social democratic, answer. But for that one must look to England or possibly France. It has never won the support of any large number of Americans either because it involves government ownership on a vast scale with consequent proliferation of bureaucracy and chances for graft and political favoritism, or because it offers what is essentially no more than refined methods of industrial warfare tempered by social services such as old age pensions, accident benefits and the like. As long ago as 1932 John Strachey showed the fallacy of this answer in his still cogent *The Coming Struggle for Power*.

The answer, we are convinced, must be sought in another direction. Our readers by this time are familiar with the direction in which we believe that answer to lie. We believe that American industry will continue to be a battlefield, with the public increasingly the victim of this domestic warfare, unless ways are found to bring labor fully into the tasks of management. Management today is not ownership. The entire board of directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation, for example, holds only 12/100ths of 1 per cent of the common and 14/1000ths of 1 per cent of the preferred stock. This represents far too small an interest to

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establish any claim to exclusive right of management. Labor certainly has an equal interest, or a greater. Moreover, with its new power labor must be given a greater sense of responsibility to the welfare of the total community and to the problems which, in this exceedingly complex and interdependent world, management must face.

The air is full of talk these days about making labor more responsible. Most of this talk is aimed, as was a large part of the Case bill, at making unions keep open books and abide by their contracts. But the constructive way to achieve this desirable end will be not by subjecting the unions to various forms of police control—most of which can be easily circumvented—but by setting labor in the seats of productive and distributive management, along with the financiers and technicians hired by ownership, or by the state if private ownership is finally adjudged too expensive for the public welfare. Made responsible to keep the national economy a going concern, labor can then be expected not only to protect the worker's legitimate interests but in so doing to protect the public interest. And the devastating psychology of a ceaseless class war will be broken.

Does this mean an advocacy of some form of syndicalism, an American version of Mussolini's corporate state? Certainly not. What we have in mind is diametrically different. It is voluntary action on the part of all corporately owned industry employing organized labor whereby union workers would be granted the right to elect to boards of directors in numbers proportionate to the relation of the workers' payroll to the income of the corporation. In this way the independent competitive status of business units would be preserved, the sense of labor union responsibility enhanced, and the element of state coercion reduced to a minimum. In the case of business associations covering the operations of entire industries, the same protection of labor's interests and extension of labor's responsibility would be gained by elections of delegates by and from the corporation boards on which labor representatives were sitting.

To be sure, traditional labor leaders of the John L. Lewis stripe say they have no interest in associating labor in management. They say they don't want it. Mr. Lewis has never cared what happened to the public as the result of mine strikes. He greets the recent victory of the miners' union with the same philosophy with which he has greeted every earlier victory: Let the added costs to the companies be passed on to the consumers. But that is an outworn attitude. It is as outworn as that of an ownership or management which says, "If they think they can lick us, let them try." For it is not the "us" of ownership that is licked; it is the "us" of the common public interest.

We do not call for introduction of organized labor into the responsibilities of management as a sure cure for all the ills which afflict our national economy. But we do believe that if adopted it would prove a factor of infinite benefit, and that it would operate to protect and promote the widest possible range of interests—workers, management, ownership and the general public. Of one thing the events of these past weeks have convinced us. Big business in the United States (and that includes big unions) must get away from this present battlefield psychology or

the nation will presently find itself involved in a state of affairs where its only choice will appear to lie between chaos and tyranny.

A Correspondence

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: If I ever became an Editor of a paper, during its brief life under this rule much would be made of the Correspondence Columns. (Cheers!—Ed.) Readers in England, for example, always turn to the letters in the *Times* not only for their enlightenment but for their diversion. It seems as if there are an innumerable company of statesmen, scholars, sportsmen, industrial leaders, men of letters of all kinds, waiting to seize a pen and join in the conversation in the *Times*, whatever the subject may be. If the world is dark, there are still bursts of merriment to be heard from behind those pages.

Here for example is one gravity-removing letter from a series upon "Testimonials": "Strong young donkey for sale; has done complete work of country clergyman." This is described as a favorite with the late Lord Oxford, better known still as Mr. Asquith. Someone began it; then others took up the trail. They capped each other's examples especially of two-edged testimonials. The two-edgedness is illustrated in the story told of a well known headmaster. To a friend he said: "I am going to write a testimonial for that man Jones. What *can* I say?" The visitor: "Jones is slippery and obstinate." "Thank you so much," said the headmaster. "The very thing!" And he wrote: "He is firm and suave."

I am afraid that any shock your tender conscience would suffer at the revelation such practices cast upon the exalted claims made for candidates will long ago have ceased. You and I have had testimonials which make us blush. "If you saw your own gravestone, you would think you had got to the wrong grave." And what if we were the victims of some two-edged words, and our friends tore their hair before they wrote those words which brought such a glow of hope to us long ago! But then let him that is without sin among us cast the first stone.

You must have had occasion to sit upon boards occupied with the selection of headmasters or preachers or heads of departments: the first startling fact that is revealed to you is the unsuspected wealth of genius there is all around you. Long lists of persons, backed by testimonials some of which would seem exaggerated if used of Henry Ward Beecher or—I must not name any of the living, yet they are there thick on the table as the leaves of autumn. Another shock follows when you interview the chosen and find them not quite up to sample. Good, no doubt, but not *so* good! It may be the hand of friendship that wrote, or—horrid thought!—it may be the two-edged work of someone who wrote because this man wore him out. A sure sign of an uneasy conscience enters when the writer inserts, "to the best of my knowledge." Of course, but why say it?

Ever yours sincerely,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Can Protestantism Win America?
Eleventh Article in Series

The Wasted Power of Protestantism

By Charles Clayton Morrison

POTENTIALLY, Protestantism is enormously strong, yet it is pathetically weak. It is not weak in the sense that it lacks either the spiritual or material resources to win America to the Christian faith. Its weakness is relative to its great strength and is to be measured by contrast with its strength. Protestantism is weak because it does not use its strength; it lacks the will to use it. It huddles in sectarian groups each of which calls itself a "church" and acts as a church, arrogating to itself all the functions and prerogatives of the ecumenical church of Christ. Its strength is not brought to bear in a total impact upon American mentality, which is now shaped into mass molds by a relatively few huge blocs of secular interest. Protestantism in its present state is no match for this America.

So long as its denominations continue to function as autonomous "churches," Protestantism cannot command the public respect which its enormous potential resources and the dignity of the Christian religion should command. Its fragmented and atomized ecclesiasticisms are helpless before the solidarities in which the secular interests of contemporary life now mold American mentality. These denominational "churches" evoke hardly more than a polite gesture of respect from the community. The public in general takes condescending note of their "sincerity" but is not impressed by the religion they profess to represent. This courteous condescension of the local and national community toward the denominational "churches" ought at least to gripe the pride of Protestantism if it does not stab its conscience wide awake.

I

Protestantism has lacked the will to be strong. It has even cultivated a perverse psychology which makes a virtue of weakness. Because it sees Catholicism possessed of a wrong kind of power, a power that is essentially evil and incompatible with both Christianity and democracy, Protestantism pretends to shrink from the right kind of power and takes refuge in a pious rationalization of weakness. It lulls itself into complacency by intoning such texts of Scripture as: "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord," interpreting this as God's sanction of weakness in the human organs upon which even He must depend for the triumph of his Spirit. This interpretation has always comforted the denominations, big and little, in their huddling separatism.

And yet, paradoxically, every denominational "church" is ambitious to be as strong as it can! And as it grows stronger it is none too modest in letting the world know how strong it is. I suppose that there is not a single denomination that would not rejoice if its own growth should so far surpass all other denominations that it eventually became the whole of Protestantism—as Aaron's rod swallowed up all the rods of the sorcerers before Pharaoh. From Protestantism's becoming strong in this manner, no

denomination would shrink! But it piously pretends to shrink from allowing Protestantism to become strong in any other manner. Every attempt to release the strength which Protestantism potentially possesses has to go against the tough grain of this perverted psychology.

There is a touch of the pusillanimous about this. It is a form of escapism—an escape from responsibility. Wherever there is power there is responsibility. The two are inseparably correlative, and each is the measure of the other. Power is not an evil in itself. To shrink from being strong is to shrink from responsibility. And to shrink from responsibility is cowardice. The responsibility rests upon Protestantism, under God, to win America to the Christian faith. Its responsibility inheres in the concrete fact that it has the power to discharge it.

But Protestantism can discharge this responsibility only if it can be bombed out of the inertia of its sectarianism and, with God's help, create for itself a democratically based solidarity of fellowship in a unity of structure competent to match the magnitudes of secularism which constitute its total environment. It has the resources to win America if it will but release and mobilize them.

II

Protestantism is, numerically, far and away the ascendant religious faith in American society. Despite the enormous increase in the membership of the Roman Catholic Church, due primarily to the immigration of millions of new citizens from Catholic countries before immigration was restricted, and to a high birth rate, Protestantism still outnumbers it by more than two to one. The latest statistics show a Protestant membership of 43,000,000 and a Catholic membership of 23,000,000. But many Protestant churches do not include baptized infants in their statistics, while Catholics do. The *Year Book of American Churches* estimates the adult membership (over thirteen years of age) of Protestant and Catholic churches at more than 37,000,000 and 17,000,000, respectively. I believe the Protestant figure should be nearer 40,000,000.

The preponderant numbers of Protestantism are not a measure of its actual strength, but rather an exposure of its weakness. The value of the numerical statistics lies in their revelation of the *potential* strength of Protestantism—what Protestantism could be if it would, if it had the will to accept its responsibility and repentantly undertook, to discharge it.

In addition to its numerical strength, American Protestantism is enormously wealthy. Statistics are not available showing the total wealth of its membership. But it is safe to assume that the income of its 43,000,000 members represents, conservatively, one-third of the total income of the nation's 139,000,000 population. This assumption is fully warranted by the fact that Protestant strength is found chiefly in the middle and upper income brackets. The numerical strength of Catholicism is preponderantly

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represented in the lower income brackets. But Protestantism is very rich. If its nearly one-third of the total population received one-third of the total national income of \$125 billion in 1944, its members received over \$41 billion.

How much of this income was given to the support of their churches? It was a very large amount. Here again the figures for the whole of Protestantism are not available. But the *Year Book of American Churches* has published the amounts given to church work by nineteen denominations. The total giving of these nineteen bodies for 1944 was \$423,695,471, or an average per capita of \$16.57. This per capita average is, no doubt, fairly representative of the whole of Protestantism. On the basis of this per capita average, the total gifts of Protestants to the work of their churches amounted in 1944 to \$711,510,000. Let us take a conservative figure and say \$700,000,000.

III

From this point on, I hope especially to arrest the attention of the laity. They are the givers of this \$700,000,000. I am not concerned to moralize on the question whether their giving should be considered generous or niggardly. I am concerned only with the fact that it adds up to a tremendous sum of money. How was this huge sum spent? Every layman ought to be informed on the distribution of his and his church's gifts. The Catholic layman is not informed on such matters. All knowledge of the financing of the Roman Church is kept strictly within the most inner circle of the hierarchy. No accounting is ever given to the laity or the public. Protestantism could not tolerate such a system, and public policy in democratic America should not tolerate it in Catholicism or in any organization, secular or religious, which receives and spends voluntary contributions.

In Protestantism, there is no secrecy. All its books are open to the laity and the public. The receipts and detailed expenditures are audited by public accountants and published. The layman can have every assurance that his gifts are spent with meticulous care by the consecrated men and women to whom the local church or the denomination commits the administration of its affairs. It is not the administration of church funds that the layman needs to call in question, but *the system that is being administered*—this he ought to think about, and seriously.

Let us, for a moment, return to statistics. The Roman Catholic Church has 14,791 local churches in this country. Protestantism has 230,000 local churches. The average layman and even the average minister will read this statistical fact with a touch of pride. "I did not realize," he is likely to say, "that Protestantism was that much stronger than Catholicism. We have, then, 17½ times as many churches as Catholicism. Wonderful! Catholicism has a long way to go to catch up with us Protestants." If I dared to speak as St. Paul spoke, I would say, "Thou fool!" These figures do not indicate Protestant strength. They expose Protestant weakness.

Protestantism, with only twice the Catholic membership, supports 17½ times as many local churches. There would be occasion for satisfaction if there were as many as 230,000 cities, towns and villages in the length and breadth of this great country, and if these 230,000 Protestant

churches were distributed among them all. But this is notoriously not the case. Nearly all these churches exist side by side with other Protestant churches in small and large communities. They are not there because the community needs them, nor because Protestantism needs them, nor because Christianity needs them. They are there because each one of more than 200 denominational "churches" imagines that its peculiar brand of Protestantism ought to be propagated by the organization and maintenance of its own local churches regardless of the effect upon these communities and upon Protestant Christianity as a whole.

Now I ask the layman: Does he honestly want to give his money for that kind of thing? Can he honestly say that his denomination means so much to the Kingdom of God that he takes pride in its invasion of a community already overchurched, or that he takes pride in continuing to maintain it in his own community at the cost of continuing the division of his community into little fragments of Protestantism? That is what the layman is now doing. That is where his money goes. Most of the \$700,000,000 annually given by the Protestant laity goes to the support of this system—a system which, let it spawn as many of these churches as it will, only makes Protestantism that much weaker.

IV

Consider how this \$700,000,000 a year was spent. Eighty per cent, or \$560,000,000, was spent on the upkeep of these local churches. The remaining 20 per cent, or \$140,000,000, went for "benevolences," that is, for all purposes other than the expenses of the local church.

Look first at the local church category whose budget is \$560,000,000 a year. There is scarcely a town or village in the United States that is not scandalously overchurched. Four, five and six Protestant churches in little villages and towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants. Fourteen and even twenty churches in the typical county seat small town. Thirty and forty churches in small cities of 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. Fifty and sixty churches in cities with a population of 100,000 and 200,000—and so on up to the largest cities where every one of Protestantism's 230 denominations is likely to be represented by from two to one hundred local churches each.

Does the layman like this picture? He gives \$560,000,000 a year to produce it. Is he aware of its implications? Probably not. He is caught in the inertia of the denominational system; he is told that his denominational "church" represents the "true form of New Testament Christianity" and that "loyalty to the Bible" requires that it shall have a church in as many communities as it can invade. He does not see what this policy, pursued by all the other denominations, each of which imagines that it, too, represents the "true form of New Testament Christianity," does to Protestantism and to Christianity itself. And so he pays \$560,000,000 a year for the upkeep of local churches, fully two-thirds of which, including most probably the one of which he is himself a member, are not only supernumerary but an enfeeblement of the cause of Christ.

Any discussion of this subject addressed to the layman is admittedly delicate. I am not suggesting that he should suddenly withdraw the support he now gives to his local

church. Such a suggestion would be little short of wanton. Protestantism has these churches on its hands. They are a tremendous drag on Protestantism, a scandal in the eyes of the world and an affront to Christ who deserves a more worthy institutional embodiment in every community than any denominational local church can give him. But these churches are the bearers of something immeasurably precious—that is, Protestant Christianity itself. Protestantism exists within these churches. It has no other habitation—this is its sorry fate. And this is the sorry fate of the layman—he has no present Christian alternative but to support them.

Nevertheless, the intelligent laity who give their millions to the support of Protestant local churches have grounds for a revolt—only they must be sure that their revolt is directed at the real cause of their discontent. The real cause is not these local churches, but *the system that keeps them separate*, under the delusion that the denomination which each represents is “the true New Testament church.” Against this system and the delusion that sustains it I affirm, with an untroubled conscience, that the time has come for the laity to revolt.

In encouraging such a revolt against a system that spawns probably three times as many local churches as Protestantism needs, that keeps these local churches weak and keeps Protestantism weak, I do not intend to tell the layman that by cutting off this great economic waste he could save money! A strong Protestantism will cost as much money as a weak and wasteful Protestantism, and perhaps more. But it will be money productively spent, under a substantially curtailed overhead, and on missionary, educational, evangelistic and social enterprises competent to challenge the formidable secularism of our time.

V

We have been considering the huge amount of money which the Protestant layman gives for the upkeep of denominational local churches. This is where 80 per cent of his giving goes. We must now look briefly at the 20 per cent which goes to benevolences, that is, for all purposes other than the upkeep of the local churches. This amounts to \$140,000,000 a year. It is spent on home and foreign missions, religious education, various philanthropies, denominational overhead and a small amount on interdenominational work. The philanthropic, educational and interdenominational expenditures are, no doubt, self-justifying. But the laymen would do well to look into denominational overhead and missions.

Every one of the 230 Protestant denominations maintains a central headquarters; perhaps 100 of them maintain regional and/or state headquarters; and at least 50 of them maintain metropolitan headquarters in the larger cities of the country. These various headquarters are manned by a veritable army of bishops, presidents, secretaries of missionary, educational and benevolent departments, superintendents, editors, researchers, clerks, stenographers. Every one of these functionaries is essential to the administration of the affairs of the denomination. They are paid a scale of salaries so modest that the layman would be ashamed to operate his business upon it. The layman can be assured that denominational funds are han-

dled, not only wisely, but with meticulous care and parsimony. It is not their administration, but the sectarian system to which the layman's attention is directed—a system that requires these completely outfitted headquarters for each one of these 230 denominations.

Manifestly, from the point of view of Protestantism as a whole, there is an enormous waste in the overlapping of all this overhead. I venture to assert that a united Protestantism could administer the present activities of these denominations on an overhead budget not much larger than that which the Methodist Church alone now requires. If this statement seems too extreme, we could add the overhead budget of the Presbyterian Church to that of the Methodist, and safely say that the amount spent on the overhead of the remaining 228 denominations is a waste of the Lord's money. If we confine our observations to the 49 denominations having 50,000 or more members each, and constituting more than 90 per cent of Protestantism's total membership, our conclusion would be that the amount spent on the overhead of 47 of them is economic waste, from the standpoint of Protestantism as a whole. Does the layman like this picture?

However, he has yet to look under the overhead and ask how and for what the great bulk of this \$140,000,000 in the category of “benevolences” is expended. It is chiefly spent on foreign and home missions, than which there is no more sacred enterprise of the church of Christ. And it is wisely and economically spent, so far as its executive administration is concerned. But it is spent for the extension of the denominational system in America and in foreign lands. Is the layman duly conscious of this aspect of the missionary enterprise when he makes his gift? Probably not. He gives his money to missions with the single thought that he is helping to spread the gospel at home and abroad, as indeed he is. This central reality in the missionary enterprise must not be clouded, nor its motivation weakened, by the inquiry upon which we are engaged.

But the intelligent layman is competent to consider whether he really desires the gospel to be spread in the forms of Protestant sectarianism. He can weigh such a question without weakening his basic motive in supporting the cause of missions as such. Does he really desire to transplant our American denominations to China and India and Japan and Africa and the rest of the non-Christian world—these denominations which are in a process of decaying significance at home and which have no meaning at all in foreign lands? The missionaries do not want them transplanted. They are hobbled by their denominational constraints. The people to whom they bring the gospel are confused and bewildered by them. The missionaries of all our more enlightened denominations are protesting against the necessity of operating in this sectarian framework. On every occasion, they speak almost as one voice, pleading for an ecumenical Protestantism at home so that they can carry an ecumenical Christian gospel and establish only an ecumenical church abroad.

I do not wish to overemphasize the economic waste in the sectarian administration of the missionary enterprise, though it deserves strong emphasis. But the spiritual or Christian imperative which the missionaries and the young churches in mission lands lay upon American Protestant-

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ism to administer the missionary enterprise ecumenically is so manifest that it dwarfs all other considerations.

VI

The expenditures for home missions—that is, the extension of denominational churches in the United States—should be subjected to the same examination as we have suggested in the case of foreign missions. Of the annual \$140,000,000 given by the Protestant churches to “benevolences,” the proportion allocated to home missions varies in the various denominations. In some it is larger, in others less, than the foreign missions budget. But in each denomination it is a substantial amount. The economic waste involved in the maintenance of 230 separate denominational agencies for the administration of home missions is the same, in effect, if not in amount, as in the case of foreign missions. But here, too, the Christian imperative for an ecumenical administration far transcends in importance the economic waste involved in its sectarian administration, though this also deserves emphasis.

In examining home missions we are thrown back to a further consideration of local churches; for the chief function of home missions is to establish and maintain local churches in communities where the denomination is not yet represented. All the considerations involved in our previous discussion of local churches in general apply here. Upon the home mission enterprise rests the responsibility of having largely created the unconscionable overlapping and competitive condition of Protestant churches in the now settled communities of the land. These churches were, in large numbers, fostered and sustained by home mission money until they became self-supporting. Each denomination still carries on in the same way, but with a slight difference. Happily, the picture is not quite so dark as it used to be. The stirrings of a new conscience are becoming manifest. The sharp thrust of denominational ambition is being appreciably blunted by the emergence of the first gleams of this new conscience.

The enlightened leaders of Protestantism are becoming aware of the reproach that falls upon Christianity by the competitive presence of these supernumerary churches in local communities. Steps have been taken to bring the home mission activities of the various denominations into some kind of accord under a policy of courtesy or mutual forbearance—so-called “comity”—in the allocation of new communities to this or that denomination. For example, if the Methodists will agree to leave this new community to the Presbyterians, the Presbyterians will leave that other new community to the Methodists. This principle of “comity” deserves every encouragement. At best, however, it has only a marginal and temporizing application. It leaves untouched the older communities which the denominations previously invaded with utter disregard of the welfare of Protestantism as a whole. And it leaves these new churches in new communities saddled with the incubus of their sectarian connection and character.

VII

That the laity, by and large, sense the folly of the denominational system has been proved in some 2,500 local communities where so-called “community churches” have been organized, mostly within the past generation. This

movement could quite accurately be called a laymen's revolt. It is inspired, negatively, by their disillusionment with denominationalism and by the desire to keep the denominations out, and positively, by the aspiration for a local church embodying ecumenical Christianity. The tragedy of these churches is that there exists no inclusive ecumenical Protestant church to mother them, to which they could give their allegiance. The result is that they have to carry on as orphan churches, or establish some tenuous connection with one of the denominations. In either case, they are unhappily conscious of their nondescript status. Their predicament is at last arresting the attention of Protestant leaders who are cooperating with their leaders to find a solution which will not drive them back into the denominational system.

A further proof of discontent among the laity is found in the numerous mergers of two existing local churches of different denominations in a sort of local federal union which preserves a connection with both denominations. Such mergers are usually prompted by laymen. These mergers represent the same ecumenical aspiration that informs the community church. They, too, lack the consciousness of *belonging*, a lack which is only intensified by their “belonging” to two different denominations instead of one. What they pathetically long for, though their longing may be inarticulate, is to be integrated in an ecumenical Protestantism which transcends all denominational “churches” and which, as an ecclesiastical mother, would save them from the blight of localism on the one hand and an amphibian division of denominational loyalty on the other.

I cannot express too strongly my belief that the laity of Protestantism, by and large, are profoundly dissatisfied with the sectarian order which constricts their faith, their fellowship and their mission in narrow, exclusive and increasingly meaningless denominational “churches.” No message evokes from an assemblage of laymen so ardent a response as does the call for a united Protestantism. This is true in every part of the country and in every denomination, including the most conservative and traditional-minded. In their hearts, Protestant Christians are ecumenical, not sectarian. They want to see a strong Protestantism come into existence. Even among the most denomination-conscious groups, such as the Southern Baptists and the Episcopalians, a visiting speaker on this theme, representing another denomination, finds himself lured into unintended frankness by the hearty response to his message calling for an ecumenical Protestantism. Only the ecclesiastics, and by no means all of them, frown and look down their noses.

Surely Protestantism is not permanently condemned to the fate which now holds it in the bondage of sectarian impotence. Is there no hope that its leaders—its parish clergy, its bishops, its huge secretariat, its theologians, its editors of denominational organs will free themselves from the narrow limitations of an official headquarters mentality and look out upon Protestantism as a whole? “The world is my parish,” said John Wesley. What Protestantism now needs is that the leaders of its denominations shall say, more modestly, but more realistically, “Protestantism is my parish.” With such an ecumenical outlook these leaders could make articulate the yearning in the hearts of the laity for an ecumenical Protestantism. In-

stead of devoting themselves to the conjuring up of reasons why an ecumenical Protestantism is impossible, should not the reasons that make its achievement imperative spur them to find the way? There is a way. There must be a

way. And Protestantism, if it is to win America, must find it.

The subject of the following article in this series will be "The Concept of an Ecumenical Protestantism."

Japan Then and Now

By Kermit Eby

IN 1933 I was a member of a Friends good will mission to Japan. The impressions left by that experience brought into focus convictions which finally caused me to leave teaching and enter the labor movement. During that 1933 visit, Japanese young people of democratic persuasion repeatedly asked me, "Why do you send us Christian missionaries who emphasize the brotherhood of man, and at the same time exclude us from your country because of our racial characteristics?" They asked, "Is it right for white men who stole everything worth stealing and then joined the church of the status quo, to deny Japanese access to raw materials and land?" They asked, "Why do you pass Smoot-Hawley tariffs, and sell to others without buying from them?" Finally they asked whether I did not understand that every selfish and undemocratic act we Americans committed strengthened the hands of Japanese reactionaries and that inevitably we would reap what we had sown.

Prophecy Fulfilled

One young student at Sendai Imperial University put it very clearly: "Unless the conscience of the world is aroused, unless something is done to stop the present trend of events in Japan, you will sentence me to death and yourself to death and our kind of people to death the world around." Since then, events in Manchuria have been followed by north China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, World War II—and that young student and many others like him have died. They died because the conscience of the world lay dormant.

Now, thirteen years later, I have revisited Japan with the United States Education Commission. As we went about our work—meeting Japanese educators and teachers, the boys and girls in their schools, the men and women on the streets—we were unanimously impressed by the absence of hatred for America and things American. I have spent many hours trying to imagine what Americans would do if we were the conquered and Japan the master. Knowing Americans, I am convinced that every farmhouse would be a fortress and resistance the order of the day.

Our speculations on Japanese reaction to us brought us to no final conclusions. However, we agreed that the factors contributing to this quiet acceptance of the occupation are the faith of the people in MacArthur and their conviction that he is sincere in his implementation of the Potsdam Declaration proclaiming Japan's right to redeem herself and become a useful member of the family of nations. But even more significant is the impact of our irrepressible G. I.'s, the "care-free ones," as the Japanese call them.

Perhaps long after the directives written for the edification of the Japanese are molding in the files, the G. I.'s influence will go on.

The G. I. as Ambassador

Our boys like children, and cannot understand why "kids" should go hungry or why, if there is food, they should not eat. Next to the omnipresent children, G. I. Joe likes the Japanese women. He flirts with them in spotty Japanese and they reply in better American. He treats them with the American's deference, setting a pattern which the Japanese male must learn to copy if he would meet the competition. Impressed by the attitude of the American boys I met, I quizzed them about their reaction to the Japanese. Not one expressed hatred or contempt. Time and again they stressed the honesty of the Japanese, their industry and their gentle and unfailing courtesy.

The Japanese unquestionably prefer to have their country occupied by Americans. There is much fear of Russia, occasioned by a carry-over of anti-Soviet propaganda and uncertainty about the fate of the Japanese in Russian-occupied Manchuria. Perhaps it is a sense of guilt or a feeling of chagrin at the reversal of their role vis-à-vis China that creates a similar attitude toward a possible Chinese occupation.

Japanese with whom I discussed their countrymen's attitude said it was a product of wartime propaganda. Until five or six weeks before surrender, the people were told that victory was assured. Then, after defeat was realized to be inevitable and American occupation anticipated, they were warned to flee from the Americans if they would be safe from rape and murder. Such exaggerated propaganda miscarried because of its palpable untruth, and the pendulum swung the other way. More philosophically inclined Japanese, including Kagawa, in their analysis stressed their people's traditional acceptance of calamity as an act of God. Bombs and burnings, like earthquakes and fires, were to be endured because they could not be helped.

New Aims in Education

As one looks at the ruined and blackened cities of Japan, stands in the workers' section of Tokyo where 130,000 men, women and children were burned on March 10, visits the schools and senses how conscious the Japanese children always are of American planes flying overhead, it seems almost superfluous to reorganize the school so as to "eliminate militaristic and ultra-nationalist teachings."

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Nevertheless, ours is an assigned task, and with the usual American aplomb we have set about fulfilling it.

Not, however, without some doubts, for the terrible social and economic tragedy which faces Japan is immediately apparent. So before beginning our work we asked General MacArthur if he thought democratic directives and educational reform had any meaning until decisions were made on reparations and the nature of Japanese economy. He did not, and said he favored a liberal treatment of Japan; however, he doubted whether there is enough unselfishness among the nations to assure it. He went on to describe present-day Japan as a great economic and spiritual vacuum which offers the church and those who believe in Christian democratic values their greatest opportunity.

There is no more controversial issue in Japan than the emperor and the imperial system. Ceremonial readings of the Educational Rescript of 1891, which stressed absolute loyalty to the emperor and obeisance before his portrait, were the heart of the prewar program for molding loyal subjects and unquestioning soldiers and workers. Some of us wanted to eliminate the rescript entirely. We were conditioned by our contacts with union leaders and others who insisted that there could be no compromise. "Tennoism" must go. If it did not, all other reforms were meaningless. Others insisted that the emperor holds Japan together. Without him as the symbol of the state, MacArthur could not carry out his democratic reforms. Our difficulties were met by compromise. Rescripts were to be tolerated if necessary, but their ceremonial reading was to be eliminated.

Rights for Teachers

The teachers of Japan, perhaps more than any other group, were the victims of reaction. From 1931 on they were spied on and terrorized by inspectors appointed by the bureau of home affairs. These men were police, not teachers. Their task was to prevent the spread of so-called dangerous thoughts. Consequently, they gradually eliminated all creative thinking. Fifty thousand of Japan's liberals were imprisoned from 1937 to 1945—3,000 of them teachers! Time and again we were visited by teachers and students who told us of the imperative necessity of breaking the power of the school inspectors. One young Imperial University student sold his books to secure transportation for a group of fellow students so that they might plead with us for real academic freedom.

We were deeply moved by the earnestness of such witnesses and determined to strengthen their position in our recommendations: "In the past, regimentation has been compelled by a system of inspectors. This system should be abolished. In its place there should be established a system of consultants and competent technical advisers who will provide inspiration and guidance without policing or administrative powers." We recommended that the minister of education be divorced from the bureau of home affairs. In order to decentralize the educational system and break up top control of the schools by the minister of education, the commission further recommended that administrative controls be reduced.

This means that many present controls affecting curriculums, methods, materials of instruction and personnel will be transferred to prefectural and local school units. In

these units, elected representatives of the people will be given a voice in the control of the schools. And then, with faith in the teachers as the real guarantors of a democratic and peace-loving Japan for tomorrow, we recommended professional organizations of teachers and teachers' associations of all kinds, including teachers' unions. This because "no democratic principle is more crucial than the right to assemble for the extension of ideas."

The Outlook for Democracy

In order that the Japanese, who have been isolated for so long from the world, may be given immediate help in filling the gaps in their knowledge, the commission agreed that each member would do all within his power to break the barriers which now keep books and magazines from Japan. Likewise, we are going to endeavor to promote scholarships for young Japanese who desire to study in America. We were unanimous in our conviction that continued intellectual and spiritual isolation of Japan is contrary to the best interests of democracy and peace.

The boys and girls were not neglected. For them we asked not only language reform but more liberal texts, supplementary reading materials, more participation in school activities, the elimination of *budo* and other militaristic practices, increased emphasis on health education, more educational opportunities, a less rigid examination system and coeducation as time progresses. Women are to be admitted to institutions of higher learning.

Because these educational reforms must be supported by the adult population, a section stressing the necessity for adult education was included in the report. To insure that the program serves the interests of the people, those responsible for its development are to have the advice and counsel of representative civic, women's and labor groups.

Democracy is on everyone's lips in Japan. The proposed constitution is liberal beyond our own. The labor directives encourage the formation of unions, women have been granted equality, and political parties compete for office in the best American style. If words can save, democracy in Japan is assured and the American occupation a success. But these glorious words must become flesh before Japan can travel the road of security and peace. If democracy becomes associated with hunger, with mass unemployment, there is no possibility of the word's becoming flesh. Nor is there any hope for Japan if she is made simply a buffer state between America and Russia, an outpost of American imperialism.

The Fruits of Unrest

Today 74,000,000 Japanese fight for survival on 148,152 square miles of land. Three and a half million soldiers and three and a half million civilians are yet to be repatriated. Five and a half million workers out of a 22,500,000 working force are unemployed. Inflation is liquidating the middle class. Teacher income averages 130 yen a month—and it costs 1,000 yen to live. By the end of June rice reserves will be gone. Starvation will face from fifteen to eighteen million people. As the crisis deepens, unrest will deepen. Furthermore, if we fail to provide fundamental solutions for Japan's economic problems, we will thereby unite and promote the leadership of those who will.

Among these are Communists, who argue for nationalization of the country's basic industries and partitioning large estates into three and one-half acre farms without compensation to present owners. Our solution is to pay any large landowners who would be dispossessed. But we would do this at present inflated prices, which the poor tenant farmers cannot pay. So instead of getting more families on smaller units, our solution would actually force farmers off the land. The Communist answer to this dilemma is simple. Divide the land, they say, and forget compensation. After all, wasn't the land stolen by the daimio and samurai in the first place?

Toward Socialization?

While the unions are by no means controlled by Communists, most of the leaders, with the exception of the right-wing social democrats, believe that Japan's industries must be socialized. Japan is too poor, they argue, to support a capitalistic class. Therefore, when unions go on "strike" in Japan, they do not quit working; they take over the plant because they need the goods it produces, and try to prove that they can run it more efficiently and produce more than management. They usually do! The earnings during union occupation are put in escrow. Constantly I was asked by Japanese workers if I did not think this was a more sensible procedure than non-productive work stoppages. Theoretically, I did. But I wondered how long such a development could prevail with a capitalistic occupying state in control of a Japanese government committed to free private enterprise.

Questions of food, land, reparations and production cannot long be deferred, and they must be answered in the interest of Japan and the Japanese. Today the ever present shadow of Russia determines the answers to too many of these problems. Union leaders always came around to the same question: "Will America fight Russia, and what will happen to us if war comes? Will we be caught in the vise of American and Japanese militarism?" Oddly enough, it was two Communist leaders, Nozaku and Yokuda, who were most optimistic about American-Russian relations. However, five of the top Communist leaders had been sentenced to prison terms averaging fourteen years and were conditioned by what would again happen to them if war came!

Danger of Reaction

Industrialists asked a similar question: "Why should we rebuild to be rebombed?" The question seemed logical enough. So as I talked with various leaders and visited union halls and political rallies I had a feeling, confirmed by all trained observers, that present developments are surface phenomena. While union meetings are enthusiastic, there are no real roots. Ten desperate armed men could break them up. A Hitler could lead them in an opposite direction. The same is true of political rallies—personalities are more important than programs.

Realizing this, the true friends of democracy and peace concluded their questions with: "How long will the occupation last? When will the military give way to the civilian—in five, ten, fifteen years?" They felt that anything less than ten years will mean a return of reaction. I could not

answer them, for I did not know if my country would work as hard to build the peace as it did to win the war.

Japan is, indeed, a spiritual and intellectual vacuum. I agree with General MacArthur on the need for filling it—but in the interest of the Japanese, not ours, and within the framework of the United Nations, not as a buffer state. There is good will for America and things American, and this feeling is our greatest and most valuable asset. On it we can build now toward peace. We need not wait until tomorrow to begin. Japan needs books, books, books. Her Christian ministers, her union leaders need our cooperation as Christians and democrats to rebuild Japan. Japanese young men and women must be brought to America to study. Russia now has thousands of young Japanese studying under her encouragement; so far, we haven't been willing to admit ten to our schools.

Perhaps it would not be too much to ask those who hate war and believe in peace to go to the ruined cities of Japan and help rebuild them. It seems to me that a common sin deserves a common penance.

B O O K S

A Monster in the Making

THE NEW LEVIATHAN. By Paul Hutchinson. Willett, Clark & Company, \$2.00.

WHEN Paul Hutchinson, managing editor of *The Christian Century*, was invited to give the Earl lectures at the Pacific School of Religion in 1945, all who knew him cocked an ear to the west and listened for the sounds of a mighty tumult. They were not disappointed—and this book tells why. It is a scholarly, Christian reporter's description of the contemporary world's search for a pattern of life and society that will give a measure of security and peace to mankind. The result is one of the most disquieting books to be presented to our bedeviled day. Better than any other effort, it points out in simple and unmistakable terms where we as a country and as Christian churches are heading. If we do not like the prospect, we have no call to blame the author; he is merely recording the trends already well under way in our economic, social, educational and political life. If we Protestant churchmen are tempted to shrink from a renewal of the struggle between church and state, we shall be shocked at this detailed description of the way in which the struggle is already going on and will increase in intensity until the church wins freedom once more or becomes a bureau of the civil government.

It is clear from the history of the last fifty years that man's search for the good life has fallen on evil days. So evil, in fact, that all kinds of answers are being advanced. Dr. Hutchinson spends considerable time with the secular answers and reports that they are in a bad way, to say the least. He knows that rugged individualism is no answer to the needs of the contemporary world. He is so sure of this that he does not even genuflect before the altar of "free enterprise." Nor is he any more reverent before the answer of statism. He is keenly critical of the answer advanced by Soviet Russia, and he shows that there is little to choose between it and that of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. He points out that the rowers have taken democracy into the deep waters of a rapidly ex-

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panding state collectivism and that there is no assurance that she is not already foundering. What this amounts to is in reality a resurrection and glorification of the ideas advanced by Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan*, from which book Dr. Hutchinson gets the title for his own. Hobbes advocated an all-powerful state, a state that is in actuality "a mortal god." That, says Dr. Hutchinson, is what we are seeing brought to birth in these times.

"This new Leviathan insists that, in order to be ready for any eventuality, the will of the state must control the will of every individual in the state. . . . Leviathan insists that man lives only to perform his duties to the state and that man's life has importance only as a servant of the state. . . . Leviathan insists that the ultimate fact in the universe is power, and that the morality of the state must therefore be based on its assumption, regimentation and employment of power to overcome all competing power. . . . Leviathan insists that the only security for men and nations is to be found in facing the world in arms, in proceeding on the assumption that all men are potential enemies and that the enemy is never to be granted peace until he has acknowledged the rule of the superior power."

Dr. Hutchinson documents this description of Leviathan with a series of careful studies in Leviathan at war, at peace, at world domination, in the public schools, and in public information centers. There is, therefore, no way to avoid the conclusion which he draws: "The challenge of Leviathan to the church cannot therefore be dismissed or minimized as a passing challenge . . . there is reason to believe, accordingly, that the old issue of church and state, or of church against state, will soon be upon us in a fury unknown for a thousand years."

The churches are not unaware of the challenge. A high seriousness in the pronouncements of Protestant and Catholic churches alike indicates that they are gathering together all their resources for a continuation of this mortal combat with Leviathan. It is hard for us to realize that this is not a far-off struggle but one which is actually on here in the United States of America. The Macintosh decision of the Supreme Court, the treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses before and during this war—these but illustrate the nearness of the struggle.

Dr. Hutchinson makes three concrete suggestions as to how the Christian church should proceed in the face of this "dire extremity." One, she must exalt God and the moral law as objects of her supreme loyalty; two, she must fight shy of every attempt on the part of the state to be "helpful" by means of subsidy or bribe; three, she must stand for one world above the disuniting national loyalties—a world in which national sovereignty will be curbed in the interest of world community.

Christian ministers and laymen will want to make this book their constant companion as they seek to find their way in the turbulent world in which we must do our thinking and our living.

HAROLD BOSLEY.

Books in Brief

CHINA A MODEL FOR EUROPE. By Lewis A. Maverick. Paul Anderson Company, San Antonio, Texas, \$4.50.

Part I of this timely and scholarly monograph is a study of Chinese influence upon European literature and thought, especially in government and economics, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with appendices containing copious extracts from the writings of the Chinese social philosopher Mencius and the agriculturist Hsu Kuang-ch'i. Part II is an English translation, with historical introduction, of *Le Despotisme de la Chine* by François Quesnay (Paris, 1767).

Careful readers of this department will perhaps remember a review (August 29, 1945) of *The Asian Legacy and American Life*, edited by Arthur E. Christy, which contains a considerable section dealing with social and political criticism of Western civilization in the light of what English and French Sinophiles deemed the more enlightened thought and the more humane practices of the Orient. Mr. Maverick gives his attention chiefly to the expressions of this mood in French literature, though he mentions Leibnitz as perhaps taking the lead and setting the pattern of admiration for things Chinese. Voltaire and Turgot were prominent in the movement. Montesquieu, on the other hand, was an unfavorable critic, chiefly because of his low opinion of Chinese government. These were all long-distance interpreters of Oriental thought and customs. This was true of DuHalde, who stayed in Europe and worked on the reports of others, but whose *Description de l'empire de la Chine* made him "the most significant writer on China in Europe in the eighteenth century." It was true also of Quesnay, who got most of his material from DuHalde and Rousselot de Surgy. Besides being a surgeon and court physician to Madame de Pompadour, he was an economist of the physiocratic school. An ample bibliography furnishes a valuable guide to further study.

EDIFYING DISCOURSES. By Soren Kierkegaard. Vol. IV. Translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, \$1.50.

This volume completes the series of four which contain S. K.'s eighteen "edifying discourses." These are the religious addresses which he published (1843-44) while he was also producing what he called his "aesthetic" writings. To many readers they will seem to be the most rewarding part of the author's voluminous works. The four discourses in the present volume are entitled: "Man's Need of God Constitutes his Highest Perfection," "The Thorn in the Flesh," "Against Cowardice," and "The Righteous Man Strives in Prayer with God and Conquers—in that God Conquers."

Books Received

(Some of these will be reviewed.)

New Testament Life and Literature. By Donald W. Riddle and Harold H. Hutson. University of Chicago Press, \$3.00.

Religion of a Scientist, Selections from Gustav Th. Fechner. Edited and translated by Walter Lowrie. Pantheon Books, \$3.50.

The Catholic Apostolic Church, Sometimes called Irvingite, A Historical Study. By P. E. Shaw. King's Crown Press (Columbia), \$3.25.

The Golden Book of Catholic Poetry. Edited by Alfred Noyes. Lippincott, \$3.50. Mr. Noyes is eminently qualified to make a good selection of poetry, and he has done so. Not all the poems are very religious (e. g., François Villon, "Where are the snows of yesteryear?"), for Catholics have many moods. And not all the poets are Catholic, for there is a section of "Tributary Poems by non-Catholics," many of which (e. g., by John Donne, Shakespeare, Browning, Sidney Lanier) are religious but in no sense specifically Catholic and not "tributary" to the Catholic stream in any discoverable sense. A few translations from the early Italians are included. One would have liked to see something of Jacopone da Todi's in this category (if there are any good English translations), even if it had crowded out Matthew Arnold's not very inspired sonnet which takes its title from this "fool of God" but is really about the muse of poetry.

Now to Live! By Ralph W. Sockman. Abingdon-Cokesbury, \$2.00. Twenty-five sermons. It would be superfluous to describe Dr. Sockman's preaching. Everybody in America can hear him every Sunday morning, and a good many millions do. These sermons have the qualities of directness, moral urgency, clarity with-

out fictitious simplification of life's complexities, and religious positiveness without theological dogmatism, that radio sermons must have and all sermons ought to have.

National Interest and International Cartels. By Charles R. Whittlesey. Macmillan, \$2.50.

Make Yours a Happy Marriage. By O. A. Geiseman. Concordia Pub. House, St. Louis, \$1.00.

Faith and Freedom, The Roots of Democracy. By J. Wesley Bready. American Tract Society, \$1.50. Dr. Bready knows his history, as he proved in his important and scholarly volume, *This Freedom—Whence?* which found the immediate source of modern democracy in Wesley and the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. This small book is, in part, a condensation of the earlier one, with additional material concerning other champions of liberty, a contrast between Wesley and Marx, and applications to the problems of the present.

Wakaima and the Clay Man, and other African Folktales. By E. Balintuma Kalibala and Mary Gould Davis. Longmans, \$2.00. These are given as authentic native stories of the Buganda tribe, which lives at the northwest corner of Lake Victoria. The author, himself a native, was educated in Europe and the United States and now lives in Atlanta. The stories exhibit a pattern so familiar that it must be universal—how the frog lost his tail, how the elephant got an improved rear section, how the hare outwitted the fox and all the other jungle animals. (Cf. Brer Rabbit and the Kipling *Just-So Stories*.) The book is a "juvenile," but will interest all devotees of folklore.

The Singing Voice. By Ralph Morse Brown. Macmillan, \$2.50.

Self-Knowledge, An English Translation of Sankaracharya's

Atmabodha. Notes and Introduction by Swami Nikhilananda. Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 17 East 94th St., New York, \$2.50. The text of this eighth century Vedanta classic contains only about 300 lines. The remainder of the volume is introduction, verse-by-verse commentary, glossary, and a selection of hymns to Vishnu, Siva and others. The reputed author, generally called Sankara, was the most famous and authoritative commentator on the Bhagavad Gita. His own work expresses a similar monistic philosophy, according to which the material world is illusion and the chief end of man is absorption into "the non-dual Brahman, Existence-Knowledge-Bliss Absolute."

Prophets and People, Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism. By Hans Kohn. Macmillan, \$2.50. Lectures on John Stuart Mill, Michelet, Mazzini, Treitschke and Dostoevsky, originally delivered on the Norman Wait Harris Foundation at Northwestern University.

Population and Peace in the Pacific. By Warren S. Thompson. University of Chicago Press, \$3.75.

Whom Thou Seekest. Anonymous. Macmillan, \$2.00. A book of religious meditations by a Roman Catholic, including expositions and defenses of some specifically Catholic doctrines and practices. For the most part, edifying and excellent, but with an occasional *non sequitur* like this: "There is only one Christian body on earth that receives the concerted attack of all the others—the Roman Catholic Church. This fact alone bears witness to her divinity." Or could it be that it bears witness to the fact that she is the only one which unchurches all the others?

Man Has Forever, Assurances of Immortality. By B. H. Bruner. Bethany Press, \$1.00.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

Conditions in Germany

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "Do the Germans need food?" Another army chaplain, writing from Wiesbaden in your issue of March 13, said "No." I beg the privilege of disagreeing violently. Of course, his letter was written three months ago; conditions have deteriorated rapidly since then, so perhaps he has changed his opinion. But doubtless many of your readers are still thinking in terms of his report.

I recently arrived here after eight months as an army chaplain in Berlin. The following facts are inescapable:

1. Wiesbaden is *not* typical of most German cities. I have seen Frankfurt, Kassel, Giessen, Mainz, Essen, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Mülheim, Berlin, Schweinfurt, Aschaffenburg, Trier and many others. Wiesbaden is damaged the least of all. There was only one bombing-raid here, and no fighting. The unit I was with captured the town without resistance. Furthermore, Wiesbaden was a wealthy town, a famous spa where the kaiser had a special residence. The people were in better shape financially. Finally, there is a very high percentage of American troops here—which has many obvious advantages.

2. Starvation is not always immediately obvious. I have civilian friends who suffer from all kinds of dietary illnesses, though their weight is not alarmingly low. Your recent article on starvation and its effects explains this. After a time the muscle and fatty tissues become watery and defective, though the weight may remain relatively constant. When the death rate increases fourfold, when the birth rate drops two-thirds, when 90 per cent of the babies die within the first year, then certainly *something* is drastically wrong.

3. Germany and Germans are, for the most part, *kaput* (ruined). Physically, financially, emotionally. And unless adequate assistance is forthcoming pronto, Germany will soon be *kaput* morally also. For, as someone has pointed out, "conventional morality is based on the premise of three square meals daily. Deny these, and the Ten Commandments are soon forgotten." Is this what we want in Germany?

If anyone doubts the seriousness of the situation, let him adopt the President's recent suggestion of "one meal per day." Only not just for "two days per week," but every day for the next six months. No eggs, milk, fruit, beans, dessert, butter, candy, cheese, or canned goods. No vitamin tablets either. Only potatoes and bread, with a tiny slice of meat twice a month. I predict that this diet would cause most people to change their minds—but quick!

Wiesbaden, Germany.

W. D. KUENZLI,
Chaplain, Capt., AUS.

But It Is Not So Named in England!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just finished reading the section entitled "Misleading Nomenclature" of your May 22 article, "Protestantism, Thou Ailest Here, and Here!" You ask the reader to tarry long to grasp what each name means. An informed member of the Episcopal Church does not have to tarry but a moment to advise you that God's holy catholic church has been an "episcopal church" since her creation by our blessed Lord.

I am sure you will remember in your Greek that *episcopos* means overseer or, as the church interpreted it at a very early date, "bishop." Of the four branches of the Catholic church today (Greek, Anglican, Old Catholic and Roman), three are episcopal in government; the last-named one is not—but was originally.

The official title of our church as in the Book of Common Prayer is the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The word Protestant there has a twofold meaning: First, we protest what the distinct Protestants have done to the faith; namely, that they have thrown the baby out with the bath. And second, we protest against Rome in what she has added to the catholic faith. I am sure also that you know the names of our daughter churches in China and Japan: the "Holy Catholic Church of China" and the "Holy Catholic Church of Japan."

In the early days of this country the name Episcopal was taken simply because of confusion over two types of Catholics, Anglican

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and Roman. Although some of us would enjoy the term "American Catholic Church," I am sure that none of us feel that the title "Episcopal" is "a tag on a museum piece, cherished by ecclesiastical connoisseurs whose sense of living reality is obfuscated by antiquarian pride."

But names don't mean too much! My wonder is that you try to bracket the Episcopal Church along with the Protestant churches. To reconcile the faith of our church (as manifest in our Prayer Book) along with Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and all the other 240-plus sects is beyond me. Personally, I wish you would just let the Episcopal Church "sit this one out!"

St. Thomas Episcopal Church,
Falls City, Neb.

GERALD L. CLAUDIUS.

California's Nisei Still Mistreated

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Since I wrote my article on "Our Debt to the Japanese Evacuees," there have been further and distressing developments. On April 1 the WRA in southern California reported that 1,420 returnees were living in 22 hostels and that 1,913 returnees were still living in temporary housing which must be vacated by April 30. High WRA officials thereupon announced that most of the distressed families among the latter would be removed to a well equipped trailer camp at Winona, near Los Angeles.

Early in May over 500 persons were summarily removed to this camp. Contrary to assurances, however, many of the trailers had no cooking facilities, light or water connections, and the sanitary provisions were disgracefully inadequate. Furthermore, a church worker on the spot reports that "many of the people were dumped into the camp on a Saturday (May 11) without food and when food was unavailable, as the stores were closed over Sunday. The situation was so bad that the county bureau of public assistance, when informed of the conditions, worked through Saturday night bringing in a mobile kitchen and food early Sunday morning, so as to be able to provide breakfast for 350."

Needless to say, such mishandling of the final act of the tragedy reflected no credit on the WRA staff in southern California. The local religious and social agencies immediately rose to the emergency by forming a strong "Agency-Citizens Committee" to handle all the acute problems still confronting the resettling evacuees.

Orinda, Calif.

GALEN M. FISHER.

Too Much Hanging

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A man named Frank has just been executed, to the apparent satisfaction of many revengeful Americans, for the crime of destroying the town of Lidice. Why, then, isn't the man who ordered the fall of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima equally deserving of execution? I can see no difference in the two wicked actions.

New York, N. Y.

ANNE C. TAYLOR.

He Has Not Made Peace

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: An editorial and the article by Dorothy Thompson require some reply by an advocate of strong anti-nazism. By virtue of my past I am qualified. My war with Hitler began in 1933 when nazis tried to interfere with my mission work in Japan. In 1940 the nazi government expatriated me; I was forced out of Japan, immigrated to the United States where I became a Presbyterian minister, and received my naturalization in 1944. At present I am under appointment with civil service and expect to leave for Japan soon. My mission work there is waiting; Swiss friends have requested me to resettle in Kyoto as soon as my duties with General MacArthur's headquarters will allow.

I have not made peace with the nazis. My war with Hitler's followers will not end until the last nazi has either been converted into a human—that is, Christian—being, or is eliminated. As a U. S. citizen and Christian I shall do my best to accomplish this goal with all the means I can muster.

Your editorial is excited about the request of the AMG to ecclesiastical authorities in Germany to speed up denazification. There is no need for excitement. The editorial says, "More than a hundred pastors with nazi records and nazi views have been expelled." Don't you know that that is a very small portion of the guilty? If out of 21,000 pastors only 100 have been expelled it is high time for the AMG to take things in hand.

Dorothy Thompson contends that because denazification is a negative term we are in danger of creating a sort of spiritual and moral jungle. "If we create a spiritual vacuum of anti-isms without a single moral objective except purges," she says, "we shall reinforce the amoral type." This is her point of view: "Nazism must be seen for what it is: an aberration of the human personality in original response, under agitation, to social conditions creating mass frustrations."

Dorothy Thompson would be right if her presupposition were correct. But here lies her mistake. Nazism is not just an aberration. Nazism is *sin*, and that means disobedience against the law of God. Nazism is one of the chosen ways of the godless. I tell you—and I claim no other authority for this statement except that of Jesus Christ—that there cannot be a compromise between nazism and democracy, as there cannot be a compromise between mammon and God, or between the Baalim of Babel and the Lord Yahweh. Therefore let us do our denazification with the realism of Christians who know about the might of sin and the power of God.

How many nazis can we hope to convert into human beings—viz., Christians—if we make this effort? By the grace of God we may convert about 10 per cent of them. This is the ratio of Christians (I mean true followers of Christ, not the nominal church members) throughout the world. Out of an estimated 6,000,000 nazis about 600,000 might be expected to have a true change of heart. Let the others go and rebuild Russia, which they have devastated. Let the nazi pastors go with those ardent nazis into Russia and perish according to the nazi gospel. All other procedure is foolish sentimentalism and will only result in grief to us.

Soon I hope to return to Japan. I am following the flag because I think it represents the most wonderful country on this earth. Going to Japan I realize that there will be similar problems to be solved. But only after the nazis in Germany, Japan and the U. S. A. have been thoroughly eliminated will I make peace with them.

Indianapolis, Ind.

R. A. EGON HESSEL.

From Church World Service

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I want to thank you again for the splendid cooperation that you are giving in helping us organize and centralize our relief work in Europe and Asia. We appreciate the substantial checks that you send on from time to time, and you can assure your readers that the money is being used immediately for purchases or for paying the expenses of sending contributed goods, food, clothing, shoes and so forth.

Church World Service,
New York, N. Y.

ROBBINS W. BARSTOW,
Director.

A Conference Suggested

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: This is to raise three lusty cheers for your article, "Protestantism and Science." Your analysis of the situation seems to me a correct one; your statement of it lucid and forceful; and your suggestion that "science and faith sit down together in mutual respect and critically examine what each is doing, what each is not doing, and what neither should presume to do," is a suggestion of great value. I am sure you would add to it that on the basis of their findings, in frank alliance, they then mark out their respective tasks and set to work, not as rivals but as friendly cooperators, to do their tasks.

Unfortunately, however, "faith" and "science" are wanting both in anatomical structure with which and chairs on which to sit. It must be men of science and men of faith who shall sit together.

Therefore this is to add the definite suggestion that the Federal Council of Churches undertake to bring together for conference a group of outstanding Christian theologians and scholars of the brand who accept the findings of "science" in the realms of "physics," broadly interpreted, of "society" and of "psychology," with a group of outstanding scientists in these fields.

Presbyterian Church,
Livonia, N. Y.

LEO ALVIN GATES.

Methodist pacifist citizen from the practice of law in Illinois) bars only those with sensitive consciences who give full and frank answers as to their possible future conduct in hypothetical situations. Professor Kenneth Sears aptly commented that such a test is no restraint on admittedly undesirable elements, with the result that it operates to "keep out the best in some instances and is no barrier to the worst applicants."

Plymouth Congregational Church,
Champaign, Ill.

MYRON TRIPP.

Cause or Result?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: You are to be congratulated for the masterful way in which you treated the subject of commercialized entertainment, a subject upon which it is easy to be either calloused or "old-maidish." By getting at the heart of the matter, which is really a consideration of how this commercialized entertainment is related to the wider cultural milieu, you focused the issue nicely.

Would you not say, however, that the sensation-drenched, technique-obsessed modern mind is a *result* rather than a *cause* of our widespread lack of interest in the "serious realities of life"? The modern mind lacks the capacity to deal with ultimate questions because it no longer believes that there are any, except "Where do we go from here?" and "How fast can we get there?" The modern mind has a naive faith that science has answered or will answer the only questions that matter, and thus shows itself to misunderstand both the depths of human sin and the heights of human aspiration.

Naval Hospital,
Sampson, N. Y.

OLIVER R. WHITELY,
Lt., ChC., USNR.

Other Legal Issues Unsettled

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your recent editorial, "Dr. Macintosh—Apply Again!" you noted that the encouraging opinion of the Supreme Court admitting the non-combatant pacifist Girouard to citizenship failed to provide for the perhaps more difficult problem of those individuals, such as Dr. Macintosh, who are not pacifists and yet are unwilling to promise to bear arms in any possible war in which the United States might become involved. If Dr. Macintosh were willing to participate in non-combatant activity in any war which he could not support, he might be granted citizenship, albeit the Selective Service legislation of the past two wars restricted the right to engage solely in non-combatant military service to those who are religious objectors to *all* wars.

Another category not covered by the decision in the Girouard case is that of conscientious objectors to all forms of military service. The Nationality Code of 1940 was amended by Congress on March 27, 1942, to facilitate applications for citizenship by aliens serving in the armed forces of the United States; but this 1942 enactment stipulated that such benefits should not be granted to "any conscientious objector who performed no military duty whatever or refused to wear the uniform." The majority of the Supreme Court agreed with the reasoning of Federal District Judge Leavy in the Kinlock case (53 F. Sup. 521, of January 12, 1944) that Congress intended in 1942 to grant citizenship to the non-combatant conscientious objector group. It would appear, despite the noble phrases of Justice Douglas, that the Schwimmer and Bland decisions are not completely overruled and that those aliens who would choose civilian public service or refuse to accept conscription are still ineligible for citizenship. Therefore the Quakeress Rosika Schwimmer, the Mennonite professor Warkentin (denied citizenship by a federal court in 1937), and the Episcopalian war nurse Bland do not fall in as favored a classification as Girouard, a Seventh Day Adventist "conscientious cooperator."

The federal courts might extricate themselves from the shackles of the Schwimmer and Macintosh decisions by adopting in naturalization cases an objective test of moral character based on past character, as provided for by the federal naturalization statute. The subjective standard applied in the cases just mentioned and in the Summers case (upholding in June 1945 the exclusion of a

Amnesty Asked for C.O.'s

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The fast for freedom which conscientious objectors in five federal prisons are now undertaking brings markedly to our attention the need for a general amnesty for the some 3,000 war objectors still serving sentences of up to five years. The five men concerned in the Sandstone, Minnesota, institution sent a statement to government officials explaining the reason for their action, in which they said in part: "[We] are among the 3,000 political prisoners confined by the federal government because of their conscientious opposition to war and conscription. Such imprisonment violates American ideals and traditions of liberty and freedom of conscience, and we believe that it was tolerated by the public only as a matter of wartime expedience. . . . American authorities have released conscientious objectors in Germany and Japan, but in America they are still being held in prison, some with sentences of as much as five years. . . . We [are] fasting in order to force a recognition of the injustice of the continued imprisonment of men under the Selective Service Act, and in the hope of accomplishing their unconditional release."

Certainly the time has come when the President should declare a general amnesty, or Congress through a joint resolution should bring amnesty about. In such countries as Spain, Brazil, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and India amnesty for political prisoners has recently been established, and certainly with the war over for many months now, there can be no threat in anyone's mind to the security of the country by having the some 3,000 conscientious objectors released. Parole is not a satisfactory way of dealing with this problem, inasmuch as even the conditions of regular parole do not apply to men under 26 years of age, and the restrictions which go along with parole were certainly not meant for men of high moral principles. Furthermore, only amnesty will restore such civil rights as that of voting to the large number of conscientious objectors who have been convicted of felony during the war.

The Committee for Amnesty, located at 5 Beckman St., Room 1029, New York 7, N. Y., is urging those who wish to see imprisoned war objectors released and to have present hunger strikers spared possibly serious bodily harm, to write to the President urging that he declare a general amnesty for conscientious objectors, and to congressmen urging a joint resolution by both houses of Congress for the same end.

New York, N. Y.

GEORGE M. HOUSER.

To Reprint Forsyth Books

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Earlier in the year you were good enough to let me ask your readers for suggestions in connection with the republication of books by my father, P. T. Forsyth. Will you allow me now to thank all those who have replied? The warmth of the tributes to him, and the eagerness of the demand for the reissue of his works, have been beyond anything I had expected. As a result of the urgent demand both in our country and in yours the Independent Press, London, intends to republish during this year—paper permitting—five of the books, namely: *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, *The Work of Christ*, *The Church and the Sacraments*, *This Life and the Next* and *The Charter of the Church*. I hope that *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* may follow, and possibly also *The Justification of God*.

Kings Langley, Herts.,
England.

JESSIE FORSYTH ANDREWS.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Seek a Decision On Church Union

Presbyterian General Assembly Believes
Nine Years' Courtship Long Enough
and Seeks an Early Choice

(By Harold E. Fey)

ATLANTIC CITY, May 29.—Growing impatience at the deliberate pace of merger negotiations with the Protestant Episcopal Church was expressed by the 158th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. It was the position of this body of 830 commissioners that the Episcopal Church, having made the first overture toward union in 1937, should commit itself to some specific proposal at its triennial convention which meets in Philadelphia in September. Ralph Waldo Lloyd, chairman of the Presbyterian department of church cooperation and union, reported to this meeting that his department had agreed to a "basis of union" for submission to the Episcopal commission to acquiesce in the plan, after which it may be published in time for study and action by the Episcopal convention.

Mutual Recognition of Ministries

Henry Sloane Coffin, former moderator of the General Assembly and a member of the negotiating group, told the commissioners he believed the Episcopal commission will agree to the "basis of union" which the Presbyterians have approved and that it will be published in a few weeks. The plan would bring mutual recognition of the validity of the ministries of both churches, he said, and the bishops of the united church would serve in connection with the presbyteries. The proposal is "designed to invite the adherence of other communions." The assembly applauded the appeal of Charles J. Turck, president of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., for "action now." It heard a report that merger negotiations with the Presbyterian Church, U. S., have reached the state of revision of the proposed constitution. Neither side has committed itself to do more than study the revision. During the past year the department of church cooperation and union appealed to all Presbyterian and Reformed churches in the United States to send representatives to a meeting for discussion of "reunion of all branches of the Reformed faith in the United States of America." The assembly approved of this move but urged that negotiations for merger be opened with one specific additional church during the coming year.

Approve Interchurch Agency Merger

By action of this General Assembly, the Presbyterian Church becomes one of the first denominations to approve the plan for merger of the eight interdenominational agencies into the proposed "National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America." The plan, which was

launched in 1940, would unify the Federal Council of Churches, the International Council of Religious Education, the Home Missions Council, the Foreign Missions Conference and four other interchurch bodies.

Debate Debt to Peace Churches

As usual, the most controversial issues to come before this assembly were the resolutions of the department of social education and action. Since the assembly met during the rail and coal strikes, its rejection by a vote of 415 to 164 of a resolution which condemned as "totalitarianism" the President's threat to draft strikers into the armed forces made the front page in the *New York Times*. The point which aroused the most prolonged discussion was a provision to set up, under the chairmanship of former Moderator Stuart Nye Hutchison of Pittsburgh, a committee to reimburse the "peace churches" for the unpaid balance of \$45,000 expended by them for the maintenance of Presbyterian conscientious objectors under Civilian Public Service. The action which was finally taken asked the President to declare a general amnesty for c. o.'s now in federal prisons, urged equalization of the discharge rate of c. o.'s with that now in effect for the army, and approved the establishment of the fund-raising commission.

Other actions taken on this report included support of the Tydings resolution for a general plan of international disarmament, opposition to the adoption of peacetime military conscription, and approval of the Martin resolution for a general international convention looking toward the abolition of conscription. The assembly supported the reinstatement of rationing. It asked for civilian control of atomic energy. It approved compulsory jurisdiction by the International Court of Justice of the United Nations. It urged that all former colonies of the Axis powers be placed under the control of the United Nations, asked for extension of UNRRA and demanded that stronger efforts be made to reach an understanding with Russia. It proposed an elaborate plan of alcohol education looking toward the abolition of the traffic in intoxicants, but condemned the immediate advocacy of prohibition as "unwise."

Ask Recall of Vatican Embassy

For the first time in many years, the General Assembly condemned the action of the Roman Catholic Church "in pressing claims for a favored position for itself as a church." It endorsed a strong statement in behalf of religious liberty and the equality of all religious bodies within the national and the international political order. It condemned clericalism and declared that the "true head and authority of the Christian church is neither a state official nor an ecclesiastical hierarchy, but Jesus Christ." It denounced the embassy maintained at the Vatican by the President of the United States and formally addressed a petition to him for its recall.

Minimum Wage for Clergy

An important action of this assembly looks toward the establishment of a mini-
(Continued on page 763)

Mexican Clerical Party Recognized

President Declares Synarchist Front
Legal Despite Lawyers' Ruling
that It Is Unconstitutional

MEXICO, D. F., May 20.—President Camacho has decided to grant legal recognition to the *Fuerza Popular* (Popular Strength party), political front of the National Synarchist Union, a clerical and fascist-minded organization which is coming back into the Mexican political picture with new force and, seemingly, with influential backing. The president's action will enable the party to enter the coming national elections. It reverses a recent attorney general's office report which held the party unconstitutional on the ground that the union which supports it is a clerical movement with a program "against the principles of religious liberty," whereas the Mexican constitution bars religious organizations from the political field and upholds religious freedom.

* * *

Party Denies It Has Clerical Backing

In thus going against the opinion of the attorney general's office, President Camacho explains that the Popular Strength party has promised to comply with the constitution and that its leaders have made "substantial explanations" regarding its program and principles; therefore he considers that legal objections to its recognition have disappeared. The "substantial explanations," it is understood, were that the party is not really a religious body since the Roman Catholic hierarchy does not actually direct its work and that the party commits itself to pacific means of gaining its ends. There was no attempt, however, to answer the charge that the party is opposed to religious liberty. And as readers of *The Christian Century* will recall, this correspondent's previous dispatches have told of various instances in which Protestants have been assaulted and even murdered by members of the Synarchist Union which supports the party. Such attacks can hardly be termed "pacific" means of gaining ends.

The joy in clerical circles at the recognition of the Popular Strength party was decreased, however, by the fact that President Camacho granted recognition at the same time to the Communist party, apparently to forestall any charge that he was being overpartial to clericalism. Of course, there is no real balance between the two parties, since the Popular Strength party is far stronger than the Communist and has the backing (unofficial and well concealed) of the Roman Catholic Church.

* * *

Says Protestants Have No Right to Freedom

What is in store for Protestantism in Mexico should the clerical faction return to power in the government is demonstrated by this quotation from the widely publicized series of lectures given here recently by the prominent Catholic lawyer, Toribio Es-

quivel Obregón: "It is evident that the Mexican government, whose fundamental mission it is to preserve our national identity, is under obligation to prevent Protestant propaganda. In so doing the government will still be preserving the principles of religious liberty and separation of church and state as established in the constitution, since Protestant propaganda is contrary to public welfare, to morality and to a sound international policy, and thus its dissemination cannot be considered as a lawful use of freedom."

* * *

Literacy Campaign Behind Schedule

The government's emergency campaign to eradicate illiteracy came to an end March 1. Since it had not gained its objective (reaching the 50 per cent of the population which is illiterate), the campaign has been extended indefinitely, or until permanent provisions for education can be made by the national congress. Considering the tremendous difficulty of reaching the Indian population, still mostly illiterate and living in isolated regions, the campaign has been energetic and comparatively successful. More than 50,000 "centers of collective teaching" have had more than 1,100,000 pupils enrolled. The "one teach one" method, which has been the central point of similar campaigns in other countries, has spread very slowly in Mexico. Most of the work is being done by public school teachers and a small force of volunteers. Except for verbal endorsements, the churches have not joined to any great extent in the movement. The Roman Catholic Church has for the most part remained aloof. The committee on literacy organized by the National Evangelical Council in 1936 has taken an active interest in the drive, but has had to depend on the consecrated efforts of fewer than 100 volunteers. The work of these volunteers has been most effective, particularly among the Maya Indians of Yucatan. The Presbyterian mission in that state has given the workers there valuable cooperation. Officially, however, the Evangelical churches have shown little interest in the government's campaign.

G. BAEZ-CAMARGO.

Announce Theme for Institute At Wellesley, Mass.

"Peace—Freedom—Jobs: Our Goals and Our Responsibilities" is the theme of a conference planned for men and women interested in international affairs, race relations and economic problems to be held June 24-July 5 by the Summer Institute for Social Progress at Wellesley, Mass.

Church Sends 2,100 Packages Abroad

Since last October, Third Presbyterian Church, Rochester, N. Y., has shipped to needy individual families abroad 2,100 bundles of food and clothing. Costs of purchases, of repair and cleaning and of shipment were met by contributions of \$3,200 from members of the church. The project was directed by George Stewart, interim pastor, who had just returned from spending two years overseas speaking to American and British troops, during which time he had ascertained from church leaders specific needs of families.

Big Flats C.O.'s Join in Protest

Twenty-nine Members of Camp Are in Elmira Jail After Striking Over Continued Delay in Releases

SYRACUSE, N. Y., May 27.—Six conscientious objectors from the Civilian Public Service camp at Big Flats are facing prosecution in federal court because of their continued refusal to do the work assigned them. They have been arrested and placed in the county jail at Elmira. Thirty-five members of the camp went on a strike, mainly as a protest against the government's delay in releasing them from service, but all except six returned to their work after a few days, saying they were satisfied with a protest which called public attention to their situation. The men who maintained the strike issued a statement in which they said: "We point out the following vicious conditions which exist in the conscription system of which we are a part: flagrant waste of manpower, lack of compensation, no dependency allotments, inexcusably slow demobilization, other arbitrary practices. This system is a dangerous precedent for a compulsory labor draft. Therefore we join with men at the Glendora, Calif., camp who continue their protest as a permanent work strike." One of the objectors was scheduled to be discharged from the camp in a few months; the other five had over a year to serve before being eligible for release.

* * *

Military Bases Will Become Colleges

Plattsburg barracks, Sampson naval base and Rhoades military hospital at Utica will be used for peacetime educational purposes during the next three years. Temporary colleges are being established in these places for veterans and other students unable to gain admission to existing overcrowded centers of higher learning, according to plans announced by the state board of regents. These institutions will be controlled by a new corporation known as the Associated Colleges of Upper New York, whose trustees will be the presidents of the following ten colleges: Cornell, Syracuse, Rochester, Union, Hamilton, Colgate, St. Lawrence, Hobart, Clarkson Institute of Technology and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. A special commission, with a budget of \$100,000, has been appointed by the governor to study the issues involved in establishing a state university.

* * *

State Church Groups Look Ahead

Forward-looking actions were taken by many denominational bodies of the state at recent spring meetings. Episcopalians of the Central New York diocese at their convention in Utica voted by a large majority their approval of continued negotiations for union with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. They went on record in favor of modifying the present canon on marriage and divorce and expressed their preference for the measure proposed by the joint commission on holy matrimony of the General Convention. They designated Wednesdays and Fridays as days of abstinence from

wheat and fat products. The New York conference of the Evangelical Church, meeting in the Syracuse suburb of Mattydale, voted unanimously for union with the United Brethren Church. Only two votes in eastern area conferences have been cast against the merger and the consummation of the union is expected to occur in Johnstown, Pa., in November. The new denomination will be known as the Evangelical United Brethren Church.

* * *

Congregationalists and Presbyterians Meet

The New York conference of Congregational Christian Churches met in Elmira and elected Edward E. Wright, Norwood attorney, as its moderator. Delegates urged the state legislature to allocate the revenues from the sale of beverage alcohol to establish and maintain institutions for the rehabilitation of alcoholics and for conducting research with regard to the total problem raised by alcohol in society. A state-wide program of stewardship education was called for as basic background for meeting the needs of a suffering world. The council of the synod of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., voted to recommend to the annual meeting of the synod in October that \$2,000 and manse be made the minimum salary for all installed pastors. Those receiving less than this amount will be given appropriations from the maintenance of the parsonage fund created by contributions from churches paying salaries above the minimum.

* * *

Launch Local Fight On Gambling

Fifteen clergymen of Niagara Falls, aroused over the gambling situation, adjourned from a ministers' meeting to call on the mayor and offer their cooperation in ridding their city of bookmaking and games of chance and in removing slot machines from its various clubs. In offering their help, the ministers made it plain that they did not intend to assume the responsibility for law enforcement which belongs to the city administration. Pastors are carrying the gambling issue to their congregations.

* * *

Tabernacle Seeks Right To Broadcast

Churchill Tabernacle, Buffalo, is appealing in federal court from a decision of the Federal Communications Commission which canceled its radio contract with the Buffalo broadcasting corporation on the ground that it was not in the public interest. The tabernacle has retained James L. Fly, former chairman of the FCC and an acknowledged expert in questions of radio administration, to head its effort to regain control of station WKBW and to resume the broadcasting of its Sunday services.

* * *

And So Forth

Oliver D. Gordon, educational director of the Rochester federation of churches, has resigned to accept a similar position with the Philadelphia council of churches.

Mrs. Elmer W. K. Mould of Elmira, long active in interdenominational religious activities, has been elected president of the state council of churchwomen.

Thomas Wearing, dean of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School for the last 18 years, has announced his retirement.

WALTER D. CAVERT.

June 12, 1946

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Negro Governs Virgin Islands

Judge Hastie's Experience Fits Him for
New Post—Secretary Krug Inspects
Puerto Rican Sugar Cooperative

RÍO PIEDRAS, P. R., May 22.—Judge William H. Hastie, Negro who has served as assistant solicitor in the U. S. department of the interior and as dean of Howard University, was inaugurated last week as governor of the Virgin Islands. During his service with the department of the interior Judge Hastie had responsibility for matters related to the Virgin Islands, and later he was resident judge of the federal district court there. He has thus had opportunity to become well acquainted with the problems and resources of this territory, which the United States acquired from Denmark in 1917 as a base for protection of the Panama Canal. The Virgin Islands comprise an area of less than 150 square miles and have a population of 25,000. There are 2,000 whites and 3,000 of mixed blood; the rest are Negroes. * * *

Krug Visits Sugar Cooperative

On his way to the Hastie inauguration ceremony, Secretary Krug of the department of the interior visited Puerto Rico, and showed great interest in the welfare of this island. He inspected one of the sugar plants purchased by the insular government in its program of forcing individuals and corporations to comply with the 500-acre law, designed to prevent great areas of sugar land from coming into individual ownership, but for many years openly violated. Many big sugar estates are being purchased by the insular government and sold in small parcels to families on a long-term payment plan. The families then share in the profits of a central sugar factory as well as receiving direct payment for the cane they produce. * * *

Ask Continued Guarantee Of Religious Liberty

During Secretary Krug's visit, the Association of Protestant Churches of Puerto Rico presented to him a letter outlining the advance that has been made in religious liberty in Puerto Rico under the American flag, and appealing to him to work for the appointment of liberal-minded men as governor and commissioner of education for the island—men who will not be under the control of any one religious group or system. The letter also urged that in the event Congress passes a law permitting a plebiscite in Puerto Rico on the future political status of the island, proper safeguards be taken to assure forever the separation of church and state and to guarantee freedom of conscience and worship. The association represents 40,000 members in 300 Protestant churches. The total Protestant constituency is about 200,000, still a minority in a total of more than 2,000,000. * * *

Await Puerto Rican Appointments

The big question of the day in Puerto Rico is, "Who will succeed Tugwell as

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Rufus M. Jones states: "We are living in a catastrophic epoch, where everything that can be shaken will be removed, and only those things which cannot be shaken will remain. Among those things that will remain and abide will be just those things that are deeply grounded in love . . . and just those movements initiated and supported by the inspiration and guidance of the divine Spirit."

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NASHVILLE 2

• TENNESSEE

governor?" Rumors are strong that Jesús T. Pinero, now resident commissioner for Puerto Rico in Washington, will be appointed. He is favored by Luis Muñoz-Marin, leader of the Popular Democratic party, now in power. Another appointment eagerly awaited here is that of commissioner of education. More than a year has elapsed since the resignation of José M. Gallardo. The department of education now has a larger appropriation than any other in the insular government. Many important decisions are being delayed because of the failure to appoint a commissioner.

* * *

C. O.'s Set Example for Puerto Rican Youth

During June students of the interdenominational Evangelical Seminary will engage in practical work at the Civilian Public Service camp conducted by Mennonites in La Plata. They will participate in hospital work, maintenance and reconstruction, recreation, vacation church school teaching and community religious services. Similar work projects are open to local youth in other C. P. S. camps and at denominational centers. The conscientious objectors from the mainland have shown the way in sacrificial service for needy Puerto Ricans. Now it is hoped that many young people from our churches will respond to the need for help in rural communities on problems of sanitation, social activity and religious life.

* * *

And So Forth

Airplane carriers, cruisers, destroyers, battleships and other units have been engaged in the annual war games being carried on by the Atlantic fleet in the Caribbean. New tactics taking into consideration the atomic bomb have been initiated. Military aides of 68 embassies in Washington spent a week observing the maneuvers.

Puerto Ricans are deprived of an adequate bread supply through the continued disagreement between employers and bakers on wages and conditions of work.

The insular government is making plans to transform La Perla, slum area of San Juan. It has appropriated money to construct a housing project for 602 family units, with a modern school, community center and park. There is great need for such improvement not only in La Perla but in other slum areas of the capital and other cities.

Some 20,000 Puerto Ricans have been awaiting their turns to get passage by airplane or steamer to the mainland. The one steamer to New York carries only 200 passengers and makes only two round trips monthly. Since other air lines have secured franchise to land in Puerto Rico, it is hoped that Pan American's monopoly will soon be broken up, although that line will still carry all the mail. Many citizens here hope that the federal post office will do something to break up the mail monopoly now held by one air and one steamship line.

HUGH J. WILLIAMS.

Churches to Get Priority On Army Chapels

The war department, Religious News Service says, has directed the chief of army chaplains to consult with religious bodies concerning equitable distribution of surplus army chapels in the United States. First consideration will be given to their use as places of worship.

Nations Consider An Aviation Pact

Delegates Meet in Montreal to Plan Future Cooperation—Canadian Veterans Ask Conscription

MONTREAL, May 22.—Some 50 nations are represented by more than 300 delegates at the first assembly of the provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, which opened in this city yesterday and will continue until mid-June. The largest party, that of 60, is from the United States. Siam is represented by a single observer. The only important nation without a delegate is Russia. That country did not attend the Chicago conference which set up the organization in 1944, but it was hoped until the last moment that she would be represented at the present meeting. It will be necessary to give Russia's place on the 21-member council to another nation. The general theme of the assembly is international cooperation in the field of civil aviation. An effort will be made to set up an international aviation pact.

* * *

Canadian Legion Asks Conscription

The 11th biennial convention of the Canadian Legion, now meeting in Quebec, passed the following resolution at its opening session: "The Canadian Legion demands a national unified system of compulsory military training for defense purposes based on the fact that its members have carried a large share of the burden in two world wars and do not wish a third one." The initial resolution had used the phrase "strongly recommends," but spirited addresses from the floor resulted in the change to "demand," a change overwhelmingly endorsed by the 1,000 veterans present. The convention will deal with a report from the rehabilitation committee asking for lower-cost houses under a national housing scheme, with the production, distribution and export of all building materials controlled by the government. It was revealed that the Legion's educational services have circulated 3,700,000 books among Canadians on active service and among Allied prisoners of war.

* * *

Protestant Financial Drives Flourish

This area, like every other part of Canada, is witnessing a tremendous financial drive by the major Protestant denominations. The Church of England has launched its Anglican Advance Appeal, with a national objective of \$4,300,000. The United Church of Canada is seeking \$3,500,000 for its pension fund. The Presbyterian Church is attempting to raise a \$2,000,000 "peace thankoffering." All campaigns are doing well, and today the presbytery of Montreal announces that with only a partial canvass completed, 65 per cent of its local objective has already been reached.

* * *

Sees Famine Imminent In Europe

Dr. R. R. Struthers, Montreal pediatrician on furlough from UNRRA duties in Europe, told a press conference here re-

cently that death is racing side by side with relief shipments of food, and that the race in the next few months, until the new harvest is in, will be in favor of death. Dr. Struthers maintains that UNRRA is doing an excellent job in the field, that inefficient personnel has largely been weeded out, and that much of the earlier criticism of the organization's work is no longer valid. He paid tribute to the British army for the excellent job it is doing in its zone of occupation, where 22,000,000 Germans reside.

* * *

Presbyterians Have Full Agenda

Several important appointments will be made by the 72nd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church when it meets in Toronto early in June. The assembly will consider appointment, for the first time, of a full-time secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service. Presbyteries have been asked for nominations for missionaries for the western synods, where work was curtailed during recent years. The committee on the *Presbyterian Record*, the church's official magazine, will recommend that the assembly appoint an editor to succeed W. M. Rochester, who has retired after a prolonged illness.

* * *

Missionaries Returning To the Orient

James Dickson, who served temporarily in British Guiana during the war, has returned to Formosa, his previous field of labor, to bear greetings to the church there and to make a survey on behalf of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, with recommendations on the future of that mission field. Allan Reoch, for 15 years a missionary in Manchuria and recently a chaplain with the British forces, has been sent to China by the Presbyterian Board of Missions; he will work with Chinese War Relief, a Canadian organization. Malcolm Ransom and J. C. E. Andrews will leave shortly for China to serve under the Presbyterian board.

* * *

And So Forth

In a private investiture at Buckingham palace, John Weir Foote recently received the Victoria Cross for deeds of heroism at Dieppe and for outstanding devotion to duty during three years as a prisoner of war. He is the only chaplain to be so highly honored.

John MacNab, who headed the chaplaincy service of the Royal Canadian Air Force for the first years of the war, was awarded an honorary degree by Queen's University last Saturday. Dr. MacNab has recently terminated a year's temporary appointment with the Montreal and Quebec auxiliaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Your correspondent is on repatriation leave from the Royal Canadian Air Force, after serving a year as chaplain at various stations in England.

DECOURCY H. RAYNER.

Seek Tractor Experts For China Service

Church of the Brethren congregations are cooperating with UNRRA and the Chinese government in recruiting 50 expert tractor farmers to assist in the reclamation of 2,000,000 acres in the Yellow river valley.

June 12, 1946

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Pastors Hear of 'Responsibilities'

Duties of Labor, Management, Church
in Industrial Relations Discussed
by Representatives of Each

CHICAGO, June 3.—Responsibilities of management and labor were discussed by representatives of the two fields and of the church at the monthly union ministers' meeting here May 27. Ken Hunter of the United Steelworkers of America (C. I. O.) told of the important place given to consideration of labor's responsibilities at the recent convention of his union in Atlantic City. As examples of forward steps being taken by labor, he pointed to scrupulous observance of laws, struggles to compel recalcitrant management to obey social legislation, and instances in which union leaders have ordered men back to work under contracts that compelled endurance of admittedly justifiable grievances. L. E. Boark, vice-president of the National Founders Association, said that the primary responsibility of industry is to produce a high standard of living, and that proof of its discharging this responsibility is the fact that this country has the highest living standard in the world. Calling the Wagner act "the essence of perfidy," he held that industry and labor can manage their affairs if third parties—"politicians and preachers"—keep out.

* * *

Henry Hitt Crane Speaks For the Church

For the church, Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of Central Methodist Church, Detroit, and chairman of the citizens' committee on the recent General Motors strike, declared that the information which industry charges preachers lack in forming judgments is the very information industry itself constantly refuses to give in the belief that ministers are too naive to be trusted with vital data. Among the responsibilities of the church in regard to labor-management difficulties, Dr. Crane listed the obligation to see that men give more than lip service to the Ten Commandments and the teachings of the New Testament, and that they understand the implications of brotherhood and believe in good will, with its rejection of the supremacy of power.

* * *

To Coordinate Cooperative Housing Endeavors

An organization to promote cooperative housing developments was formed here recently by 100 representatives of 35 cooperative and mutual housing projects in 12 states. They had gathered at the invitation of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. The organization proposes to provide all technical assistance for housing developments, along with materials and supplies, which will be obtained from cooperative agencies. Representatives of labor and farm organizations and of business and professional groups shared in the sessions, which became essentially evangelistic in nature as reports were made of the new kind of life opened to children and adults through cooperative housing projects. The organization will be incorporated shortly. The

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ALBERT EDWARD BARNETT, professor of New Testament interpretation at Garrett Biblical Institute, is fast becoming recognized as a leader among the newer generation of New Testament scholars. A student of the late Andrew Sledd and Edgar J. Goodspeed, he has written numerous articles and two other important New Testament studies—*Understanding the Parables of Our Lord* (1940) and *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (1941).



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conference asked for early enactment of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill.

* * *

Psychiatrist Urges Hospital For City's Alcoholics

Establishment of a city hospital for alcoholics was urged in an address here last week by David B. Rotman, director of the psychiatric institute of the municipal court. Dr. Rotman declared that the anti-social behavior of one out of every four persons referred to the institute is due to alcoholism; 15 years ago the ratio was one to six. He urged that educational campaigns on the dangers of alcoholism, similar to the campaigns on syphilis, tuberculosis and cancer, be carried out in the public schools. He recommended more stringent laws against sale of liquor to minors and better enforcement of existing laws concerning such sales and drunken driving. The social results of the increase in alcoholism in the city, Dr. Rotman said, are to be seen in the increased load of court cases dealing with crime, juvenile delinquency and domestic relations.

* * *

Urges Freedom of Speech Even for Enemies

John A. Lapp, labor mediator and educator, told a recent City club forum that freedom of speech was endangered in the arrest of Gerald L. K. Smith and Arthur Terminello for making inflammatory statements in addresses here. Ira Latimer, chairman of the local civil liberties committee, which is no longer a part of the national committee, had been active in the efforts to prevent the two men's speaking and, later, in their prosecution. "We have in the past sprung to the defense of unpopular speakers," Lapp said, "even when we loathed their views. . . . Now the strange doctrine is advocated that we should protect the right of those with whom we agree, but not the rights of those with whom we disagree."

* * *

And So Forth

Jacob Diehl, former president of Carthage College, Carthage, Ill., and recently United Lutheran pastor at Lock Haven, Pa., died May 19.

Various methods of "moving the masses" were discussed by speakers at the spring conference last week of the Chicago fellowship of reconciliation.

CHARLES L. VENABLE.

Cooperative League Sponsors Tours

Following the plan of the tours of cooperatives conducted in Nova Scotia and in the midwest before the war, the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. will sponsor a tour to Saskatchewan, "cradle" of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, beginning Aug. 2. American cooperative centers in North Dakota and Minnesota will also be visited.

Printing of Religious Books Begun in Berlin

American occupation authorities in Germany, says a report to Religious News Service, have given permission to print the first religious books in Berlin since the beginning of the war. American authorities will furnish the necessary paper.

Synod Frowns on St. Nicholas Sale

Reformed Church Expresses Hope that Property Will Be Retained—Honor Fosdick on His Retirement

NEW YORK, May 31.—Another chapter has been added in the struggle of St. Nicholas Reformed Church here to hold its present property in the face of the desire of the Collegiate Consistory, which controls it, to sell it to cover indebtedness and future expansion. The General Synod of the Reformed Church of America, meeting in its 140th annual assembly at Buckhill Falls, Pa., urged the consistory of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church of New York city not to sell the church. After a debate marked by strong feeling on both sides, the resolution passed concluded: "We do not presume to sit in judgment on all the issues involved. We desire merely to give expression to our apprehension lest the best interests and influence of Protestantism in your great city be greatly jeopardized by any attempt to change the present location of St. Nicholas Church."

* * *

Honor Fosdick on Retirement

Several thousand parishioners of Riverside Church attended the farewell ceremonies last Thursday marking the retirement of Harry Emerson Fosdick as pastor. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., praised Dr. Fosdick as one of the outstanding religious leaders of all time. "From this pulpit as a sounding board," he said, "you have for nearly 20 years preached the simple gospel of God's love, Christ's life and man's duty, always with a deep understanding of human need, with impelling God-given power and with utter fearlessness." Dr. Fosdick answered with an appeal to the congregation to give to his successor the same support it has given him. On the Sunday following, 3,500 persons crowded the church to hear Dr. Fosdick's final sermon as pastor. They heard him warn of coming "head-on collision" between Christianity and communism. "I pray that politically we may somehow succeed in getting on with Russia," he said, "but out of Russia has come an atheistic philosophy passionately believed in as a condition of loyalty to the Communist party, which the Christian church in these coming years will confront. That problem politicians cannot handle nor military might decide. It will be settled in the hearts of men, in their inner convictions passionately held, and we Christians can affect the outcome only if, not as individuals alone but as churches, we mass our strength in organized endeavor." He pointed to Riverside Church as an example of such massed strength, a church whose members include many from different Protestant denominations as well as persons from Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Jewish backgrounds.

* * *

Methodists Strike at Race Prejudice

The 147th New York Methodist conference, meeting in Newburgh this week, called upon Governor Dewey to investigate the killing of Negro veterans by police in Free-

port, L. I., last February. They upheld their district superintendent, Theodore Bobolin, for his part in seeking such investigation by recording their "pride in his courageous leadership against racial injustice." The conference adopted a pension plan for ministers and voted to launch within two years a campaign to raise \$435,000 to put the plan in operation.

* * *

Episcopal Rector Flays Proposed Merger

Assailing the proposals for merger between the Protestant Episcopal and Presbyterian churches in a sermon on Sunday and in statements to reporters afterwards, Frederick S. Fleming, rector of Trinity Church, declared that it would be "criminal and unhappy if a small group of people should accomplish this vicious victory." Dr. Fleming asserted that such union as proposed would "put together two parts of the church, and thus place another barrier in the path of a real reunion of the three great Catholic churches: the Eastern, the Roman and the English." Only these three churches, the preacher declared, could trace their origins directly to Jesus Christ and the apostles. The other Protestant sects, he said, were "man-made" by Calvin, Luther and other leaders.

* * *

And So Forth

Calvary Baptist Church on Tuesday gave a reception honoring William Ward Ayer for his 10 years of service to the church's radio ministry.

Frederick Asbury Cullen, pastor emeritus of Salem Methodist Church here and former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the National Urban League, died last Sunday. Dr. Cullen, father of the late Countee Cullen, famous poet, is credited with having effected in 1911 the first appointment of a Negro to the city police force.

At the fifth anniversary dinner of the City Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem, Mayor William O'Dwyer declared that he is "100 per cent for no discrimination in city and federal housing."

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Name Today's Problems

Speakers at Denver Convention Appeal For Churches' Aid in Solving Them

BOULDER, COLO., May 29.—The 400 delegates to the 60th session of the Colorado Episcopal diocese, recently held at St. John's Church in Denver, heard Bishop Fred Ingley declare that the "disquieting factors" of today are the crime wave, racial and industrial tensions, and a serious breakdown in family life. "I appeal to the clergy to make the church schools dynamic and life-giving," he said, "and to utilize every possible resource to build up the religious life of our boys and girls." Bishop Ingley maintained that science and technology have outstripped all moral controls, so that men and women have ceased to look to them for salvation.

* * *

Lutherans Urged to Swell Relief Fund

J. J. Scherer of Richmond, Va., also had a list of "leading problems" to present

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when he addressed the 56th annual convention of the Rocky Mountain synod of the United Lutheran Church in St. Paul's Church, Denver. Mr. Scherer's list mentioned loss of reverence, alcoholism, mental sickness, broken homes and national labor questions. Lutherans are bearing a heavy burden in their attempt to recoup their denomination's losses in many countries of Europe. The convention was urged to support the national famine relief program as well as the Lutheran campaign to raise \$10,000,000 for relief and rehabilitation. John Futchs, pastor of Trinity Church, Boulder, was elected president of the synod for the coming year.

* * *

Church Establishes 'Family Night'

Fred Udlock, minister of Clayton Presbyterian Church, Denver, and some of his leaders decided to do something about providing a program to serve more adequately the boys and girls of the congregation. So they set aside one night each week as family night, on which parents and children join in worship, recreation, study or other leisure-time activities. A family night council issues a quarterly bulletin suggesting plans for home worship, recreation and study.

* * *

Scientist Turns Evangelist

R. G. Gustavson, vice-president of the University of Chicago, Walter O. Roberts, scientist, and Alexander Knox, actor, conducted a rally on a recent Sunday evening in Denver's municipal auditorium on the theme, "One World or No World." The next day Dr. Gustavson spoke to a capacity convocation at the state university in Boulder. His message on both occasions was that we are not good enough to handle the atomic bomb, and that if we were only good enough the scorched earth could become the good earth. Dr. Gustavson, a scientist himself, served for a time as president of the University of Colorado.

* * *

Poll Shows People Expect War

A recent survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver disclosed that 70 per cent of the persons interviewed were in favor of a peacetime draft; 70 per cent expected America to fight another war in Europe within the next 25 years (a year ago in a similar poll the figure was 36 per cent); 68 per cent favor rationing to feed hungry Europeans; and 80 per cent think congressmen should rely more on public opinion than upon their own judgment.

* * *

And So Forth

John Gravett is celebrating his 55th year as minister of Galilee Baptist Church, Denver.

A conference on industrial, agricultural and church relationships was recently sponsored by the Colorado council of churches.

Erdmann Smith, who has been guest minister of First Baptist Church, Denver, for some time, has been appointed permanent minister. He formerly served the Austin Baptist Church, Chicago.

St. John's Episcopal Church and First Congregational Church, Denver, recently sponsored a series of lectures by Allen George Wehrli of Eden Theological Seminary, St. Louis.

A summer conference and school of missions is being sponsored June 16-22 in Boulder by women's church organizations of the Rocky mountain area.

CLARENCE W. KEMPER.

Will Portray Bible In Movies

Financed by the Charles Anson Bond memorial trust fund, a plan to complete the first in a series of motion pictures which will portray the entire Bible is being launched by the American Bible Society. It is estimated that 150 feature pictures will be required to complete the series. Negotiations for studio space for production of the first three films are under way in Hollywood. Anson Bond, formerly with the army's motion picture division, will be in charge of production.

PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY

(Continued from page 757)

minimum salary for the ministry of the Presbyterian churches. Over 500 ministers now receive less than the \$1,500 minimum salary which the Board of National Missions pays the pastors among its 2,787 workers. A plan presented to the assembly by Harold Bowman of the First Presbyterian Church, Chicago, seeks to get the presbyteries to approve \$1,500 and manse as the minimum salary. The assembly approved the plan for reference to the presbyteries. If adopted, it will commit the churches which pay salaries larger than the minimum to assign a percentage of what they pay to an equalization fund, which will be administered by the synods.

It was reported to this General Assembly



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that \$4,442,197 has been raised on the \$27,000,000 "Restoration Fund" which was voted last year. The big drive to complete the fund is to be made next fall. Most commissioners appeared to be confident that the entire amount will be raised.

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The assembly approved a resolution submitted by William Barrow Pugh, its stated clerk and chairman of the Protestant General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, which asked that military and naval schools for training officers be required to introduce courses which will instruct officers in their duty concerning the moral and spiritual welfare of the men under their command. Dr. Pugh stated that during the war ignorance on the part of commanding officers was the largest single obstacle to effective work on the part of the chaplains.

A high point of the 158th General Assembly, as of most such meetings, was the report of the Permanent Judicial Commission when it constituted itself "a court of Jesus Christ." This year it ordered the dissolution or relocation of a church which had set itself up, through irregular action of a presbytery, within four blocks of another church. The assembly elected as its moderator Frederick W. Evans, minister of Second Presbyterian Church, Troy, N. Y.

Protestant Relief Groups Unite

A new agency, Church World Service, has been formed by consolidation of three Protestant overseas service agencies—the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, the Commission for World Council Service, and the Church Committee for Relief in Asia. Harper Sibley has been elected president of the new agency, which has its headquarters at 37 E. 36th St., New York city.

Lutherans Ask Ending Of Vatican Embassy

At a meeting of the College of Presidents of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States on May 16, a resolution was adopted protesting United States representation at the Vatican and "respectfully requesting" President Truman to recall Myron Taylor as his representative there. The resolution pointed out that the Vatican is definitely a church-state, not a secular government, and expressed fear that the present representation may lead to a full ambassadorship in violation of American policy.

Consolidate Chinese Christian Colleges

The 13 existing Christian colleges in China, Religious News Service reports, are to be consolidated into 9 institutions. Details of the plan were announced at the annual dinner of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. Those colleges which were forced to move west when the Japanese arrived are beginning their long trek back to home campuses. Preliminary estimates set the damage they suffered during the war at \$5,000,000.

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British Council Reports on Atom

Churches' Commission Notes Challenge
to Christian Faith—U. N. Official
Deplores 'Charity' in Relief

LONDON, May 21.—That the children of men must now begin to take command of their own destiny is the theme of *The Era of Atomic Power*, the report a commission appointed by the British Council of Churches has just published. New developments in atomic experimentation, the report points out, have encouraged men to claim that with God some things may be impossible, but with man nothing is impossible. No choice calling for more faith and wisdom, the report says, has ever faced the Christian church. Those who know the gifts and experience of the members of the commission know what high standards of research and knowledge they brought to their common study. It must be treated seriously. To read it is a strain, and no one who wishes to escape from the tragic realities of our human life will find in it the means of doing so. No apocalyptic seer in the ancient world ever had such a vision of terror as this. The reader will not find easy decisions dictated in the book or any wishful thinking, but he will, if he reads it carefully, be better prepared for the new age.

* * *

Says Charity Attitude on Famine Must Go

In an interview with the Washington correspondent of the *News-Chronicle*, Sir John Boyd Orr, director general of the Food and Agricultural Organization of U. N., calls the famine conference opening yesterday "Operation Joseph," taking the Old Testament character as a symbolic figure in these days when "the lean kine have eaten the fat kine." Pointing out that the food shortage will be acute at least until the 1947 crops are harvested, Sir John declares that in addition to immediate objectives, long-term ones face his organization. "The civilized world cannot ignore this grotesque tragedy, this travesty of a world of plenty turned into a world of scarcity," he says. "Nations must be given back their self-respect; it may be done by long-term credits and loans, but it must not be on a 'be kind to the beggar' basis."

* * *

Praise for New Head Of Salvation Army

The new general of the Salvation Army, Albert Osborn, has the world for his parish. In every account of him, he is described as not only an experienced and devoted officer but as a hymn writer whose songs are sung all over the world. The Army has its own psalmody, comparatively little known in other communions. One verse quoted in an article in this week's *Christian World*, "Let the beauty of Jesus be seen in me," makes the reader want to know more. The same article tells us that before he was twenty, Albert Osborn had charge of a great Army project in Chelmsford, and that from that time on the eyes of his superiors were upon him. Maurice Whitlow, who contributes the article, declares that

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General Osborn has kept true to the Booth tradition, and is not likely to give away a single one of the Salvation Army principles.

Prepares Biography
Of C. F. Andrews

Marjorie Sykes, who is writing the official life of the late C. F. Andrews, hopes to complete her work during the furlough she has just begun in England. The work she has been doing to carry on the study of Christian thought and culture at Tagore's "university" at Sentinikatan is considered the best memorial "C. F." could have. Miss Sykes went to the "university" in 1939 from the staff of the Madras Women's Christian College at the invitation of Tagore to carry on the tradition of the department of Christianity begun there by Mr. Andrews. She is particularly anxious to build up a good library of Christian theology and social thought. Before she settles down to finish the biography, Miss Sykes will visit Cambridge to see those who still remember Mr. Andrews during his university days. She has spent the past six months gathering material for the biography in north India. Mohandas Gandhi gave her access to his letters from Mr. Andrews. Miss Sykes came to England by air, after waiting in vain for a boat. "It was perhaps not inappropriate, considering my subject's work for the unity of various kinds," she says, "that I had Unity, the panda, for a fellow passenger."

And So Forth

Parliament has received Prime Minister Attlee's explanation of the proposals put forward to Indian leaders by the cabinet mission with a general understanding of their purpose. No one here doubts the sincerity of the means suggested to bring Hindu and Moslem opinion together. The chief criticism is that the proposals are a gamble. It is realized that if the proposals are accepted the outcome for India depends upon the Indian communities.

In the Scottish village of Courthill, honor was paid Sunday to Kirkpatrick MacMillan, who just over 100 years ago invented the bicycle. The first the world heard of MacMillan was when he was fined five shillings for knocking down a child with his machine, which, traveling at eight miles an hour, frightened the countryside. Like so many inventors, he died a poor man. There are few of us who are not in his debt.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Study Campus Record

Analysis of the University Christian Missions Shows Much Good Done

NEW YORK, May 29.—During the past six months university Christian missions have been held in 14 colleges and universities throughout the country. They were sponsored by the United Student Christian Council and the department of evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches. In all, 75 speakers took part in the missions, among them T. Z. Koo, Karl Downs, Blake Smith, John Maxwell Adams, R. H. Edwin Espy, Sherwood Eddy, Mrs. Charles Gilkey and Allen Claxton. Informal discussions, classroom conferences, daily seminars, faculty meetings and other forms of approach were employed in the first large-scale program

of the kind to be undertaken since 1940. Evaluations made after each mission by visiting leaders, administrative officials, faculty members and students have recently been analyzed by the national committee of the University Christian Mission. The reports indicate that greater interest in religion was aroused, since missions definitely

aimed to "reach the unreached." An understanding of the practical application of religion was developed, and many students were led to a more complete dedication of their lives. Several faculty members were stimulated to consider religion with greater seriousness, declaring that they had been led to reflect more carefully on how their

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teaching affected the religious life of their students. By revealing local needs and opportunities, the missions usually inspired student religious groups to evaluate their

work and make concrete plans for the future, and led them to consider closer cooperation in future programs. Most of the schools visited are planning to hold their own missions next year.

PHILLIPS P. MOULTON.

Polish Government Tolerant
Toward Protestants

When the Methodist chapel in Warsaw was rededicated recently, the International Christian Press and Information Service reports, the government granted the full facilities of its broadcasting station for the two-hour service. This is being taken as an indication of the liberal attitude the Polish government is adopting toward Protestant churches in Poland.

Liberal Texas Groups
Join Efforts

At its annual meeting in April, the Texas conference of Congregational Churches by unanimous vote invited First Unitarian Church, Houston, into associate membership. The fact that the Unitarian congregation accepted does not affect its affiliation with the American Unitarian Association, but is meant to be an expression of the desire to bring closer cooperation among liberal Christian churches in Texas. John C. Petrie, minister of First Unitarian Church, three years ago was received into the Congregational ministry while retaining his Unitarian status.

Flying Circuit
Riders

Three Boston University school of theology students will minister by airplane this summer to 11 widely separated churches in the Dakota Methodist conference. Paul Kurtz, who served in the navy for four years as a pilot and instructor, will teach his two companions to fly the plane provided by the Methodist Board of Home Missions.

The Church Roll

Ellis Marshburn, representative of the Home Missions Council in its work with migrants in the Pacific northwest, has been appointed supervisor of the council's work with migrants in the midwest, with headquarters in Chicago.

John L. Fortson, until recently a navy chaplain, has been appointed national director of the United Church Canvass. He succeeds Stanley I. Stuber, who becomes chairman of the advisory committee of the canvass.

Helen E. Rose, assistant to the pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Bozeman, Mont., by her recent election as stated clerk of the Helena presbytery became the first woman ever to occupy that office in any presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Religious News Service reports.

O. Walter Wagner, pastor of St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church, Jackson, Mich., will spend the summer in Europe as assistant to Howard E. Kerschner in relief work for the Save the Children Federation. Fred Atkins Moore, director of the Church Committee for Relief in Asia, was recently named associate executive director of the federation.

Mrs. Tamaki Miura, head of the Y.W.C.A. in Japan, is the first Japanese citizen to visit the United States since the war. She came as a delegate to the Grand Rapids meeting of the National Council of Wom-

en's Organizations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

D. Brewer Eddy, internationally known Congregational leader who from 1900 until his retirement two years ago was an executive of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, died June 1 at the age of 68. Dr. Eddy was a brother of Sherwood Eddy, widely known "Y" leader and lecturer.

Evangeline Booth, retired commander of the Salvation Army, is the 1946 recipient of the annual \$1,000 "humanitarian award" of the Variety Clubs of America. Previous awards have gone to Sir Edward Fleming, Cordell Hull, George Washington Carver, Father Flanagan and Martha Berry.

George K. Davies, until recently a navy chaplain, has been named president of Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tenn.

For Overseas Relief

The following contributions will be forwarded to Church World Service for relief work under church auspices in Europe and Asia:

A. Stuart Cox, Sycamore, Ill.	\$ 100.00
Mrs. Fred Lamb, Casper, Wyo.	50.00
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Mr. and Mrs. Leon C. England, Plainview, Tex.	5.00
Lake Shore Presbyterian Church, St. Clair Shores, Mich.	17.70
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Anonymous, Berkeley, Calif.	50.00
Walter M. White, Nashville, Tenn.	10.00
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Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Film Scores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

The Hoodlum Saint (MGM) James Gleason, Angela Lansbury, Wm. Powell, Esther Williams. *Drama* about opportunist who as he gains wealth and power risks self of poolroom pals he has looked out for in past by convincing them St. Dismas, patron of thieves, will take his place. In the end, his fortune lost, he too is led by an apparently miraculous favor to believe in the saint. *Original* in theme but rather *confused* in the telling, film celebrates the proper virtues but in so doing becomes regrettably involved with the superstitious. **M, Y**

Night in Paradise (Univ.) Melodrama. What happens when the youthful Aesop, pretending age and ugliness, aspires to court the Persian princess King Croesus intends for himself. Elaborate, gaudy, completely inane; emphasis on *sex and spectacle*. **M**

The Truth About Murder (RKO) *Melodrama.* District attorney and his girl friend, also a lawyer, compete for clues in murder for which a mutual friend is being held. *Indifferently* done, with solution evident from the start. **M, Y**

The Virginian (Par.) Barbara Britton, Brian Donlevy, Joel McCrea, Sonny Tufts. *Drama.* Third filming of the famous western novel about the schoolteacher who is at first shocked by cowboy's way of enforcing order in face of depredations by rustlers, then reconciled to it. In not too gaudy technicolor, film abounds in *magnificent outdoor scenery* and massed action. Characterizations well done, with commendable underplaying. **M, Y**

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Anchors Aweigh, Bells of St. Mary's, Marie Louise, Our Vines Have Tender Grapes.
For Mature Audience: Colonel Blimp, Devotion, From This Day Forward, The Last Chance, The Lost Weekend, Miss Susie Slagle's, Open City, Pride of the Marines, Rhapsody in Blue, The Seventh Veil, The Silver Fleet, Spellbound, The Spiral Staircase, The Story of G. I. Joe, They Were Expendable, A Walk in the Sun. 6-12-46

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August 19, 1946

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~~JAT~~
~~J~~

Dear Kermit:

Thanks for the copy of the Christian Century.
And did I tell you how much I enjoyed our visit
the other day?

Very sincerely yours,

William Benton

Mr. Kermit Eby,
Congress of Industrial Organizations,
718 Jackson Place NW,
Washington 6, D. C.

See back of file for booklet

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No. 5886

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Note to Dept 9/11/46
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August 17, 1946.

DC/R

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DISTRIBUTION OFFICE
SEP 13 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that Mr. J. van Osselen has been appointed a member of the Netherlands Mission to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers at Tokyo in the capacity of Shipping Advisor and to render assistance in restitution matters.

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Mr. van Osselen is at present in Batavia, Netherlands East Indies and it would be much appreciated if clearance, when obtained, would be sent by cable to the United States Consul General at Batavia.

Jec

Please accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

For the Ambassador

Rosen
Counselor of Embassy

CS/HH

The Honorable
the Acting Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

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SEP 11 1946

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note No. 5886 of August 17, 1946, in which you request that Mr. J. R. van Osselen, who has been appointed member of the Netherlands Mission to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, be granted clearance to enter Japan.

The Department has received a communication from the Supreme Commander stating that Mr. van Osselen has been granted permission to proceed to Japan.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Acting Secretary of State:

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E.A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

His Excellency
Dr. A. Loudon
Ambassador of the Netherlands

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SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

TOKYO

INFO: ⁴⁶⁸ WAR DEPT CHIEF OF STAFF

FOR POLITICAL ADVISER

AUG 28 1946

Netherlands GOVT requests permission for J.R. van Osselen, now in Batavia, to proceed Japan as member Netherlands Mission to SCAP in capacity of Shipping Adviser and to render assistance in restitution matters. Please cable SCAP's decision.

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H.B.

13 file Forward to Mr Vincent by Mr Graham of British Embassy, Aug 19, 1946 J.V.

His Majesty's Government have studied the proposal

made by the Chairman of the Allied Council for Japan on 13th August that the Council should invite representatives of the eleven Allied powers which now have missions in Tokyo to sit with the Council, informally and unofficially, and contribute their views. They note that the matter is tabled for discussion by the Council on 21st August and they accordingly wish to inform the United States Government of their reasons for considering the proposal as unacceptable. These are as follows:-

(1) Participation in the discussions of the Council, even on an informal and unofficial basis, by representatives of nations other than those specified in paragraph 2 of the Moscow Agreement establishing the Council (the United States of America, The U.S.S.R., China and a member representing jointly the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and India) would appear to be clearly contrary to the provisions of that agreement. This agreement provides for the establishment of a consultative and advisory body with membership limited as above and no provision is made for the participation, informal or otherwise, of the representative of other powers; although the four named members are entitled to have staffs of military and civilian advisers.

It would appear therefore that the Chairman of the Council would be acting ultra vires in inviting the attendance in consultation, even on an informal basis, of Allied representatives other than the four members provided for by the terms of the agreement and their military and civilian advisers.

(2) An extension of representatives on the Council, even on the informal basis proposed, would tend to confuse the nature of the authority of the Far Eastern Commission, on which all eleven nations are represented, and which must remain the official organ, as approved by the Moscow agreement, for the formulation of Allied occupation policy and the review of action taken in accordance with that policy.

(3) Informal participants in Council discussions could have no authority to reflect the views of their Governments, for which /latter

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latter purpose the Far Eastern Commission has been created. As regards informal assistance, by discussion and consultation, towards the solution of the many problems confronting the Allied occupation authorities on the spot, there have been set up in Tokyo missions representing most of the interested powers whose officers are surely available for cooperation of this nature outside the Allied Council chamber.

(4) So far as the representation of the British Commonwealth on the Allied Council is concerned, it is felt that, in accordance with the Moscow agreement, the Commonwealth should continue to be represented by one man. The Commonwealth representative has attached to him advisers representing the United Kingdom, Australia, India and New Zealand who provide the necessary liaison between him and the missions representing those countries in Tokyo. He is therefore supported, in advice to, or consultation with, the Supreme Commander, by the resources in knowledge and experience of these missions. It is felt that it would detract seriously from his position as the recognised representative of the British Commonwealth on the Council if the heads of these missions were also sitting at the Council table, even in an "informal" capacity.

(5) It is considered that the addition of seven further participants in discussion would complicate procedure and thus hamper the efficiency of the Council as advisory and consultative machinery.

(6) The Supreme Commander's desire to avail himself of all Allied resources in knowledge and experience in the discharge of the onerous responsibilities which he is shouldering and for the furtherance of Allied objectives is appreciated and welcomed by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom who are most anxious to respond by assisting the Supreme Commander in every way. For this purpose, they have established a Liaison Mission in Tokyo, which is in close and friendly relationship with General MacArthur's Headquarters

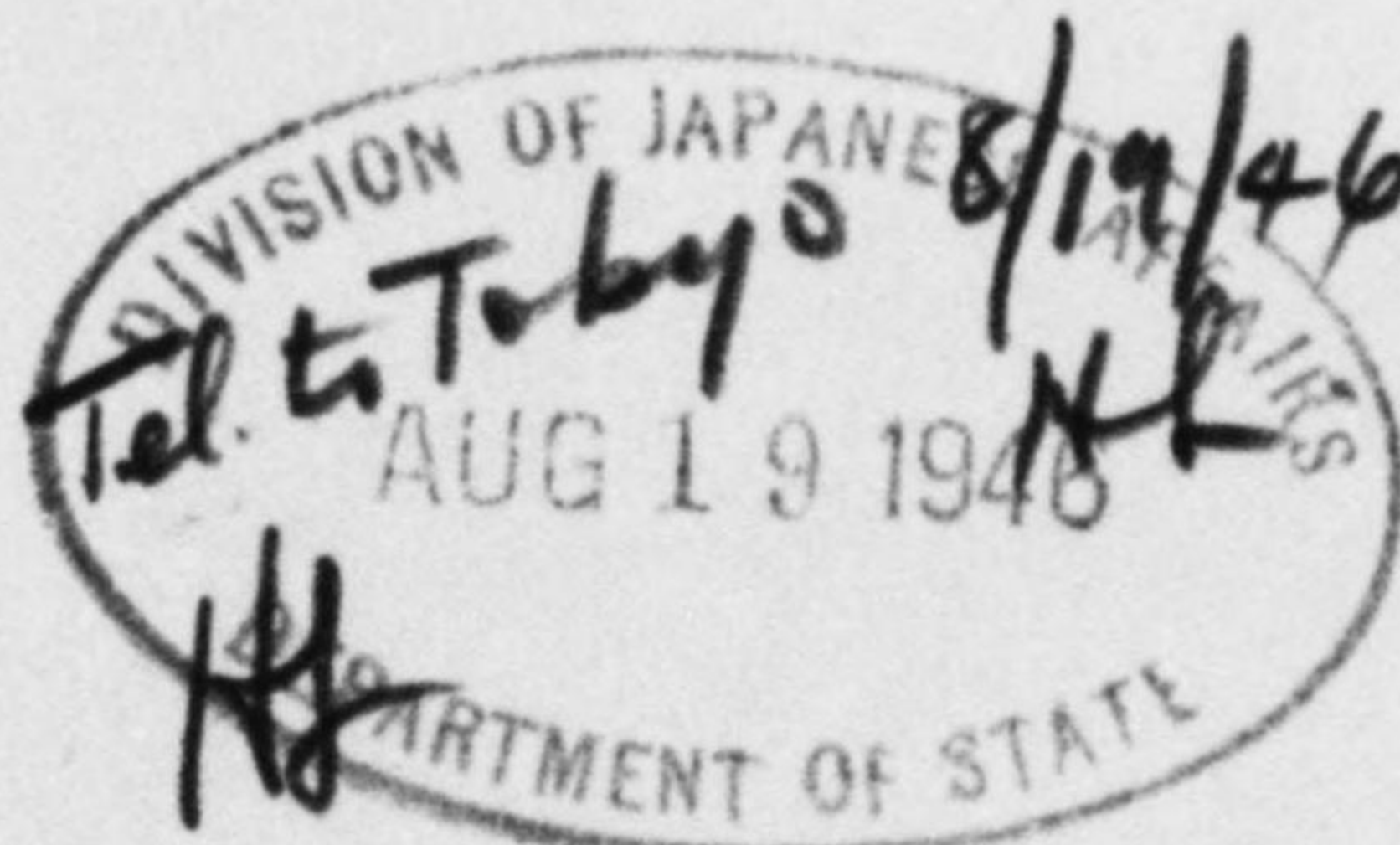
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and through which it is hoped and expected that the Supreme Commander will feel free to draw upon for all resources of knowledge or of personnel that the Government which it represents can contribute. General MacArthur also has access through the military and diplomatic establishments of His Majesty's Government, to the full cooperation in every respect of the other countries of the Commonwealth who are united in their desire to support him. It is hoped therefore that he will not feel that His Majesty's Governments are lacking in the desire, or in the ability, to assist him in his task for the reason that, as stated above, the present proposal is unacceptable.

H. A. Graves,
19th August, 1946.



16

We should much have preferred to discuss the whole question with the United States Government before it was put to the Allied Council in order to avoid the situation which is now likely to arise whereby ^{we} we may be found to be taking a line similar to the Soviet Union and in opposition to the United States.

Could Mr. Atcheson be asked to say at the meeting that, having discovered from outside canvassing that the proposal is not generally acceptable, he withdraws it.

Handed to Mr. Vincent by Mr. Graves on
8/19/46

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War Dept + submitting matter to SWNCC Ref. WDCAT-OUT 82355-7342

From: GHQ SCAP, Tokyo, Japan

To: War Department for WARTAG

Info: CG Eighth Army, Yokohama, Japan; CG XXIV Corps, Seoul, Korea; CG AFWESPAC, Manila, P.I.

Nr: CX 64319

20 August 1946

Reference letter and staff study AGAO-S-WDSCA 014 (9 June 46) dated 3 July 46, following comments offered in three parts.

Part 1. For Japan: (A) Refer TWX 89117, 19 December 45, and SWNCC 192/3, 28 November 45. (B) Recommend no change in existing criminal justice system which now includes jurisdiction over and protects all United Nations Nationals in occupied areas. (C) Request jurisdiction of present occupation courts be extended to United Nations Nationals attached to or accompanying Armed Forces for minor offenses such as traffic violations, similar to system in Germany, refer para 6 of your staff study. (D) Existing directives as implemented provide jurisdiction over all civil controversies involving United Nations Nationals except those attached to or accompanying Armed Forces. (E) Recommend establishment of civil tribunals using indigenous substantive law within frame work of present occupation court system with trial and appellate jurisdiction over civil controversies involving United Nations Nationals attached to or accompanying Armed Forces.

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(21 August 46)

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