

Paul Bamford

NAZIS AGAINST THE WORLD

The Counter-Boycott is the Only
Defensive Weapon against Hitler-
ism's World-Threat to Civilization

*Selected Speeches from World Leaders
of Public Opinion*

*"Public opinion as the force,
the Boycott as the weapon, will
break the power of Hitlerism."*

Issued by the

Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League
to Champion Human Rights

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NON-SECTARIAN ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE

To Champion Human Rights, Inc.

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PREFACE

In this enlightened era a nation which was once a leader among the civilized peoples of the world cannot revert to barbarism without its reverberations being heard and felt all around the world.

The leaders of the Nazi regime are self-confessed advocates of brute-force, reaction and ruthlessness. Their contempt for law and their destruction of all civilized conceptions of justice and of all other ideals speaks through all their utterances and all their works. The echoes that are heard from other countries were inevitable and they are surely not surprised when they hear their standards and practices described in terms of medieval rule and savagery.

While the Nazis, blind to the refinements of a progressive age, may content themselves with shouts and exclamations, marching orders and bugle calls, with barbaric yelps and all accompanying noises of a revived militarism, civilization with a sharpened sense of responsibility will speak in her own way with dignity of style and impressiveness of form. It may be one of the sad compensations of the moral collapse of Germany that the literature of freedom and justice is constantly growing in volume and intensity of purpose. Already have the Nazi rulers and despoilers of all that is sacred in human life been condemned in many thousands of books, pamphlets, speeches, sermons, magazine and newspaper articles published in all languages. Their leaders in the scientific, literary, musical and other branches of the cultural world whom they have outlawed and whose properties they have confiscated solely because of their race, have been eagerly received and sheltered by an appreciative world.

Not an outstanding voice has been raised in their defense. The increasing volume of the protests of all mankind, finding its most concrete and effective form in the boycott against German goods and services must before long lead to a collapse of the vicious, callous political philosophy that now dominates the German Reich.

The material collected in this volume consists of Addresses by outstanding men and women, leaders in world-affairs. It has been selected from among many hundreds of speeches, protests, and denunciations of the atrocities and continuous, increased persecutions by the Nazi regime, from the day it assumed power down to the present time. These protests reflect the outraged cry of civilization against the many wrongs that are being perpetrated through the enslavement by Germany of its people and its sad reversion to the horrors of medieval times.

The chief purposes of this publication are:

1. To demonstrate to the world that an effective substitute for the horrors of war has at last been found, through the boycott, to hereafter prevent a Nation, whether or not it is a member of the League of Nations, from racial and religious pogroms and persecutions, from trampling upon its helpless minorities, and

from otherwise defying and outraging humanity. It would be effective as to nine of every ten Nations, including also the countries of Asia, Africa and South America. That is more than can be said of the League. It is an ideal, peaceful way of enforcing the "economic sanctions" expressly provided for by the Covenant of the League of Nations, which the latter has been unable to enforce.

It would be particularly effective against a great Nation that has reverted to barbarism and would thus be cut off from commercial relations with other nations until it mends its ways. It would require no Government action. Its success would depend, of course, upon the extent to which it is actively supported by world-sentiment.

Notwithstanding the many pious protestations of Der Fuehrer, the proofs are overwhelming that Germany is preparing for war, and directing all her energies to that end. All that these protestations mean is that she is not yet ready. Nothing short of economic bankruptcy and the consequent inability to buy the necessary raw materials, can save the world from that catastrophe. The downfall of the Hitler regime, brought about by economic stress as the result of the boycott, and that alone, will accomplish that result. It is therefore the highest duty of all peace-loving peoples to contribute to that end—lest the world be plunged into an abyss from which civilization cannot survive.

2. The success of such a remedy would rescue Christianity and the cause of racial and religious freedom from the domination of the State which now threatens to engulf and destroy it. It would ensure the continued separation of Church and State, and would render impossible the continuation or repetition of Germany's vast foreign propaganda campaigns, spreading among our people the poisonous germs of race and religious hatreds such as that from which America is now suffering.

The German Government is manifestly bent upon the destruction of all religious freedom and the ultimate rigid regimentation of all religious belief by the State; the placing of the Churches under the iron heel of the State, with the Scriptures rejected and a pagan form of worship substituted as prescribed by the Reich. If there is, at the moment, comparative quiet on the Catholic Front, this respite will continue only until after the approval of the Saar plebiscite. Until that crisis is past the conflict over the determined attempt to strike down existing religious beliefs will be soft pedaled. The significance of the so-called "German Christian Church" as part of the plan for the gradual conversion of the German people to the Atheistic views of Dr. Rosenberg is confessed in his writings. This is what will happen to Christianity as soon as the present storm blows over, that will permit applying the screws to the brave men who are engaged in the desperate fight that is now going on.

Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, one of America's most eminent Protestant divines, thus accurately summarizes the situation:

"Those who steadfastly intend this shameful thing are not to be dissuaded by present failure. They can be counted on to continue their agitation, which will in future, as in the past, be characterized by violence, propaganda and the exaltation of incompetence and narrow nationalistic sectionalism.

"In its simplest terms, the struggle in Germany is to determine whether State worship in modern form, racialism and nationalistic extravaganzas shall take the place of a spiritual and universal religion, which has always found at least some degree of expression in the Christian churches—both Catholic and Protestant."

Opposition to the new Nazi religion, Dr. Cadman declares, "is not simply an affair of a few religious leaders but is rooted in the deepest convictions of the laity as well.

"Despite the shameless and lying propaganda which has assiduously shown only one side of the issue and has sought at every point to deceive the German church people concerning the real issues at stake, the facts have penetrated to a very considerable proportion of the church members with consequences that are increasingly serious for the future of the Nazi movement," he adds.

Promises Only Words

Promises of "confessional freedom and the liberty to preach," which have been made by the Nazi leaders to the pastors, are empty words, Dr. Cadman writes. By the Nazi leaders "it has been understood that this freedom must be made to comport with the new Nazi ideology and the 'Weltanschauung' of its high priests led by the unspeakable Rosenberg.

"Less pressure has been put on the Roman Catholic Church in the Third Reich in recent months because the Nazis do not wish to lose the plebiscite in the Catholic Saar region. Hitler and his lieutenants, however, have sent up 'trial balloons' proposing the unification of Catholics and Protestants into one Reich church.

"The effect of this has been to drive the Catholics and Protestants into a united movement which has the peculiar characteristics of being designed to marshal their respective forces to achieve a continued separateness! They are consequently closer together in spirit than heretofore."

For the period following the Saar plebiscite in January, 1935, Dr. Cadman predicts increased aggressiveness on the part of the Nazi leaders.

"The repressions, restrictions, intimidations, arrests, unscrupulous spying and vicious misrepresentation which have characterized the activity of the Reich Church is only a prelude to what will come in February, 1935, if the Nazis have their way. If by that time they have not learned the ultimate futility of their planned course of coercion, there will be seen in Germany a 'Kulturkampf' far more serious than that from which Bismarck was compelled to draw back after bitter disillusionment in the late Eighties."

In the beginning, Dr. Cadman continues, Catholic and Protestant resistance to the Nazi Church centered about the adoption of the Nazi racial theories, particularly in respect to the Jews. The treatment of the Jews, "where it was known (as it fre-

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quently was not widely known in German church circles) aroused a moral condemnation which was not sectarian, but which does credit to the finer instincts of both Catholic and Protestant Christians in the Reich."

The resistance offered by German Christians to the Nazi church leaders has been characterized by "heroism."

3. Another equally important purpose of this publication is to disprove, demonstrate and set at rest for all time the utter falsity and absurdity of the widespread, constantly repeated German propaganda that the ever-increasing, world-wide boycott of German goods is a *Jewish movement*. This is not and was at no time a Jewish question, although the Jews were the first victims and have been in proportion to their numbers the greatest sufferers from the reign of terror and lawlessness that now holds the German people in its grip. But these horrors were followed in rapid succession by other and more numerous groups, of which Organized Labor and the Catholic and Protestant Churches are outstanding instances.

The Jews constitute *less than one per cent* of the world's population and less than four per cent of the population of the United States. It goes without saying that they alone could not have created a fraction of the havoc that has already been inflicted upon Germany by the boycott.

As illustrating the baselessness of the claim, the world membership—about 17,000,000—of Organized Labor, which is but one of the many factors participating in this boycott, alone numbers more than the total Jewish world-population.

Cable messages issued from time to time by the vast German Propaganda Ministry, as though emanating from German Jews, purporting to deprecate the boycott, are quite understandable when we realize the terroristic conditions under which they are put forth. They shed a flood of light upon a situation that renders such pronouncements possible.

The boycott is the only weapon that has resulted in such slight amelioration of the persecutions as have taken place. With the press completely gagged and free speech made a crime, it is the only channel through which world-opinion can be made known in Germany. Persuasion is worse than useless. They are deaf to the cries of humanity. Appeals to their pocket-books alone give them pause.

The German Jews must be made to realize the fact that they are not the only group concerned in this movement. Christianity, Organized Labor, Women, the Masons and others have an equal stake. If World Jewry were to withdraw from participation in this world-wide boycott tomorrow, which is not for a moment conceivable, it would go on all the same—until civilized government and religious freedom are reinstated in Germany. Their withdrawal would have as much effect on the situation as that of the Esquimaux.

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Neither the pogroms nor the St. Bartholomew's Day slaughter of June 30, 1934, have been or will ever be forgotten. No amount of suppression of the news of actual conditions and no more millions hereafter squandered in propaganda will mislead the world as in the past or will reinstate Germany to a place in the Family of Nations; nothing short of the destruction of Hitlerism, and all for which it stands, could accomplish that purpose.

The uprising by Labor and the intensive boycott of German goods which it is prosecuting here, in Great Britain and many other countries, is readily comprehensible in the light of a statement made by Mr. Walter M. Citrine, who is the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions and Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, in an Address a few weeks ago at the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, in which he cites the German Statistical Society, an official German body, as authority for the statement that under the Hitler regime—

"German wages have reached the lowest level in 50 years. The official records show that only 1% of the workers receive an average weekly wage of more than \$13.50, while 50% receive between \$3.50 and \$7.30 and 13½% receive less than \$3.50."

Added to these elements are the Catholic and Protestant Churches and clergy and the tens of millions of their members, to whom the attempted seizure and control of their Churches by the State, the destruction of religious freedom, and the placing of Christianity of all sects under the iron heel of Government, has forced many more millions to adopt the boycott as their only weapon of defense.

When we supplement these many victims by the protests of the women of the world who have been outraged by the loss of their freedom, their exclusion from business, and the position to which they have been relegated as "breeders of children" and household drudges, and the Masonic Lodges and Orders that have been exterminated and their property confiscated, the contention that this is a Jewish boycott becomes farcical.

This is the spontaneous revolt of humanity of all creeds and races, and the boycott is its only practical and effective form of expression.

The supporters of the boycott must above all things be ever on the alert in the purchase of merchandise to detect the innumerable frauds, evasions and trickery that are being employed to deceive the public into the purchase of German goods under false pretenses. Our laws specifically provide that *every imported article*, as well as the container in which it comes, must be *plainly and conspicuously* stamped with the *country* of origin.

It would require pages to describe the various forms of deception that are being practiced. German goods are being re-

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shipped from Holland, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other parts of the world camouflaged under the names of those countries. German brands are being obliterated and names of cities and provinces, instead of the *country* of origin, are being used. Where parts of an article are made in Germany, the name of that country is being omitted, and in many cases the word "Germany," instead of being *conspicuously* placed on the article, is either concealed or printed in such small type and so illegibly that it is difficult to find it.

Unrestricted "dumping" is another favorite device that is being resorted to by Germany in its desperation. This is accomplished not only by selling goods below cost but by the acceptance in Germany at par for the payment of goods of so-called "blocked-marks" that are worth about 40 cents on the dollar.

Another means adopted by the importers, some of whom, to our shame and humiliation be it said, are Jews, is the purchase in this country and especially in this City, mainly from one of our greatest banks, of discredited German bonds that have defaulted on their interest at about 20 cents on the dollar, and the use of those bonds in Germany at par toward paying for merchandise.

These are a few only of the many means employed, for the success of which the laxity of our Government Departments is largely to blame. But for the trade resistance to German goods at any price, throughout the country, *these methods would render competition by our manufacturers impossible*. It is none the less a grave indictment of our Treasury Department to whom our manufacturers have the right to look for the protection that they are not receiving.

If there are any Americans—which I doubt—to whom German trade is more important than human life and the future of civilization, or who labor under the delusion that we shall lose business that is worth retaining through the boycott, let them remember that our total *world-exports* amount to only 6% of our gross income, and of this trifling percentage *less than one-half of one per cent* goes to Germany; that they have been paid many times over with our own money, and that our dealings with that country have cost us billions of dollars in their dishonored and worthless obligations. America would have been vastly better off if it had no business or financial relations with Germany since the war.

The boycott has already stimulated the manufacture in this and other countries of many lines of merchandise formerly imported from Germany, and will do so in increasing volume as time goes on. From a material standpoint, the boycott has proven to be a blessing instead of the handicap that was shortsightedly predicted of it.

The unfortunate efforts of our inept State Department to pull down our protective barriers in the hope of increasing our export

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trade, by agreements at the expense of our home manufacturers, should be brought to an end. It evidences a revival of the disastrous "free trade" policies that cost us so dearly in the past. This letting down of the bars would flood our markets with foreign goods made by pauper labor at the expense of our home factories, and of our standards of living. Any trade agreement that might be made with Germany would be especially unfortunate—in the light of our past experiences with that country, and for the further reason that what she mainly wants from us are raw materials for *war purposes*, which it is our highest duty to prevent her from getting, so far as lies within our power.

There will, of course, always be a substantial amount of international exchange in articles that we cannot produce, such as tea, coffee and the like, for the goods that these countries are unable to manufacture; but it is not true, as stated in the title of the advertised forthcoming Address of the Secretary of State, that "international trade is indispensable to full and stable prosperity."

Nothing could better illustrate the depths of depravity to which the Hitler regime has sunk in its unconscionable warfare to exterminate its Jewish minorities and to spread broadcast race and religious hatreds than the trial now in progress in Berne, Switzerland, at the time this pamphlet goes to press.

When Henry Ford's "Dearborn Independent," many years ago, published and circulated the spurious "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," which had long before been overwhelmingly demonstrated to be clumsy forgeries, he was dragged into Court by Mr. Untermeyer, in behalf of Herman Bernstein, in an action for libel brought in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York, on account of such publication.

In order to escape trial Mr. Ford then confessed that these so-called "Protocols" were forgeries that had been imposed upon him, and manfully issued a public apology. Long before that time, in 1921, the "London Times" exposed these forgeries. And yet the Streicher newspapers actively and persistently aided and abetted by the Hitler government in and out of season, knowing that they were forgeries, and after their full exposure, continues to publish them under the protection of that Government! What more convincing evidence of malice and mendacity could there be!

Whilst this pamphlet represents only an infinitesimal fraction of the ever-enlarging literature of the indictment of Hitlerism, it contains sufficient illustrations of damning evidence against Nazi misrule and oppression, showing the cruelties and the wrongs that this regime has visited on the various liberal groups within the State, upon progressive elements, organized labor, women, who are subjected to a new form of slavery and innocent children of dissident groups whose sufferings cannot be adequately visualized. The Nazi attacks upon Christianity and religious freedom and

upon every form of independent thought and action are here fully outlined.

If it be true, as published in London on apparently high authority, that the Nazi Government is beseeching thirty of its German-Jewish refugees who were engaged in commerce in Germany, to return to that country, I cannot conceive of any self-respecting Jew considering any such plea. It would be a base betrayal of his persecuted fellow-Jews in Germany.

The public addresses here reproduced and especially the speeches of Mr. Untermyer, were heard at gatherings attended by hundreds of thousands of men and women in all parts of the country, by millions over the nation-wide broadcasts, many of whom are eager to help in resisting the unspeakable menace of Hitlerism. It is in answer to the demand of many of those who have heard and read these addresses that a selected few are now being made available for wider circulation.

The addresses of Mr. Untermyer are notable not only for the consummate manner in which he assembled the facts, the great skill of the advocate and pleader for a noble cause, the persuasiveness and eloquence with which the case is presented; they should become memorable by reason of the circumstances under which he had called into being this world-wide movement and has piloted it through its stormy career which has now encircled all the world and which in the end should prove the undoing of Nazi domination. Few instances in history have shown such complete identification of a man with a movement. This is the case with Mr. Untermyer and the boycott, which was first given tangible form through his address delivered in Boston in April of 1933. It was subsequent to that that the movement took organized form as a world movement with Mr. Untermyer's assumption of the leadership as the President of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights and of the World Conference in July, 1933, at Amsterdam, Holland, over which he presided. Many men of eminence in various countries representing different races and creeds became associated with the work, and supporters in many cities have lent strength and vigor to the furtherance of the work.

As this book goes to press another *Non-Sectarian World Conference* is to be held at London on November 25th to intensify and coordinate the boycott between the various countries at which outstanding leaders of every race and creed and of organized labor from all parts of the world will be represented.

New York, November 1st, 1934.

"WE ARE BOUND TO SPEAK OUT"

By HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

From an address delivered at Queen's Hall

June 27, 1933

I AM not going to rehearse afresh the facts which have themselves so eloquently appealed to us all. They are all familiar.

We all know how at this moment, as we sit here in peace and security, the members of the Jewish Community in Germany are being driven from all the State services, from posts which they have acquired by right of their capacity in the law, in medicine, in the Universities, even, as Mr. Garvin once said, from the concert room where music was once supposed to be the common language of all mankind. Even if they are allowed to remain in business or profession, they are increasingly deprived of any chances of maintaining a livelihood, and I would ask you to think because this is what has been increasingly brought home to myself from what I hear about the condition of affairs in Germany, of the families now in hiding from persecution and proscription in all the streets of German cities, suffering agonies of apprehension and of humiliation; and I think with particular indignation of what I have heard about the treatment of Jewish children, for in the schools in Germany they are being kept apart from other children as if they were something unclean. Imagine the effect upon those children, themselves having had borne in upon them at the most tender stage of their lives that they are not fit to be associated with other Germans, and imagine still more the effect upon the German children of the non-Jewish race in being thus at the very start of their lives educated in contempt and scorn of their fellow-creatures.

Now I do not wish to dwell upon these facts, but if it be true that on this scale injustice is abroad violating these elementary instincts of our common humanity, then it is impossible either here, or, I should have thought, in any part of the civilized world, for those citizens to whom these things are part of the heritage which they most constantly prize, to remain silent. They are bound to speak out if only for the relief of their own conscience.

It is, of course, true that we have no desire to interfere with the laws of other nations, and yet in spite of that I feel bound to recall to my memory the words which were spoken in 1882 at a great meeting of protest against similar treatment of the Jews in Russia, words spoken by one who had then and deserved a great place in the life of our English folk, the late Cardinal Manning. These are his words:

"The laws of humanity, of nature and of God are the foundation of all other laws, and if in any legislation these are violated all other Nations of Christian Europe, indeed of the whole commonwealth of civilized man, would instantly acquire a right to speak aloud."

It is that right that we feel bound to exercise here in London this evening. Yea, I think we may go further. We are learning slowly, but I hope surely, that the nations of the world are one community. What other hopes have we of this momentous Conference now assembled in London unless that truth can be not only held, but applied: for everyone knows that not only in the belief, but in the application of that fundamental truth, to which we have been driven quite as much by economic necessity as by our own thoughts in the enforcement of that great principle, lies the only hope of the restoration of the prosperity of the world. What does it mean? It means that the concerns of the one Nation are the concerns of all; that the spirit, the tone of mind the tendencies that operate in one Nation have necessarily their effects upon all; and therefore, if anything occurs on a large scale which offends the common instincts of anything that can be called a community of Nations, every member of that community is concerned.

I want to make this clear—that we are not here because we have been pressed and prompted by members of the Jewish community. It is true that we have a great, deep, and just sympathy with the Jewish community and an admiration for many of the great qualities which it has shown throughout the long history of the world, but we are here not because they pressed and prompted us, but because our hearts already go out to them in obedience to the same common principles of our humanity. I should like also to make it even more abundantly clear that we are not assembled out of any kind of hostility to the Great German Nation. Our regret is that what is happening in Germany with regard not only to the Jewish community (but very specially to them) affects us with the sense that just as we were trying to be fair and just to them, they have brought in a new element of doubt and alienation. Therefore, it is not because of any enmity with the German people, but because of the very strength of our desire to be friendly that we have felt bound to come together this evening and I hope with unanimity to pass this Resolution.

"NO CONCESSIONS TO THIS KIND OF GERMANY"

By SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

Extract from Speech in House of Commons, April 13, 1933

I AM not going to enter into a discussion of the internal happenings of Germany except insofar as they are applicable and pertinent to a Debate on Foreign Affairs. What is this new spirit of German nationalism? The worst of the all-Prussian Imperialism, with an added savagery, a racial pride, an exclusiveness which cannot allow to any fellow-subject not of "pure Nordic birth" equality of rights and citizenship within the nation to which he belongs. Are you going to discuss revision with a Government like that? Are you going to discuss with such a Government the Polish Corridor? The Polish Corridor is inhabited by Poles; do you dare to put another Pole under the heel of such a Government? I beg the Right Hon. gentleman to beware of what he is doing. After all, we stand for something in this country. Our traditions count, for our own people, for Europe and for the world. Europe is menaced and Germany is afflicted by this narrow, exclusive, aggressive spirit, by which it is a crime to be in favour of peace and a crime to be a Jew. That is not a Germany to which we can afford to make concessions. That is not a Germany to which Europe can afford to give the equality of which the Prime Minister spoke. That is more than he ever promised. I understood that the promise made by the Five Powers was of equality of status, to be reached by stages. Before you can afford to decide, or to urge others to decide, you must see a Germany whose mind is turned to peace, who will use her equality of status to secure her own safety but not to menace the safety of others; a Germany which has learnt not only how to live herself, but how to let others live inside her and beside her.

"LIBERAL PRINCIPLES IN DANGER"

By SIR JOHN SIMON

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

From a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons

April 13, 1933

I DESIRE to say a word on a matter which the Right Hon. Member for Epping dealt with at the end of his very impressive and moving speech, namely, the special concern which we have at the present time with regard to the news as to the treatment of Jews in Germany. This debate has been especially useful, because it has expressed the deep, general and, I might say, universal feeling that is entertained in this country on the recent treatment of Jews and other minorities in Germany.

I do not think it would be out of place if I say now, speaking as a Member of the Government, that it would be a profound mistake for anyone in any country to imagine that this feeling is either limited to or instigated by members of the Jewish community. On the contrary, it is a spontaneous expression and it is an inevitable expression of the attachment which we all feel to the principle of racial toleration. My Right Hon. friend the Member for Darwen (Sir. H. Samuel) said, quite truly, that it was a Liberal principle. So it is. It is a claim which many of us who have great attachment to that general outlook may fairly make. It is one of those principles which in past times has been a subject of controversy in our own political life and in which, in the broadest sense, Liberal opinion has championed the oppressed.

It is also one of those things which have entered into the traditions of the whole of the British people. To-day there is no distinction between any of us, whatever our party affiliations may be, and we cannot conceive that civil liberty, upon which the progress not only of great nations but of neighborly relations so often depend, are not gravely menaced by the matters to which attention has been called to-day. It is not a Jewish outlook and it is not merely the outlook of a section or of a party; it is what may truly be called the Anglo-Saxon outlook. It is the outlook of those who have inherited traditions which have been common to England and Germany alike. I make these observations knowing well the responsibility which rests upon the Government in such a matter, and I do not believe that we should be expressing the feelings of the country if I did not associate myself with what has been said on this subject to-day.

CHILD VICTIMS OF THE NEW GERMANY

By LADY VIOLET BONHAM-CARTER

Address Delivered in London, England,

December 20, 1933

I WANT to make clear my profound conviction that this is not a matter which concerns the Jewish community alone. It concerns all who believe in justice and in our common humanity. It concerns all who care for mental and spiritual freedom; and it concerns all who care about the welfare of children and their happiness.

It is, as Lord Cecil has said, a challenge to civilization. I want to say—speaking not for myself alone, but for countless others who, like myself, though outside the Jewish community, are deeply stirred by these terrible events—we wish to stand by your side in taking up this challenge.

I can truthfully say that nothing within my political memory has ever moved me more deeply to horror and indignation than recent events in Germany. We, in this country, have looked on with dazed astonishment at this nightmare. We have seen libraries burnt. We have seen monuments erected to murderers. We have seen faith and race persecuted and proscribed, thought and art forbidden unless confined in the strait-jacket of State control.

We have seen Germany banish and despoil many of her greatest and most distinguished sons, men whose high achievements in every field of endeavour have brought her honour throughout the world. And these are perhaps the happiest.

For countless nameless ones are suffering imprisonment and worse to-day, are suffering gross and cruel injustices, simply because they happen to be what we here should call Liberals, or to belong to the Jewish race and persuasion.

I suppose if this were Germany most of us would be behind barbed wire. I can only say for myself that I should be ashamed to be anywhere else.

If these are the first-fruits of the new faith called German Christianity—a faith which, in order to fulfill all Aryan requirements, has, I believe, transferred the cradle of our religion from the Lake of Galilee to the Norwegian Fiords—all I can say is that it does not confine itself to an attack on the historical foundations of the Old Testament. It is an outrage and a violation of the spirit of the New. It runs counter to every concept that was ever held or taught by the great and gentle Founder of the faith to which I belong.

But that these pedantic barbarities should be extended in their scope to children—this is difficult for us here to realize or to imagine. I have here a letter from a German-Jewish child—a boy of 13—the son of a Jewish father and of a Christian

"LIBERAL PRINCIPLES IN DANGER"

By SIR JOHN SIMON

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

From a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons

April 13, 1933

I DESIRE to say a word on a matter which the Right Hon. Member for Epping dealt with at the end of his very impressive and moving speech, namely, the special concern which we have at the present time with regard to the news as to the treatment of Jews in Germany. This debate has been especially useful, because it has expressed the deep, general and, I might say, universal feeling that is entertained in this country on the recent treatment of Jews and other minorities in Germany.

I do not think it would be out of place if I say now, speaking as a Member of the Government, that it would be a profound mistake for anyone in any country to imagine that this feeling is either limited to or instigated by members of the Jewish community. On the contrary, it is a spontaneous expression and it is an inevitable expression of the attachment which we all feel to the principle of racial toleration. My Right Hon. friend the Member for Darwen (Sir. H. Samuel) said, quite truly, that it was a Liberal principle. So it is. It is a claim which many of us who have great attachment to that general outlook may fairly make. It is one of those principles which in past times has been a subject of controversy in our own political life and in which, in the broadest sense, Liberal opinion has championed the oppressed.

It is also one of those things which have entered into the traditions of the whole of the British people. To-day there is no distinction between any of us, whatever our party affiliations may be, and we cannot conceive that civil liberty, upon which the progress not only of great nations but of neighborly relations so often depend, are not gravely menaced by the matters to which attention has been called to-day. It is not a Jewish outlook and it is not merely the outlook of a section or of a party; it is what may truly be called the Anglo-Saxon outlook. It is the outlook of those who have inherited traditions which have been common to England and Germany alike. I make these observations knowing well the responsibility which rests upon the Government in such a matter, and I do not believe that we should be expressing the feelings of the country if I did not associate myself with what has been said on this subject to-day.

CHILD VICTIMS OF THE NEW GERMANY

By LADY VIOLET BONHAM-CARTER

Address Delivered in London, England,

December 20, 1933

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But that these pedantic barbarities should be extended in their scope to children—this is difficult for us here to realize or to imagine. I have here a letter from a German-Jewish child—a boy of 13—the son of a Jewish father and of a Christian

mother. He was brought up as a Protestant. He was, until lately, in a school in a southern German provincial town. He is now, I am glad to say, safe in Paris.

"I was the only Jew in my class" (he writes). "Until Easter I was a Protestant, then they found out that my father was a Jew and so I became one. After that everything was different. No one would be friends with me. No one would answer me. In school no one would sit next to me. They all used to want to be before, as I was the best in the class and they all wanted to crib. Now I had to sit all alone on the back bench. At first I was frightfully unhappy—more so as the masters who always used to like me could not stand the sight of me any more. When they came into the classroom everyone had to jump up and with right hand outstretched shout 'Heil Hitler!' I did too—or I didn't. I don't know. If I did then the whole class would shout 'The Jew is profaning our greeting!' And if I didn't the master shouted 'You wait you Marxist bastard!' Then I was ordered to shout 'Heil Hitler!' alone three times. The whole class laughed. I was so afraid, I wanted to cry. And then I used often to be late so that I shouldn't have to shout 'Heil, Hitler!' The master used to give me extra work to do as a punishment. He wrote in the class book, 'For Jewish slovenliness.'

"Once I did not know the answer—I used always to know before—so he asked me if the only thing I could do was 'Fires and murders like my father.' Once when I could not answer, the history master said I should be slaughtered like father. I tried to pull myself together, but tears used to sometimes come and then they used to say I was a dirty coward like the rest of the Marxists. The worst thing of all was in the 'breaks' in the courtyard. We children of Jewish and Marxist parents had to go into a corner of the courtyard by ourselves. Then there was always trouble. The others shouted nasty things at us and threw stones. Once I defended myself so they hit me and bullied me fearfully. Those in charge didn't even come near.

"At singing it was worse still. I had to learn the text of the Horst Wessel Lied and the other songs and then I had to say them alone. Again they used to laugh and shout horrid things.

"In drawing I had to do nothing but swastikas. Once I got detention because I drew a crooked one. Then the master wrote in his book, 'For ridiculing the German symbol.'

"Before I used to be the best pupil. Now I was the worst. Whether I got something right or wrong, I always got the worst marks. I was the scapegoat for everything."

This is an authentic letter, and what it describes is not an exceptional case. I daresay that there are many such.

Can anyone who has a child of their own even dimly imagine what they would feel if their child were being daily subjected to such bewildering injustice and humiliation?

But what is more important than the suffering of the parents is the suffering of the children, and not their suffering alone—though it is difficult at times to see past that—but the effect that such experiences must inevitably produce on their nature, on their whole outlook, on all that delicate structure that goes to make up what we call character.

Science (always a day behind the fair) is telling us now what mothers and poets have always known—that these early years of awakening and unfolding are perhaps the determining factor in all that is to come:—

"These first affections,
These shadowy recollections
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
Are yet the master-light of all our seeing."

In what dark colours will these unhappy children see life? How can they trust a system which has failed them so cruelly from the outset? How can they believe in gentleness or generosity who have not even known justice?

Children instinctively give back to life what life has given to them. What sort of a world are these children going to build? How can these child-victims of blind racial persecution lay the foundations of that new order of international brotherhood and understanding which, we are told and truly told, is the only hope of the future?

We are not here to denounce these things, which we are, alas! powerless to prevent, but to consider what help we can give, what first-aid we can render to its victims.

I have no fear that the faith and the courage of the Jewish race will fail. They have carried it high through the centuries, a torch which no suffering could quench. But the faith of a child, the courage of a child, is a candle just lit. It must be a guarded flame.

Our first duty surely is to try and remove as many of these children as possible from surroundings in which they can only grow up warped and bruised and embittered by injustice, and to replant them in a soil in which they can grow to freedom and to happiness.

Imagine just for one moment that your child—the child you most dearly love—has been removed from your care and placed outside the reach of your protection—that it is suffering injustice, humiliation, desolation such as most sheltered children can, thank Heaven, not even imagine, that it is in dire need of help.

As you would wish it to be protected, comforted, and saved, so I ask you to help others now.

GETTING RID OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By REV. JAMES M. GILLIS
Editor, *The Catholic World*

Address Broadcast Over Station WLWL, November 23, 1933

THERE is an ancient pagan maxim, "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." And it does really seem that those who are bent upon self-destruction commence by losing their wits.

One of the maddest ideas that has ever been exhibited to the world that has witnessed so much lunacy is that of certain Nazi Christians in Germany who have declared their intention of doing away with the Old Testament. The reason alleged is that the Old Testament is Semitic — or to speak more accurately, Jewish. The anti-Jewish movement has gone so far in Hitler's Reich that some of the extremists, following the discredited Ludendorff, want to get rid not only of the Old Testament but the New, not only of Judaism but Christianity as being Jewish in origin and ethos. The Ludendorff element is more courageous and consistent than those who dare go only half-way in their determination to get rid of all that smacks of Judaism. For every book in the New Testament, as well as in the Old, was written by a Jew. St. Luke, St. Mark and St. Paul were Jews of the Dispersion, that is to say, Jews of other countries than Palestine, but they were none the less Jews.

The Apostles were Jews as truly as the prophets; Peter and Paul and James and John were quite as Jewish as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses. And if we must introduce the Sacred Name of Jesus into this ridiculous business, there was not one drop of any blood but Jewish in the veins of the Son of Mary. So, once these anti-Jewish fanatics get going, if they have the audacity to be consistent, they will have to throw away the New Testament with the Old. If they eliminate everything Jewish from their religion, they will have to get rid of our Saviour Himself, and His Mother and His foster father and all His friends, apostles and first disciples.

And if they get rid of Our Lord, whom will they put in His place? Ludendorff, who probably is mad—in the original sense of the word—that is insane—has the answer. He suggests a new god, or rather an old heathen god dug up out of the grave in which he had lain for some 1,400 years—the god Wotan, otherwise Woden, for whom our Wednesday (Wodensday) was named in heathen times. Wotan, by the way, had one peculiar characteristic in Teuton and Scandinavian mythology. He was the god of the wind—perhaps we may say the god of the big wind; and as such I should say an appropriate choice for the Hitlerites; if Hitler won't be jealous of a god who can blow harder and longer than he.

GETTING RID OF THE OLD TESTAMENT · BY REV. J. M. GILLIS

Also Wotan, like all the other heathen deities, demanded and received human sacrifice. Perhaps the extreme bigots like Ludendorff plan to offer him human sacrifices once again—and doubtless the human sacrifices would be Jewish men, women and children. I wouldn't put it beyond him. One of the marks of a bigot is that he thinks he does a service to God when he persecutes his fellow-men.

Speaking of human sacrifice—when the primitive Christians were persecuted in Rome and in other parts of the Empire, they were thought to be Jews. And the Romans had reason to consider them Jews, for in fact most of them *were* Jews. When St. Paul went out into the Gentile world, though he considered himself to be by the divine call apostle to the Gentiles, he always preached first in the synagogues, and the first Christians were Jews. The earliest martyrs in consequence, not only at Jerusalem but at Rome, were Jews. Indeed, the first three popes, if not the first four popes, were Jews.

In the text of the Roman Mass even to this day we have reminders that our remotest ancestors in the Faith were Jews; to say nothing of the introductory parts of the Mass (taken generally from the Old Testament and hence Jewish). When we come to the Canon, the sacredest part of the Divine Liturgy, we speak of "Our Father Abraham," and of Melchisedech, the high priest, who offered sacrifice for Abraham.

To put the matter briefly and pointedly—we Christians consider ourselves to be direct and legitimate heirs to the Jewish religion. Our faith began in Judaism, and to this day is steeped and saturated with Judaism. It may be that a good many Jews don't know how Jewish is the Christian religion, but there is no excuse for a Christian's not knowing that we have inherited a very great deal of the Jewish tradition and the Jewish spirit. We use the Jewish scriptures, we honor the Jewish heroes, the Jewish patriarchs, prophets, sages and kings. We claim Isaiah and Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, no less than Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. We hold that the Old Testament written before Christ is just as divinely inspired as the New Testament written after Christ.

Now, therefore, we have and can have no sympathy and no agreement with those who try to deJudaize Christianity. To eliminate the Jewish element from our faith would be to tear up and throw away the roots of the Christian religion.

But what do the madmen in Germany know about all this? Even those who do not go the full way with Ludendorff in his demand that a heathen deity be replaced upon the altars from which he was dethroned more than a thousand years ago; even those who speak merely of lopping off the Old Testament as Jewish and retaining the New Testament as Christian, are like

all fanatics, ignorant. In fact, I think it a feasible proposition that ignorance is the cause, or at least the *sine qua non* of fanaticism.

I am ashamed to say that I meet from time to time evidences of ignorance in this matter even on the part of our own Catholic people. Some of *them* don't know or at least rightly appreciate our Jewish origin, and some of them are ignorant of the purity and the majesty, the beauty and the high spirituality of the Jewish religion. Perhaps we can't blame them altogether. The Jews they meet are for the most part not good specimens; they are apostate Jews, and an apostate does no credit to the religion which he has abandoned. We ought to know that from our apostate Catholics. Almost always they hand out ready-made explanations of their apostasy. Renegades, like all other sinners, have some little conscience left; and so they feel it necessary to excuse themselves to their friends and neighbors; to give a good account of themselves to those who want to know why they left their old faith. They cook up plausible statements; they say they didn't like the manners or perhaps even the morals of the clergy; they objected to the money at the door; they didn't like this and they didn't like that—they couldn't believe this and they couldn't believe that. They manage to fool the outsider (perhaps); they manage to fool themselves (no doubt!) but they don't fool those who are "in the know." Their real difficulty is not the creed but the commandments; what drives them out is not the morals of the clergy, but their own morals; it isn't the money at the church door that is the real obstacle to their faith, but the money in their own pockets—money that has no right to be there. We know them; they are a shame to us: especially when they don't actually secede from the church once and for all, but tag along with us, more or less. We have to take the blame for them, though they are not really ours.

Therefore, we ought to know what to think of lapsed, fallen away, apostate Jews. They, too, are a bad lot. But we have no more right to judge the original, beautiful, pristine, pure Jewish religion by them than our critics have a right to judge Catholicism from corrupt politicians, or bootleggers or gangsters who happen to have what is called a Catholic name. We Catholics have suffered so much for the sins of bad Catholics that we should be the last persons in the world to condemn Judaism for the sins of bad Jews. We demand that our faith be judged on its own merits. We ought to judge Judaism on its own merits.

And that brings me back to what I really meant chiefly to say: these ignorant Nazi Christians who talk of throwing the Old Testament overboard, *don't know* the Old Testament. With the possible exception of the New, there is no literature extant superior to or equal to the Old Testament. It is superb, mag-

nificent, eloquent beyond all description; it is sweet and strong, it dips down deep into the heart of man—even into the heart of God. I have often quoted a sentence from the famous English novelist, John Cowper Powys who wrote of the Psalms of David, "(They) are the most pathetic and poignant, as well as the most noble and dignified of all poetic literature. The rarest spirits of our race will always return to them at every epoch in their lives for consolation, for support and for repose."

What Powys says of the Psalms, may be said of the entire Old Testament.

It is a familiar and indubitable fact that the greatest writers of prose and of poetry in every language have fed upon and developed their genius upon the literature of the Bible—and that those whose style has been distinguished for dignity, grandeur and power, have particularly steeped themselves in the Old Testament.

Just by way of a sample, let me read you one or two selections. Here is a passage out of Ecclesiastes, not ostensibly a poem, like the Psalms, but was there ever poetry that could surpass this richly beautiful prose?

"Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the evil days come, and the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them; before the sun and the moon and the stars are darkened, and the clouds return after the rain; in the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the eyes shall be darkened, and the doors shall be shut in the street; when one shall rise up at the voice of a bird, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low; yea, they shall be afraid of that which is high, and terrors shall be in the way; and the almond-tree shall blossom and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail; because man goeth to his everlasting home and the mourners go about the streets; before the silver cord is loosed or the golden bowl is broken, or the pitcher is broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern, and the dust returneth to the earth from whence it came, and the spirit return to God who gave it." (xii. 1-7.)

These passages and a thousand others of superb beauty, of power, of righteous wrath, of pathos, and pity and consolation, were written by Jews under divine inspiration and these are what certain Nazis are stupid enough to wish to throw away. When race fanaticism goes to that extreme, it shows itself for what it is—madness.

If it be only a myth that pagan gods made men mad as a preliminary to destroying them, it is no myth that the true God may destroy men who deliberately cultivate the madness of race prejudice.

CIVILIZATION AGAINST HITLER

By SAMUEL SEABURY

*Address Delivered at the Madison Square Garden,
March 7, 1934*

THE meeting which brings us together is no ordinary occasion. We have discussed a momentous issue: the Cause of Civilization against Hitlerism.

What then is civilization?

Generally, we recognize it as an advanced stage of social development and of the forces in society which make for human progress.

As history attests, civilization springs from a background of tradition and knowledge which have inculcated among those who live within the zone of its influence the habits of order and the observance of the laws of reason, and secures to them the guarantees of freedom.

Multiple factors have entered into its creation; myriad are the benefits to mankind which flow from its development.

Western civilization, for example, has created a social consciousness that recognizes individual liberty, the freedom to live, to work, to think, to speak, to write and to publish, and the freedom to give the fullest expression to human personality.

It builds its development upon laws embodied in the customs and habits of the people and in the ideals visioned by a moral sense which makes men sensitive of the rights of others and conscious of their obligations to one another.

The two factors which have most impeded the march of civilization—the two gravest evils which man through the ages has inflicted upon his fellows—are religious persecution and war.

These are the twin plagues which the peace, happiness and future development of mankind require shall be extinguished.

Disregard our social inheritance, renounce the principles of liberty and freedom which civilization has attained, and you break the bonds which hold civilization together and usher in an era of savagery and barbarism.

Strong as our civilization is, the lesson of history, as well as recent events, admonish us that civilization has in it elements of uncertainty and insecurity. It cannot exist unless the individuals and states within the zone of its influence recognize their dependence upon the observance of rules that are necessary for the orderly development of social life.

Just as no individual can disregard the other members of the community in which he lives, so no civilized state can disregard the other states in the world of which both are a part.

Those interested in the cause of civilization should beware of the advance of barbarism, manifesting its approach through religious persecution and race hatred.

CIVILIZATION AGAINST HITLER : BY SAMUEL SEABURY

Yet these are the banners under which Hitlerism is seeking to make its advance.

A great state and the rule over a great people have been seized by a tyrant whose grip is as firm as his policies are wicked.

These policies have manifested themselves in unspeakable oppression and acts of cruelty. They threaten not only the extermination of the liberty of those who live under his rule, but the liberty, integrity and independence of neighboring states.

In the addresses which have been made this evening, you have heard the testimony of witnesses who represent different schools of thought, and who, in various spheres of action, are the accredited leaders of those for whom they have assumed to speak. Collectively, these witnesses voice not only the cultural, political, academic and religious views which are basic in our civilization, but they have enunciated what I verily believe to be the true verdict of American public opinion.

The views thus expressed have not dealt with prophecy, but with facts. The facts have disclosed what has happened in Germany and the outrages which have been perpetrated during one year of the Hitler regime.

The witnesses you have heard tonight have detailed events, the occurrence of which has shocked the moral sense of mankind and which are peculiarly distressing to those of us who cherish the American ideal, because these events strike at the basic principles which underlie human freedom.

Not only do these events distress us in this respect, but they reveal the commission of cruelties and of outrages upon those who are near and dear to a group of our own citizenship—a group which have contributed much to the upbuilding of our institutions and constitute an element in our country whom we delight to acknowledge as our partners in American citizenship.

The hideousness of the events, their promise of further oppressions and their menacing character, threatening the very foundations upon which Western civilization rests, justly alarm all those who are interested in the advancement of that civilization and are opposed to its being disrupted by the precipitation of another fiery ordeal of battle which these Hitler tactics, if not prevented, foreshadow.

These events thus create the issue upon the determination of which momentous consequences depend, and involve no other question than the Cause of Civilization Against Hitlerism.

Other States may in their present stage of development have extended their state powers unduly over the consciences and the rights of their own citizens, but the Nazi state has gone further in that its basic idea is the deification of force, the dogma of race and the discrimination against all who are not of that race.

The test by which the Nazi state determines whether the rights

of men shall be recognized is made dependent not upon the action or conduct of the individual, not upon his merit or the lack of it, but solely on the race from which he has sprung.

Thus Hitler, in a spirit of nationalistic egoism, outlaws the brotherhood of man, proclaims those of his race alone the children of a common father and discriminates against all others. Recognizing that the attributes of the God whom mankind recognizes are too catholic and comprehensive to fit his narrow category, he creates his own god—a god fashioned in the hideous image of Hitlerism.

The facts which many speakers have so eloquently presented to you to-night attest that the multiple tyrannies, oppressions, brutalities, cruelties and injustices, in their various forms and manifestations, are all destructive of the cause of civilization, and are all indications of an aggressive Hitlerism which hurls its defiance at the world.

Others have spoken to you of specific acts which Hitlerism has perpetrated. Let us inquire what is the thought which has prompted these acts. From what have they sprung, and what is the program of which they are a part?

We must look for a moment at the historical events which preceded the advent of Hitler to power, and the ideology to which he has since committed the German people.

The Hohenzollerns abdicated on November 9, 1918. A Soviet regime intervened. It did not give satisfaction. A national assembly, representative of all classes of the community, met at Weimar on February 6, 1919, and adopted the Weimar Constitution in August of that year. That constitution rested upon the broadest principles of democracy and justice. In its preamble the people of Germany pledged themselves "to renew and to establish its federation on the sole bases of liberty and justice, to serve the cause of peace within and without, and to promote social progress."

Time will not permit detailed comment upon this remarkable document.

Suffice it to say that it proclaimed the German Federation a Republic with its supreme power vested in the people. It favored the cause of peace and encouraged education and international good will. Foreign conquests were proclaimed unconstitutional. The army and navy were proclaimed the "defence force," and could not be otherwise employed without a breach of the Constitution. It erected the standard of brotherhood in the place of the old order of special privilege. The right to trade and the right to work was insisted upon indeed, the right to an opportunity to work was expressly provided for. It laid upon sound principles the foundations for the administration of justice and guaranteed the rights of all, irrespective of race, creed

or sex. It surrounded personal liberty and freedom of opinion with constitutional safeguards and secured the right of public meeting. It treated a man's person and his home as sacred and recognized his right to emigrate to foreign countries. Art, science and the teaching and development of each were made free from social control, and the state recognized its obligations to preserve these rights from interference by individuals, groups or governments.

The Constitution of Weimar rested on the firm foundations of social justice, economic freedom and the common good. That Constitution was adopted in 1919. It represented the opinion of post-war Germany and it visioned an era of peace and good will. Had it been given effect, it would have meant much to mankind, but other forces intervened. I have no time to trace them. Suffice it to say that on October 18, 1933, four days after Hitler had led Germany out of the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, Hitler proclaimed: "Germany wants nothing but peace," and that she rejected every policy of force.

His every act since that time, as well as his previous utterances, show that his statement was false.

In his book "My Battle" ("Mein Kampf"), he said: "It is necessary, then, for better or worse, to resort to war if one wishes seriously to arrive at pacifism. In reality, the humanitarian and passive idea will perhaps be excellent on that day when the man superior to all others will have conquered and subjugated the world first of all in such a measure that he becomes the sole master of this earth. First, then, the battle, and afterwards—perhaps—pacifism."

Stop for a moment and consider the implications of this utterance.

Peace is not to prevail until the man whom Hitler regards as "superior to all others shall have subjugated the world," in such a measure "that he becomes the sole master of this earth."

Thus were the enlightened precepts of the Constitution of Weimar nullified and trampled under foot, and thus was ushered in the era of tyranny and violence for which Hitler has consistently stood.

The menace to the world from this attitude clearly appears from another utterance contained in Hitler's book. I quote it: "Not until the Germans have realized that they must engage in an active and final conflict with France will it be possible to bring the fruitless struggle to a conclusion—on condition, however that Germany sees in the extermination of France a means of providing her people with the necessary room for expansion * * *". And Hitler goes on to add: "There are eighty million Germans in Europe today. This policy will be recognized as the correct one when, in less than one hundred years from now, the

Continent of Europe is inhabited by two hundred and fifty million Germans."

Not only has the Constitution of Weimar been scrapped, but the mask has been torn aside and Hitler appears openly proclaiming that his group represents the men superior to all others and that a preliminary to the advent of peace is the subjugation of the world by them, and that they shall be recognized as the earth's sole masters.

Not only does he proclaim this as an ultimate end, but he points out that Germany—that is, the Hitler Germany—"sees in the extermination of France a means of providing her people with the necessary room for expansion."

According to Hitler, the lines of other national states are to be eliminated by war and conquest and in less than a hundred years the continent of Europe is to be inhabited by 250,000,000 Germans, actuated by the Hitler lust for power, accomplishing its purposes by the Hitlerized processes of violence and cruelty, until the German power shall have "subjugated the world" and become "the sole master of this earth."

Since that time, the policy of Germany has been to arm, and while it disguises the groups that it keeps equipped for battle, they include not only the regular army, but the Prussian Police, the Black Shirts, the Black Coats, the Steel Helmets and others, an aggregate force of over a million men. A million men, ready, when their leader shall give the signal, to commence the work of "the extermination of France" and "the subjugation of the world."

Then, and then only, will the ideal of the Hitler state be realized—a state repressive of the personalities within it, aggressive, threatening and ruthless to all who are without it.

In order to appreciate the activities of the German national socialistic government for which Hitler speaks one must understand its ideology.

The basic idea underlying the whole program of tyranny is the German conception of the state, its powers and functions. It is a natural development of a school of German political philosophy and is the rock upon which the Hitler regime is founded.

Hitler not only enthrones this instrument of oppression, which he calls a state, as tyrant and despot over all who live within it, but he threatens, by its power, the existence of other states and gives express notice that its purpose is to exterminate each and every state which refuses to make way for the march of Hitlerism.

Force and fear—the power to use force and the capacity to inculcate fear and terror among others—are the distinctive attributes of the state which Hitler has created. Indeed, the overshadowing pre-eminence which has been accorded government by force and fear in the Hitler state excludes a consideration of fun-

damental political, social and economic principles, because, in the light of that false pre-eminence, these principles find neither room nor occasion for expression.

This view makes of the state an instrumentality of oppression, which kills the power to formulate ideals for the future and lifts a sordid materialism into the seat of power, creates an antagonism between law and justice, divorces the government from any connection with self-government and so paralyzes human endeavors as to render them incapable of giving expression to those qualities which, under free conditions, are among the glories of humanity.

It is this degraded conception which visualizes the state as the sole source of civil and moral obligation, crushes truth, makes injustice inevitable and kills the seed from which alone can germinate ideals that find their most exalted expression in religious, ethical and philosophical endeavors, and in an art and literature worthy of the world's best traditions.

In this Hitlerized state all intellectual and cultural activities are formulated, standardized and co-ordinated so as to flood the country, and mislead the people, with a false propaganda, favorable to the ideal of the Nazi state, and all attempts to correct the misimpressions so created are suppressed and punished.

The publicity and the attempt to mould public opinion favorable to the program of the government is made by the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

Thus the press is entirely under governmental control, so that every editor is, in effect, a public official whose utterances are dictated and controlled by the state. Broadcasting is likewise controlled and enlisted in the cause of governmental propaganda. Advertising is taken over by the state. A black list is established for books and many are upon the Hitler Index. The government not only dictates to the libraries what they may collect, but upon occasion the Nazi state directs the burning of books. Vain effort: You can no more stay the progress of the truth by reducing to ashes the form in which it is expressed, than you can imprison it behind iron bars.

The Nazi state controls the life of every citizen. Education and training for the young are directed in the same way; it has become the privilege of the few and is dominated by the teachings of the Nazi state. Jewish youth is denied the benefits of education. Great scientists, artists and teachers whose reputations are worldwide, have been driven from Germany because of racial tests which have been applied.

The administration of justice in Germany has been debased by providing for the determination of issues not in accord with law or justice, but solely upon the racial group to which the parties belong.

Doctors, lawyers, judges, members of all the learned professions and cultural groups who are not of the favored race have been discriminated against.

Representatives of trade unions and all who dissent from the philosophy and practices of the Nazi state are equally proscribed and discriminated against. The heads of the unions, like other dissenters, have been herded in concentration camps.

The assets and funds of the labor unions collected for unemployment relief have been confiscated and stolen by the Nazi state.

Women have been driven from industry and denied every vocation except those within the home and the bearing of children.

All the great social fellowships—religious, cultural, charitable, scientific and political—which abound in every civilized state, have been converted into agencies of propaganda for Hitlerism.

The Nazi state, however, does not limit itself to the suppression of cultural and social groups or fellowships, but subjects the private life of the individual to the same measure of control. It insists not only upon the regimentation of the actions of men, but their religious beliefs as well.

The academic freedom which prevailed in German universities has been stamped out and their educational institutions, formerly great centres of learning and culture, have likewise been converted into agencies of propaganda for Hitlerism.

The attempts of the Nazi state to subjugate the intellect and the religious beliefs of the people have received their most effective resistance from the churches. There was resistance in the fields of science, literature and art, but it was unorganized or came from individuals whose organizations had been destroyed. The influences of the Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches were too strong to be so easily disposed of and other methods of accomplishing the same purpose were resorted to. The great Catholic Church preserved its independence and loyalty to its traditions by refusing to worship at the Hitler shrine. As a result, the Catholic press has been rigidly censored and is discriminated against by the Nazi state. The Protestant Churches have been reduced to mere cogs in the political machine and are forced to teach the principles of Hitlerism as if they were the precepts of religion.

The outrages to which the Jewish people have been subjected have been inhuman, uncivilized and barbarous.

Every method which ingenuity, cruelty and perversity could devise to harass and oppress the Jews has been resorted to.

The Jews constitute the majority of those who have been herded in the concentration camps, where they have been subjected to every cruelty and indignity.

As long as the Jew remains in Germany he is denied the right to participate in wholesome, decent, civilized life. While the

Jew remains in Germany it is the new religion of the Nazi state that he shall be persecuted and oppressed. He is penalized in every activity he may exert.

Slavery without any mitigating circumstances must be the lot of the Jew who remains in Germany while the Nazi state is in power. And yet laws have been enacted in Germany which forbid the Jews to go elsewhere. Forbidden to leave Germany, they are outraged and oppressed while they stay. Prisoners to the Hitler state, denied the right to expatriate themselves, they must continue to remain under the Hitler regime and suffer the persecutions and cruelties incident to it.

Forbidden to live elsewhere, penalized while they remain, the Jewish populations of Germany are the galley slaves in the Nazi ship of state.

What can we say of such a state and the evils that it has produced except what Garrison said of slavery: that it is the "sum of all villainies."

Not content with the slaughter of the innocent within its own realm, Hitlerism has created agencies throughout the world through which it spreads false and malicious propaganda against the Jews, the only purpose of which is to stir up strife and create race hatred and prejudice.

In the discriminations against, and the persecutions of, the Jews, other people must not be so short-sighted as to conclude that they are not also affected. Persecution of one is an injury to all. Let us not forget that, in the language of our own James Russell Lowell, "In the gain or loss of one race, all the rest have equal claim."

In the fanaticism which has characterized the Nazi zeal, they have even rewritten the Psalms of David so that, instead of their giving an expression to an appreciation of the fatherhood of God—the very negation of the idea of racial discrimination—these Psalms shall hereafter in Germany hymn the Hitler hate against the race which produced them and clothed them in garments of beauty which they have worn through the ages.

Hitlerism is determined to establish its supremacy in Germany and throughout the world, even though, in order to accomplish this result, it must pass over the corpse of civilization.

The public opinion of the world will stop this advance. Hitlerism shall not pass over a highway strewn with the wrecks of western civilization. It shall not pass that way—no, not until the stars have darkened and the sun has set in the heavens, never to rise again.

The reason why Hitler cannot succeed is that a force greater than he will overcome him. The force that shall overthrow him is the public opinion of the world. The public opinion of the world rules the world. It has toppled kings from their thrones

and reduced great empires to dust and ashes. It has brought vain-glorious tyrants to the block or sent them to exile. It is a force strong enough to overthrow Hitlerism, its armies, its satellites, its bigots and fanatics. But public opinion must be aroused. It must be organized. The emergency is great; the need for immediate action vital. It must be crystallized at once and it must find expression in a boycott against Hitlerism—a boycott as wide as civilization and as powerful and as strong as humanity.

Other tyrants have often been overthrown as the result of an opposition led by individuals, but Hitlerism must be confronted by the aroused public opinion of the world, which will condemn it to the everlasting infamy which it merits.

Public opinion as the force, and boycott as the weapon, will break the power of Hitlerism. It will clear it from the pathway of the developing and advancing civilization which it obstructs and thus accord to the world the only opportunity it has for the preservation of world peace.

A LIBERAL'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NAZIS

By RAYMOND MOLEY

*Address Delivered at the Madison Square Garden,
March 7, 1934*

THE modern world is built upon nations and the modern nation is built upon the principle of unity. Unity in a nation comes from one of two things—the tie of common blood or the tie of common rational principle.

In the building of the American nation through the trials of colonial infancy, through its expansion over the continent and, still more significant, through its population from all of the peoples of the world, there was no choice in its means of unity. Its people did not have common blood. Therefore, it had to build its unity out of common principle.

What is this principle, then, which to us must mean a unifying reality as deep as blood? It is the principle of social justice in the face of obvious external differences. The very basis of social justice is that freedom of worship should be recognized, that freedom of expression should be guaranteed and, more latterly, that the right to enjoy the products of labor and the riches of nature's bounty should be justly protected. Religious and political justice has been followed by the building of the principle of economic justice.

I have no illusions about the nature of justice. Its expression comes in part from the revelation of divine wisdom. But such is the nature of the world that its definition comes along from the hard necessities of human living. If we cannot have justice, we cannot have life. That is the American creed.

If we believe that creed, which is fundamentally based upon the superiority of principle over common origin, based upon the faith and, I believe, now the scientific truth that physical externals of origin are unimportant factors in the fabric of civilization, we cannot believe and we cannot tolerate as a principle of national unity for ourselves, the barbaric delusion that blood relationship is the chief principle that must govern civilization.

That is my faith as a liberal.

When this nation was born, the world was old. Everywhere were civilizations based upon different principles than ours. But we displayed our experiment in the face of a grim and hard world; we challenged the cynical old age of Europe and Asia. We defended this principle with blood and treasure. Behind the barricades of our faith, we have tried and are trying more than ever to put into economic life the reality of our conceptions of justice for all—all Americans.

A certain minor public official, whose name is unimportant,

was confronted some time ago by a demand that in view of the sacred principle of asylum established and cherished in this country from its origin, certain citizens of Germany should be admitted to this country. He replied that the demand was backed merely by a few small groups along the Atlantic Seaboard, and that he, as a public official, representing the nation, was not impressed. I want the answer to this assertion to be clear and unequivocal.

It is not a small group or a special interest or even a group of special interests that is concerned in this question. It is the whole American people. And with regard to the specific question that that public official was discussing when he made that statement, public opinion broke the bonds of callous bureaucracy and put this country on record once and for all on the question of asylum. That issue has been settled and settled in the only possible American way.

Burke said in his immortal argument before the English Parliament in behalf of the colonies that "In order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over the Americans in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors have shed their blood."

What Burke said of the attitude of British liberals toward Americans is precisely what must be said now of the proper attitude of American liberals toward justice and freedom in Germany. We cannot find excuses for what Hitler has done without at the same time finding reasons why our faith in our country is a hollow pretense. We cannot whittle away the guilt of Hitler by asserting that he is speaking for a great nation's rights without repudiating the distinction that makes the United States a nation itself. Here is our chance to square our eloquent pretensions with splendid performance.

And so as an American who cherishes the liberal principles that hold us together as a nation, I abhor and detest the barbaric reversion that is Hitlerism. I believe that an American cannot excuse it without impugning his own principles. He has the right to expect his government to share in his abhorrence and to lend what legal aid it can to those who have suffered from Hitlerism.

This threat is not to one religion alone. It is a threat to every religion—to the spirit of religion itself. It is not merely a denial of right to a minority of Germans. It is a denial of the rights of all minorities.

It is not merely a battle in behalf of Jews. It is a fight for the integrity of American principle.

I hate Hitler and Hitlerism not only because they have denied justice to fellow human beings. I hate this thing because it is the enemy of my country, of my faith and of my right to be free.

NAZI ASSAULT ON ORGANIZED LABOR

By WILLIAM GREEN

*Address delivered at the testimonial dinner in his honor,
February 14, 1934*

PEOPLE of every age have been compelled to sacrifice, struggle and fight for the preservation of human rights and the exercise of freedom. They lose sometimes when through political manipulation despotic appeals are made to passion, feeling and racial sentiment. It is when these uncertain and dangerous characteristics of mankind are mobilized that tyrants win and, as a result, exercise autocratic control through the power of government.

In these modern days the hope of the oppressed people, in a state where a tyrant rules, lies in the development of an aroused, keen, sensitive international conscience. When the public opinion of mankind becomes aroused in opposition to intolerance and injustice, the victims of misrule become encouraged to fight for the enjoyment of their individual rights and for the recognition of the broad principle of human brotherhood.

The masses of the people have ever cherished the principles of democracy, freedom and justice as a priceless heritage. They do not wish nor do they ever expect to enjoy special privileges. Their economic, industrial and social salvation lies in the enjoyment of free and unrestricted opportunity to organize for self-helpfulness, to participate in the civic and political affairs of the Nation and to freely use their political and economic power so that they may establish a social and political order which makes for human betterment.

It is because of the devotion of the working people to the doctrine of human rights and human freedom that they were shocked when they learned of the atrocious treatment which, under the Hitler regime, has been accorded working people and the Jewish residents of Germany. The aroused feeling which was created in the minds of the working people throughout the world was reflected in the action taken by the British Trade-Union Congress, the Trade-Union organizations of Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Spain, France, The International Federation of Trade-Unions and the American Federation of Labor, representing the working people of the United States and Canada. These Trade-Union organizations are the accredited instrumentalities through which the voice of Labor, in the countries named, is given expression. Their feelings were aroused, their sensibilities shocked when they learned that through a seizure of political power in Germany the Hitler regime had launched a campaign of brutal persecution against the Jewish people and had destroyed the democratic Trade-Unions of Germany, imprisoned the officers

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of these Trade-Unions, confiscated their property and raided their offices and headquarters.

It was because of this inhuman and indefensible action practiced by the Hitler administration that these Trade-Union organizations, almost all of them, declared in favor of an economic boycott upon German goods and German service. Every man and woman who loves liberty and who places human rights above and beyond material rights will approve and applaud the action which these economic, democratic organizations, representing the working people of so many nations throughout the world, have taken.

The indictment against the Hitler regime in Germany is direct and amazing. The facts justify the charge that defenseless, law-abiding, upright Jewish citizens of Germany were subjected to most cruel persecution because they were Jews—and for no other reason. The working people of Germany who had built up their Trade-Unions and had acquired Trade-Union property were forced to witness the destruction of their Trade-Union institutions while their leaders were thrown into prison, not because they had committed any crime but merely because they had been identified with the bona fide Trade-Union movement of Germany.

Under this policy of ruthless extermination directed against Trade-Unions 86 buildings serving as headquarters of the National Trade-Unions, 233 local peoples' houses, directly or indirectly connected with the German Trade-Union movement, 16 health centers, with more than two thousand beds and 4 Trade-Union schools were confiscated by the Government. These 339 buildings represented a monetary value of 260,000,000 marks or \$100,000,000.

The German Labor Bank, with 240 branches, representing a total value of 80 million marks, was forcibly taken over by the Nazi storm troopers. The confiscatory policy of the Government did not stop there. The German Consumers Society, which had established 46 cooperative factories composed of four million members and which had acquired property and a treasury amounting to 240,000,000 marks or nearly \$100,000,000, was seized by the Government. One hundred and twenty-six newspaper dailies and 84 printing establishments belonging to the Social-Democratic Party, representing a value of 80,000,000 marks, were taken by the Government. Added to this was the labor, sport and culture movement with its numerous institutions, homes and theatres, which had been built up and established as a paralleling activity of the Trade-Union movement.

The accumulated property of the German Labor movement, which amounted to 700,000,000 marks or \$270,000,000, was forcibly seized under the pretense of coordination. Reliable information shows that a great part of this property has been totally destroyed. The "peoples' houses" in Leipzig, Breslau

and Nuremberg, furnishings, libraries and other valuables were thrown into the streets and publicly burned. Safes, belonging to the Trade-Unions, were opened and robbed of their contents.

Recently a so-called "New German Labor Code," entitled "The Law for the Organization of National Labor," was promulgated. The Hitler administration, through the operation of this law, undertakes to create a relationship between employer and employee based upon the complete domination and control of industrial ownership and industrial management.

This so-called Labor Code is revolutionary and reactionary. It completely annihilates Labor Unions, prohibits strikes and terminates collective bargaining, as well as the right to organize.

The new set-up created by this Labor Code provides for a system of shop councils which it is intended will function under the supervision of governmental labor trustees. Subject to certain exceptions, the employer is clothed with authority to fix wages and working conditions upon his own initiative although the workers are accorded the nominal but meaningless right to appeal to the state.

The structure of Trade-Unionism erected in Germany upon the initiative of the workers and which always was regarded as the bulwark of the liberties of the German workers has been completely destroyed. A new industrial and economic order which, in operation, subjects the worker to industrial management control reduces the worker to an industrial status approximating slavery. Not only have the German workers suffered the loss of millions in money but they have been robbed of their economic power and influence, the only weapon which free labor can use in establishing decent wages and humane conditions of employment.

While giving consideration to these facts we must bear in mind that in Germany, as in the United States, Great Britain and other countries, large numbers of Jewish people are members of Trade-Unions and for that reason it is reasonable to conclude that they suffered double persecution, the persecution which was directed against them because they were Jews and that which was directed against them because they were members of Trade-Unions. Because of the cultural and social inclination of the Jewish race the Jewish workers found an opportunity, as members of Trade-Unions, to give expression to their idealism and pursue their quest for education. They appreciated fully the value of association with the cooperative societies, the Trade-Union schools and health centers. Through the complete annihilation of these educational and cultural instrumentalities set up by the Trade-Union movement of Germany many Jewish working people have been denied the only opportunities which

were available for self-advancement and for the promotion of the common good.

It appears, from authentic reports received, that all the fury of racial hate towards the Jewish population of Germany reached a climax when the election of Hitler became an assured fact. Immediately there followed a campaign of persecution against Jewish people residing in Germany which, when the true record is written, will stand as a blot of shame against Hitler and those associated with him in control of the German government. Hitler, through his campaign addresses, campaign literature and public manifestoes, is largely responsible for the persecution which has been visited upon the Jewish people in Germany. He came into power singing his song of hate. Its refrain was echoed by those whose feelings and passion had been aroused against a race which has given to the world men of mighty intellect and genius.

The annihilation of the Trade-Unions and the persecution of the Jewish people will be regarded by all liberty-loving people as the transcendent sin committed by the Hitler Administration.

The working people of our own country recognize and support the right of the citizens of Germany, as well as of all other nations, to establish their own form of government and to formulate their own political and governmental policies. It should be respected by all those who claim it as a right for themselves. In voicing a protest, therefore, against the ill treatment of the Trade-Unions and Jewish people of Germany, Labor entertains no thought of interference in the political structure or the political policies of the German Nation. Science, invention and improved methods of transportation and communication have brought the nations of the world into closer contact and closer relationship. The people of one nation are more nearly the neighbors of another now than ever before. Our concern, therefore, in the indefensible action taken against Trade-Unions and the Jewish race by the Hitler government is that of a neighbor who insists that if neighborly relationship and neighborly intercourse are to be maintained the Hitler government must observe those standards of national ethics due neighbor nations.

It is the apparent purpose of the Hitler regime to drive the Jewish people out of Germany, through the application of the economic and discriminatory pressure. One may well inquire why such a policy is pursued by those in charge of a government made up of people who have prided themselves upon their culture. Why should the Jewish people, who belong to a race which has made a record in the contribution it has made to science, education, literature and art be subjected to cruel, indefensible treatment in the Homeland where they had cast their

fortunes and where they had served their Government in a distinguished way both in peace and in war! They constituted a small minority of the German population. Their conduct had been above reproach. They were law-abiding citizens respecting the authority of the state. They constituted no menace to the existing order. Their helpless condition at this time appeals to the sentiments and sympathies of all people who are influenced by sentiments of humanity.

The answer to all of this is: They are persecuted only because they are Jews — just as working people in Germany, are persecuted because they are Trade-Unionists.

The working people throughout the world responded in accordance with the lofty ideals and fine traditions of Trade-Unionism and the Trade-Union movement. These organizations of Labor are founded upon the broad principle of brotherhood and fraternity. They will not countenance or tolerate those primitive instincts of racial hate which consign a man or woman to punishment of the most distressing kind merely because he belongs to some other race, speaks a different language or embraces a different creed. This is a cardinal principle of the American Federation of Labor. The question of race or creed has no place in the policies, principles or membership of this great economic institution.

Moved by the highest motives of human welfare and international good-will, the American Federation of Labor expressed its opposition to the policy of persecution directed against the members of the Trade-Unions and the Jewish people of Germany. It could not remain silent and be true to its own traditions, principles and policies. The men and women of Labor who attended this Convention realized that merely voicing a protest would not, of itself, be sufficient. The action of the central figure, who shaped and directed the destinies of the German Government, made it clear that any appeal to his heart, conscience and judgment would have no effect. The opinion of Labor must, of necessity, be brought home to him in some more definite and convincing way. For this reason the American Federation of Labor decided by unanimous vote that "the American Federation of Labor join with other public-spirited organizations in our country in officially adopting a boycott against German-made goods and German service, this boycott to continue until the German government recognizes the right of the working people of Germany to organize into bona fide, independent trade unions of their own choosing, and until Germany ceases its oppressive policy of persecution of Jewish people."

In placing this boycott upon German goods and German service Labor disavows any disposition or intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the German government but will call

upon working people and their friends, at home and abroad, to apply it until the working people of Germany are made free to organize into their own Trade-Unions, and until the Jewish people, residing in Germany, are accorded the equal right, with other German citizens, to enjoy all the rights and privileges to which they are morally, legally and politically entitled.

LABOR'S STAKE IN THE STRUGGLE

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Address Delivered at the Testimonial Dinner to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, February 14, 1934

IT is gratifying to note the very positive leadership which Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has been giving to the anti-Nazi boycott movement in the United States. The testimonial dinner which is being given to him by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, in which so many prominent citizens are participating, is a just and fitting recognition of his courageous and far-sighted labor statesmanship. Mr. Green was among the first in this country to realize that Naziism is as fatal to the interests of labor as those of the Jewish group in Germany. The same bloody hand which laid waste the Jewish community also destroyed all the agencies and institutions of mutual help and protection which organized labor had established in Germany over a period of many years, outlawed its unions, scattered its forces, imprisoned its leaders, confiscated its funds and reduced the working men to a condition of feudal vassalage.

This, of course, was the prime objective of the Nazi movement. That is why it was so heavily financed by the big industrialists, bankers and manufacturers of Germany. The bogey of Communism which the skillful Nazi agitators raised was a ruse and a camouflage. The German Republic was never seriously threatened by Communism. It was the rising power of organized labor and the clear trend towards socialization of industry which the hard-pressed and frightened magnates of Germany were passionately eager to check and which they succeeded in checking. At least for the time being. . . . For no such victory can long endure at this late day. Those purblind industrial rulers of Germany who have succeeded in destroying the only free institutions whereby the progress of the people could have been assured through peaceful ways of evolution have laid up for themselves a bloody day of reckoning.

It is a commonplace of Jewish history that the reactionary forces of a country which are aligned against the Jew are also aligned against the working classes. The fortunes of our people throughout the world have been linked up always with the progress of freedom and political and economic liberalism. Wherever these ideals flourished, the position of our people was satisfactory.

Wherever they were suppressed, its position became insecure and frequently desperate. Similarly the fortunes of labor are linked up with the progress of these great social ideals. Those

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who attack them attack also the security and rights of labor. It is, therefore, no accident of history that Naziism, which is the implacable foe of the Jewish people, is also the implacable foe of organized labor.

It is well to remember that the whole of modern anti-Semitism is to be traced back to Bismarck's Germany. It was after Bismarck turned reactionary and broke with the liberals, that the signal was given for a concerted attack upon the Jews in Germany as a means of undermining and discrediting liberalism and socialism. It was from Bismarck's Germany that modern anti-Semitism, spread to Austria-Hungary, France and Tzarist Russia. There is not an argument which the Nazis used in their fourteen years of vicious anti-Jewish propaganda after the World War that was not first propounded by the henchmen of German political and economic reaction fifty years ago. The present Nazi leaders borrowed their entire ideology from the writers, journalists, politicians and theologians who did the dirty work for Bismarck half a century ago—During, Marr, Rohling, Stoecker, etc.

Even the definitive program of the Nazis for exterminating the Jews from the life of the country was formulated in scientific detail at that time—the removal of all Jews from public office and from the educational system of Germany, their exclusion from the press and from all economic activity and their disfranchisement. In the same way the international aspect of Nazi anti-Semitism was anticipated by the German reactionaries fifty years ago when they convoked the first international congress against Jews at Dresden.

Every reactionary movement has used the Jew as the pivot in the fulcrum for dislodging liberal and progressive ideas and institutions. The enemies of the Third Republic in France stigmatized it as Jewish. Tzarist Russia pogromized the Jew because it claimed that he was responsible for the revolutionary movements which were undermining the regime. Hitler attempts to eradicate democracy by declaring that it is fundamentally Jewish and not Germanic. . . .

Fascism is a deliberate and conscious effort to restore mankind to that system of ideas and social organization which prevailed in the days before the French Revolution. If it triumphs in the world, it will also restore our people to the status which it occupied in pre-Revolutionary days — political and economic rightlessness and defenselessness. Instead of free men intrenched in inalienable human rights, we shall become members of a disfavored minority group in an hierarchic system of feudal vassalage—exactly the position which we occupied in the Middle Ages. It was the doctrines of the French Revolution—Liberty,

Equality, Fraternity—which opened for us the doors of opportunity in Europe and which made the Nineteenth Century for the Jews of Western Europe the Golden Age of their history. Fascism will again shut these doors against us. It has already shut them in Germany. Lacking the basis of economic idealism, Fascism must find some other social ideal as its basis. It can find it only in an intensified nationalism or racialism. Strong nationalism and racialism always spell strong anti-Semitism. They are intolerant of all minority groups.

The Jewish people is, therefore, fighting in self-defense against this rising tide of political reaction, national chauvinism and racial intolerance. But other groups, too, must wage a similar defensive war against this self-same menace, particularly trade unions which are the first to succumb whenever Fascism triumphs. It is, therefore, most logical that in the attack upon Hitlerism and Fascism, organized labor should form one unified front with the hosts of Israel against the common foe. For every anti-Semite is, under the skin, an enemy of freedom and of the working class.

NAZI PEACE WITH JEWS ALONE UNTHINKABLE

By DAVID A. BROWN

THE press of this country has lately carried a story from England indicating that the Jews of that country would discontinue the boycott if Germany were to restore all political and civil rights to the Jews. We question that any such statement has been made by any authoritative Jewish group. Yet the story is news and will be carried throughout the length and breadth of this and other lands.

Months ago, in an article dealing with all the forces that have been boycotting German made goods and German services, the writer stated: "No separate peace can be made by Hitler and his Nazi gang with the Jews, for the boycott is not and never has been a Jewish boycott, regardless of the fact that Hitler, Goebbels, and the others of the Nazi ilk would try to have the world believe that only Jews were engaged in boycott activities."

The boycott is so far-reaching at the present time that it would be difficult to name any group in any country not actively engaged in boycotting something of German make. It would be difficult to name any group that has not been outraged by Nazi enactments and the development of Hitler's philosophy. Starting with the destruction of Jewish life in Germany—the foundation upon which Hitler built his Nazi army—carried out so brutally, so inhumanly, so completely, that a whole world was shocked, followed in rapid order by the destruction of the labor unions in Germany, confiscating all their property including millions of marks in the labor union treasuries and the imprisonment or murder of practically all union leaders.

The propaganda from Germany ignores entirely the reaction of organized labor throughout the entire world to this unjust, unprecedented, cruel, insane action of madmen, crazed by the power of which they became possessed. That there were many Jews in the labor ranks in Germany goes without saying. But there were millions of Germans in the labor unions of that country of which the Jews could have been only a handful.

Labor throughout the world, their sense of justice outraged, began the boycott of German-made-goods the moment news was flashed to them of the acts perpetrated against their brother-union-workers. They did not wait for an official boycott to be invoked. Nor did the Jews the world over hesitate to boycott Germany the moment Hitler came into power. Had there never been an organized boycott movement in any country of the world, the hurt, shocked and outraged peoples of the world would have refused to buy goods made-in-Germany, for that would have been

the natural human reaction toward a government guilty of atrocities far greater than Germany was ever charged with during the World War.

The organization of the boycott movement only developed when it was realized that there could be no other method of bringing home to the German people the resentment of the rest of the world toward Hitler, his Nazi followers and their brutal treatment of all who would not goose-step with them.

There followed in the wake of the Nazi attacks upon the Jews and union labor, a series of acts that further shocked the world: bonfires built to burn millions of priceless books, by writers who had helped make the Germany of yesterday, and the cruel persecution of such writers who remained in Germany whose philosophy was not in harmony with the Nazi conception of a Hitlerized Germany.

This insane act of Hitler added to the boycott movement every booklover, every lover of justice and fair play in every country.

The destruction of a free press and free speech added millions more to the boycott army and an outraged press—some of which tried to be neutral, awakened to the danger of what was being done in the name of a new political philosophy—not only joined in the boycott movement, but publicized the barbaric acts of a barbaric government, which again added to the boycott army.

Offenses against the artistic world—musicians, painters, sculptors, singers, actors—were such that they too had special reason for resentment and they have expressed themselves in no unmeasured terms in every corner of the globe. Educators, professional men, lawyers, the judiciary, doctors, engineers, scientists, all have been hurt to the quick by what has happened to those of their respected and respective professions in Germany, and they would be less than human if they did not use the only weapon possible—that of boycott.

Women throughout the world have protested against the narrow rut to which the women of Germany are confined—to provide the fodder for poison gas, guns, aeroplanes, for the future wars for which Hitler is preparing. This is to be their main occupation and in this manner Germany has turned the clock back by at least fifty years. The women of the world who have fought hard and sacrificed much to gain step by step their rights for which women have striven these many years, will not take lying down this attempt to deprive the millions of women in Germany of those gains which have come to them after years of desperate struggle.

Women who in the past, in every part of the world, have looked with favor on the made-in-Germany mark, today refuse to buy any article bearing that mark, and many refuse even to shop in a store that sells German-made goods. When the women joined

the boycott movement, they became a force to be reckoned with, which all the propoganda from Germany that the boycott is purely a Jewish boycott, will not affect in the slightest.

Another large and powerful group that has joined the boycott movement is composed of those in this and other countries who invested money in the numerous German securities that were sold by hundreds of millions after Germany passed through its currency debacle and went on the gold basis. Since Hitler came into power, these securities (to use a Wall Street expression) have practically fallen out of bed. This is due entirely to the manner in which Germany has dishonored its obligations. Practically all of these securities have defaulted on principal and interest payments and this holds true not only of securities of the government, state and city, but even German corporation securities.

German securities, governmental and otherwise, are selling on the market today at about forty cents on the dollar, or at about bankrupt value.

It is a well known fact that a large proportion of these securities were held in this country, particularly by those of German birth and those of German descent. The only hope for these bondholders lies in the complete overthrow of Hitler and his political philosophy, for it is recognized that the longer he remains in power, the greater the depreciation of these securities. Should he remain in power long enough, it is believed, Hitler will find some way of refusing to pay these hundreds of millions in their entirety.

The sooner Hitler is out of power, the sooner these bonds and other securities will have a value that will represent the cost of these bonds to their owners. Boycott is the only effective course and you may rest assured that the large number who are suffering the loss of principal and interest are fighting along these lines.

There is another group, whose numbers run into the millions, in every country in the world, who see such dangers in a Hitlerized Germany that they are willing to go to any length to destroy Hitler's power and to bring sanity back into the lives of the German people. This group is comprised of those who have definitely committed themselves to peace, who are basically and fundamentally opposed to war.

Long before Hitler came into power, and since, there has been a rattling of sabers and the menace of war. His many speeches, even though he talk of peace, are interpreted as threats of war. The withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations was interpreted throughout the world as a preparatory step for war. The formation of the Storm Troops and the youth movement in Germany is recognized by the countries of Europe as an addition to the German army limited by the Versailles Treaty. The manufacture of munitions, poison gas, small and large guns, aero-

planes, parts for submarines in Germany at the present time and since Hitler's rise to power, all point toward preparation for war and a constant threat to the peace of the world.

These peace lovers today regard the purchase of any item made-in-Germany on par with the actual purchase of war material and no sane person could or would charge a peace lover with helping Germany to carry out her threat. These millions of high-minded advocates of peace are boycotting and advocating boycott as the only means of bringing the supporters of Hitler to their senses.

I have left the most important boycott group to the last—those who have been affected by the religious philosophy of the Nazis. The attempt on the part of Hitler to substitute a pagan religion for Christianity has met with aggressive resentment by Catholics and Protestants all over the world.

Christianity refuses to be nationalized within Germany and is fighting, yes, boycotting—openly and unafraid—Hitler's own religion, a religion of bigotry, fanaticism and inhumanity.

The imprisonment and persecution of great religious leaders, both of the Catholic and Protestant faiths, have been protested against by all religious groups and all religious organizations. The Pope, speaking for the Catholics of the world, has upon many occasions expressed his outraged feelings at the attempts being made to regiment Catholics and the Catholic religion and at the persecution of religious leaders of his faith.

Hundreds of millions of Catholics and Protestants scattered throughout the world, openly and publicly resentful of what is happening to their Christian brethren in Germany, have only one concrete method of sending the message of their resentment to Germany—and that is through the boycott of German-made goods and German services. Hitler may cry out time and again that this is a Jewish boycott, but he is fooling no one other than himself.

Hitler at the present moment is confronted with a boycott from within and a boycott from without. From without Germany the boycott is limited to things material. But within Germany it is political, social and spiritual.

The laboring masses in Germany, though outwardly resigned, are boycotting, with unconquerable spirit, Hitler's hypocritical notions of national welfare—notably his glorification of suffering under the sign of the swastika. The underground ferment, fuelled by resentment against fettered minds and souls, is a silent seething boycott which must sooner or later erupt and destroy Hitlerism.

The Reichswehr and the storm-troops are shot through with rebellious brooding hosts, mercenary soldiers who, though comparatively well fed, keenly sense the misery of millions of their dear ones. Others conceal pent up feelings of revenge for the recent massacre of their fathers, brothers and comrades. If Hitler

were to call these men to arms against his "enemies," he would probably be met with a boycotting resistance so ominous that his very "throne" might tremble.

Intellectually, too, there is a boycott within Germany. The handful of creative minds that have remained in Germany are lacking the inspiration amid the barbaric sterilities of Naziism. All mental effort being concentrated on hate for this or that unyielding group, the minds of thinking men and women simply cannot function constructively. And that type of automatic boycott is supremely damaging to the immediate future of Hitlerism.

It is unthinkable that Jews anywhere would make a separate peace with Hitler. Not even if Hitler were to say to the Jews of the world that he would give back to the Jews every right that has been taken from them—political, social and economic. Even though he were to invite back into that country all those who left. Even though he would offer to compensate them for the enormous economic loss they have suffered and to reimburse them as far as it is humanly possible for such mental and physical suffering as they have had to endure under his regime.

The Jews would refuse to make a separate peace because their sense of justice is an integral part of the Jewish religion and Jewish philosophy. The Jews would demand that the wrongs perpetrated upon all the groups in Germany first be righted before they would consider the acceptance of any peaceful gesture that might come to them from the Nazis.

The Jews are a part, even though a small part, of the entire boycott movement and will remain faithful until victory shall have crowned the efforts of all those who are fighting for a reborn Germany that will resemble the Germany of the past—a Germany respected by the world.

"AN ORGY OF SUPPRESSION"

*Extracts from an Address Delivered at the Annual Convention
of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, Calif.
on October 19, 1934.*

By MR. WALTER M. CITRINE

(General Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress and President
of the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

IT is not my duty to talk to you about any of the many economic problems which are facing the trade-union movements of Europe. There is one outstanding, overriding question which has engaged the serious attention not only of the British Trade Union movement, but of the whole of the continent of Europe. The institutions which have been built up after centuries of sacrifice, after centuries of toil on the part of millions of obscure and unknown workers are now threatened with destruction. Their safety is menaced in a degree which I think transcends anything in our previous history. Democratic institutions which some of us had believed had become deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people have crashed within the last few years.

I know to some of you here it may seem rather remote, sitting in the security of this magnificent civic building, protected and safeguarded as you are by the Constitution of the country to which you belong, it may seem to you that there is no possibility whatever of this poisonous growth of Fascism being able to develop in countries like your own, with an age-long democratic tradition. I would remind you of the fate of the German trade-union movement, a movement which a few years ago represented over five million conscious, intelligent and understanding trade-unionists, a movement which in its real estate, in its great printing offices, in its great halls and meeting houses, pointed the way to many of our movements in the direction of creating real stability. Who would have thought two years ago that that movement, led by some of the most competent, the most sincere, the most able Labor leaders that the world has produced in the Labor Movement would have been destroyed in a comparatively few months? Who would have thought that in Europe today we would have had in eleven countries a dictatorship established of a more or less ruthless character?

I say, therefore, that although we feel strong and confident in the power of our institutions to resist this menace, the price of liberty still is eternal vigilance, even on the part of those of us who feel secure.

In the last hundred years there has been a steady emergence of democratic institutions. The world over has witnessed a steady, progressive movement in the direction of representative institutions. The trade-union movement the world over has made a striking contribution in that respect. Our branches, our councils,

AN ORGY OF SUPPRESSION · BY WALTER M. CITRINE

our committee rooms, have been the training ground in which many of the eminent statesmen of the world have learned the true purposes and meaning of democracy. Our movement very likely has made political democracy a reality. Our movement, as this convention has witnessed, is steadily traversing along the road, bestrewn with obstacles as it is, of industrial democracy, and that movement, that tendency of one hundred years, is now in these countries that I have mentioned being reversed.

Your President, in the invitation which he sent to me, asked me to describe to you the operation and the development of Fascism. Before doing so I want to state something which may be regarded by some as in the nature of a platitude or truism that scarcely requires iteration. The trade-union movement as a voluntary association of the workers, organized together for the purpose of raising their standards of life and securing some measure of control over their conditions of life, of necessity can only exist and function in an atmosphere of freedom. I apply that to every form of dictatorship, no matter what its color may be. I don't care whether it is a brown dictatorship, a black dictatorship or a red dictatorship. In its essence the trade-union movement as we have understood it is an organization which has been built up by the sacrifice of our people and it can only function as it protects these instruments in their behalf in an atmosphere of freedom.

Wherever dictatorship comes, dictatorship must by the very nature of things, if it is to be complete, crush all opposition. That is the reason why you have found the same methods and the same tactics in country after country where the dictatorship has been erected. That is why intellectual freedom is no longer possible, because intellectual freedom represents a danger to the dictatorship. That is why professors of the universities and of the high schools and the teachers who are training the young must be members of the ruling party, must be true and loyal to the dictatorship. That is why the great cooperative movement, as an instrument of the consuming and production side of labor must similarly be subjected and destroyed.

Communist dictatorship, like the Fascist dictatorship, is essentially something against which the great voluntary trade-union movement must strive. From the practical point of view, Communism has ceased to become in the majority of the countries of Europe at least a serious factor which might menace the strength of the working class. There was a time when the Communist movement was regarded as an inherent part of the working class movement. A process of disintegration, a system of day in and day out vilification of the trade-union officials and leaders, the pouring of contempt upon the very instrument of trade-unionism, all these things have led to a period of disillusionment and in

few countries today would the Communists be regarded as anything more or less than violent and rabid opponents of the movement which we have erected. The disillusionment has meant that there is now no real danger of our movement being misled. Fascism today is the danger. Fascism, because of the great wealth it can command, because of the reactionary forces which it can enroll behind it has become the danger. Fascism, as you know, arose in Italy. It spread to Germany. It spread to Austria. Its record is everywhere the same. Everywhere it is a record of suppression, of brutality and terrorism. It has stamped out personal and political liberty in a way that we would not have dreamed would have been possible.

When we turn to the constructive sphere its spacious promises of a new era have almost every one of them been falsified. It has proved to be a record of failure and of futility, and none of us should ever lose the opportunity of emphasizing that. It has created an unrest on the continent of Europe, which, if it continues, must inevitably lead to world-wide war. I shall give you the reasons for all these statements in a few moments.

Is it any coincidence that in Italy, in Germany and in Austria, the funds of the Fascist parties in those countries have been derived from reactionary employers? Is that any accident? Or does not this really mean in its essence a struggle on the part of those employers, faced by the democratic movement of Labor, advancing under popular suffrage nearer and nearer to power, to try to wrest that power from them by armed force?

Now let us pass to Germany. The growth of Nationalism came through the feeling of national humiliation on the part of the common people, a feeling generated in very great measure by the consequences of the Treaty of Versailles, the effect of which, as you know, was to rid Germany of its colonies, of Alsace and Lorraine, to drive the Polish corridor right into the center of its Eastern territory, and hand this section over to the Poles. Foreign troops were on German soil until 1929. Then there were economic causes, such as the payment of reparations, the loss of shipping, the inflations which you remember so well when the German mark was not worth the paper on which it was printed, when the fortunes of the middle class in Germany, a most significant factor, were almost completely wiped out because of the inflation. Then there came the wage cuts in the latter years of 1931 to 1933, the cuts in unemployment benefits, and last, but not least, the existence of six and a quarter million unemployed in Germany.

Who would have believed that Germany could have sustained six and a quarter million unemployed without revolution? It is no wonder that there should be serious dissatisfaction. Politically there was a multiplicity of parties in Germany. Democracy was brought almost to stagnation. Again you will see this is a very

significant point. Twenty-seven political parties were appealing for the suffrage of the electorate. How could anything else arise except a weak coalition between party and party, with the existence of private armies like the Nazis, the Nationalists, the Socialists, the Communists, and so on. People were marching about the streets in arms, with all the possibilities necessary for violent outbreak. No wonder there was a feeling of pessimism.

And in these circumstances Hitler, with his extravagant promises, formed what he called the Nationalist Socialist party. He, too, was going to establish Socialism, but it was going to be National Socialism and should have no connection with an international movement. How Hitler got power is known to most of you, and I do not propose to deal with it except to say that after he had formed a government in conjunction with the Nationalist party in Germany he then started to swear into all the key positions in Germany all his own reliable Nazis. Practically every one of the leading police officials in Germany was sent away on indefinite leave and while he was away the Nazis put their own men in. Then they swore in as auxiliary police three hundred thousand Nazis who were given the authority of the State to shoot their opponents. And you know the German policeman usually resembles a miniature arsenal, more than anything else because he has three sets of weapons.

Perhaps you think I am exaggerating. General Goering, as Minister of Prussia, published a notice which appeared in the press of the world in which he said that not only must all police shoot on the least provocation, but those who fail to exercise the power would be held responsible to him. That was an open invitation to the wholesale murders which subsequently took place.

In February, 1933, this was the state of affairs in Germany. The International Federation of Trade Unions, which had its meetings and offices in Berlin, called a special meeting of its executive on February 18. I presided over that meeting, and the purpose of that meeting was to find out from the German trade unionists what they were really doing and what they intended to do to meet what was quite obviously the growing danger of a Fascist outbreak. We spent several hours in discussing the matter and I laid down this, that the principle of the International Federation of Trade Unions prescribed autonomy for every one of its constituent units. I said: "We, as International Executive, have no right to tell the Germans what they shall do in this contingency; we have no right, who ourselves are not required to take the risk, we who shall be secure in our own different capitals, have no right to tell other men what they shall do." I said further: "When all that is said and done, the German trade-union movement represents one of the most powerful movements in the International Trade-Union Movement and I implore you, as

representative and responsible men, to tell us in what way we can help, what we can do. Is there any direction whatever in which we can give you backing and support in this crucial period?"

Well, what were we told? We were told—and this is the first time I have ever stated it publicly, but I think it is necessary to say it in order that you shall at least understand that everything was ready—that despite the assistance of six and one-quarter million unemployed German trade-unionists, they were determined to put up the maximum possible means of resistance, that the button—that was the expression—the button only had to be pressed and the working class movement would offer that resistance.

Then you know what happened. On the 28th of February, there came the Reichstag fire and there was a wave of feeling throughout Germany against the alleged Communist and Socialist incendiaries. That fire, as subsequent events have shown, was in all probability started by the Nazis themselves in order to give them the time-worn pretext that so many forces have adopted in this world—I think you call it a frame-up—to give them the opportunity of arresting and imprisoning their opponents. None the less, there was a wave of feeling hostile to the trade-union movement at that period as a consequence of that fire. They had no chance of stating their case. Their newspapers were suspended. The police were put upon the platform of every private meeting. The reports of their meetings were suppressed, they were not allowed to send out to their own press their leaflets and their posters, and as you know, the Government completely monopolized everything until it was impossible in any public way for the German Trade Union Movement to get its message over to its people.

Then came the election of March 5, with the German people dragooned, intimidated, many of them brought from hospitals in beds in order to vote for Hitler and his supporters. And I admire the German working class for even under those circumstances there were still seven million people ready to vote against the Nazis. With his 43 per cent of German voters who voted on that occasion, Hitler was able to become the largest party, and by a coalition of his friends, the Nationalists, who had been helping him at the instance of President Hindenburg, there was launched an orgy of suppression in which every section of the community which was known in any shape or form to hold an independent opinion was persecuted with a barbarism that must have been indescribable. The Jews in particular were selected for this sort of treatment. They were the people who, together with the Marxists, it was said had brought Germany to the verge of bankruptcy. They were the people who had cornered the finances of the country and who were in control of the large department

stores. And was it any wonder that at the direct instigation of the Nazi officials the Jews were most brutally beaten and tortured? I have no time to give you instances, instances that are on record for all who care to see. All that I can say is that my manhood is revolting when I think of an elderly Jewish Rabbi, eighty years old, dragged out of his synagogue and beaten in the streets. I say my manhood is revolting, and I hope every other decent citizen feels as I do about it.

The attitude toward the trade-unions in the early days of the dictatorship was indefinite. There seemed to be some possibility that Hitler would not attempt at that stage to dissolve the trade-unions. We had a meeting in Brussels of the International Federation of Trade Unions to which I asked the German representatives in particular to be invited. I am sorry to say that they did not come. I am sorry to say that despite the greatest effort on our part by telegram, by letter and by personal word, not one of the trade-union representatives in Germany attended our meeting and we had to reach our decisions alone.

It was quite clear that the Government was holding us personally responsible, as prominent representatives of the Socialist party and the trade-unions in Germany. I say this, which I have not said publicly previous to this time. They actually sent over to Great Britain and to certain other leading European countries a representative of the German press, who is a Socialist. He came direct with a message from General Goering, the Prime Minister of Prussia, saying that if only the trade-unionists of Great Britain and elsewhere would cease their criticism of the Nazi Government the 172 Socialist and Labor papers and trade-union journals which have been suppressed would be allowed once again to start. That was the message that was brought to us, and there is not the slightest doubt about it that the message was authentic and came from the sources I have described. We knew what that meant. They were not content merely with holding as hostages individual German trade-unions, but they wanted to use that as a means of silencing the conscience of the trade-union movement of the world.

My friends, they failed. They were terms that we could not accept, and as a consequence we definitely declined to have anything to do with such a proposal. The German trade-union officers were seized on the 2nd of May, many of their leading officials among them. One of the most respected men I have ever met, a man in a position comparable with that of your President Green, President Leipart, the head of the German trade-union movement, whose leg had been broken twelve months before in a compound fracture and who for six months had been limping about to our various meetings, who was in a delicate state of health, was dragged from his office to a Nazi barrack in one of the principal

streets of Berlin, dragged into a cellar and compelled there, by force, to bend his left leg backwards and forwards, they thinking that was the best way of torturing him, and finally, like Christ of olden days, had a wreath put around his head. That is what happened to the President of the German Federation of Trade Unions. That represents the mental point of view of the Fascist movement. It has no respect whatever for a life of service to the working class, a service given by a man of irreproachable character, who was treated in that abominable fashion.

He was not alone. There have been many others arrested and thrown into prison for a few weeks and out for a few weeks without a charge of any kind. There is no need for me to elaborate further into this German Nazi terror. All I can say is that history is repeating itself and there, as in Italy, the struggle with the churches is taking place, not only with the Catholic Church, but with the Protestant churches. It is finding Hitler demanding that his representatives and his nominees shall occupy the prominent positions in those churches. He wants to use the church not as an instrument of the conscience of the individual, not as an instrument for the purification and preparation for another life, he wants to use it as an instrument of the State to still further intimidate the German people.

Economic nemesis is overtaking Germany. In the first six months of their external trade last year—and I am now talking about a country which was the largest export country in the world two years ago, they had an adverse trade balance in the first six months of their trade despite the fact that they have cut down their imports of \$65,000,000. The gold reserve of Germany has almost entirely disappeared. The railways last year, in 1933, suffered a loss of \$117,000,000. The tax yield on tobacco, on sugar, and indeed on every State monopoly has fallen materially and substantially.

And what has happened to the workers? Again we have difficulty in getting accurate statistics, but the figures which I am giving you now are compiled from the German official statistical bureau itself, which in turn took these figures from what is called the German Labor Front. The German Labor Front represents the apology for a trade-union organization which has been inserted and imposed in the German economic system. These are the figures translated into dollars of German wages at the present time. Less than 1 per cent of the German workers receive more than \$13.50 a week. Fifty per cent of the German workers receive from \$3.50 to \$7 per week. Thirteen and one-half per cent receive \$3.50 per week or less. There are 2,500,000 more workers now engaged in industry according to Hitler. He has reduced unemployment, so he says, by 2,500,000, and yet despite that the gross amount of the German wages bill is down 10 per

cent, despite the fact that there are 2,500,000 more wage earners.

Let me give a specific example. In Krupps in 1932, 35,647 people were employed. In 1933, there were more than 43,409 people employed. In 1932, the wages paid on that similar number of men was \$17,250,000. In 1933, it had fallen to \$16,750,000. Now that specific example which I give you supports the general conclusion, namely, that German total wages have declined, and the figure which I gave you of 10 per cent is an authentic figure taken from Germany's own statistics.

It cannot be a coincidence that the trade in Germany has declined more in its overseas aspect, its export trade, than any other country in the world in the last thirteen months. That cannot be an accident. That is definitely associated with the dictatorship. Wages in Germany today are lower than they have ever been for the last fifty years, and Germany, instead of being one of the high wage countries in Europe, is now rapidly becoming one of the lowest.

Your President, on Tuesday of last week, uttered words which represent, I hope, the spirit and the meaning of all that the American Labor Movement stands for. He said: "No group of red-blooded men will submit to tyranny. Labor has never submitted and it never will."

Our third means, and I am proud to know your convention adopted it, is the boycott. We launched the boycott in the early stages, and the effectiveness of that has been attested to by the German Minister, Dr. Schacht. He said only recently that the boycott has been one of the most potent means of bringing down the over-seas trade of Germany. That is the only way by which finally the Governments of these countries can be taught that Fascism does not pay. They are doing their level best to generate the feeling of war in their countries. When I came to this country the first thing I got was a copy of a Montreal paper and on the front page was a speech by Mussolini, accompanied by a decree which he imposed, under which children from eight years of age up to the age of thirty-one are to be given an intensive and continuous military training. The Italian children for years have been taught to sing of the days when they would capture Dalmatia, of the days when they could cross the Nice and rescue from the French that little town. In the same way the German children are being taught that their destiny lies in the glorification of war. Remember, every Nazi leader has attested to the fact that there must be conflict some day and that Germany must conquer the world. That is the prospect held out to us. We have to fight this menace by every means in our power.

I know it is a long time since the last great war took place. The memories of that time are receding, they are getting dim. The American public, although they may have lost many of their

bravest and finest men, have not experienced a condition where the planes went circling overhead, dropping bombs indiscriminately over towns and killing and maiming people who had fled to their cellars. You did not experience that. Would we be safe in saying we would not experience it if another war came?

There is no nation in the world that has stood for peace more consistently than has the American Republic. The American Republic, through its great President, uttered one of the greatest sentences, whatever its realization may have been, that has ever been uttered. He said of the last war: "This war is to be a war to end war, to make the world safe for democracy." Is the world safe for democracy? Are the possibilities of war further away than they were before Fascism came, or has Fascism brought the dangers of that war nearer to us? I say the facts that I have given to you alone, apart from your own meeting, ought to leave no doubt in your minds.

And I am reminded of the words of the great immortal Lincoln whose memory lives in the minds of millions of people outside of these shores. This nation was engaged in a vital conflict which finally put the seal on the abolition of slavery, and established the Declaration of Emancipation. In one of his addresses, the Gettysburg address, I think it was, looking over the graves of those who had fallen in that great struggle, he said: "Let us here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain and that this great nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

How true the application of those words come into our situation as we see it today! It is to that task that the trade-union movement of Europe and your fellow trade-unionists have set their hands. They cannot accomplish much without your virile assistance, your material, your moral and your financial help. It is to you we look, and my purpose in coming here is to try if I possibly can to show you that our struggle is your struggle, that the battle of democracy is being fought in Europe and may be decided in Europe. I come to you for help. I cannot believe that you will refuse it.

ADDRESSES BY SAMUEL UNTERMYER

Civilization's Only Weapon Against Hitlerism

(Address read at the Testimonial Dinner to Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, February 14, 1934.)

There are some respects in which our Government has been unpardonably lax in enforcing the legal protection to its own industries to which they are entitled, and has thereby retarded our efforts to exclude contraband German-made goods from entry into this country, thereby playing directly into the hands of this outlaw Government. Our customs law provides that there shall be *plainly and conspicuously marked*, or branded, upon every article imported into this country and upon the container in which it is enclosed, the name indicating the *country* of origin. That does not mean the city or county or other political subdivision of a country, but the *country itself*.

This law is being deliberately violated and evaded by German importers and by the retail shops that handle their goods, with the knowledge of our Customs authorities, under a ridiculous order of the Treasury Department. As a result of this palpable evasion, our American shops are flooded with German-made goods smuggled into our country bearing obscure, unreadable, wilfully misleading, instead of conspicuous, markings as the law requires, or with no markings at all. Some of these camouflaged or hidden marks are such as "Made in Bavaria," "Made in Saxony," and other States, Provinces or cities with which many of our people are not familiar as being parts of Germany or located there. Since the German States have been abolished there are no longer even such political subdivisions. They are fictitious. These marks are a fraud upon our consumers. And yet all our efforts to induce the Customs authorities to protect our consumers against these frauds have thus far proved unavailing, so that it has now become necessary, to our shame and humiliation be it said, to appeal to the courts to protect the American public against our own Government. That ruling of the Treasury Department, made under a previous Administration and adhered to by this, is simply grotesque.

The Postal Authorities have been equally derelict in failing to protect our mails against scurrilous, seditious literature printed in Germany in the German and English languages and smuggled into this country by the tons by German ships flying the pirate flag of the Swastika, and circulated broadcast by the millions of copies, assailing our institutions, attacking our citizens on the score of their race, and maligning our President.

The day we are commemorating in honor of our great, soulful, martyred President, whose heart bled in sympathy with the oppressed, and whose love of mankind was the greatest asset of any nation in modern history, reminds us that we have no occasion to be proud of the halting, inactive, do-nothing atti-

tude of our present government in the face of the world disaster and disgrace of Hitlerism. When we turn to the unexampled record of achievement and service by our country under the inspiration of that grand soul in forever wiping out the foul stain of slavery, and when we reflect with just pride upon the many instances in our history when we have had the courage to intervene with solemn and effective protest against race and religious cruelty and persecution perpetrated by other countries against their minorities, we should bow our head and blush with shame at our cowardice and apparent callousness in this great crisis.

This reign of terror has now lasted for almost one year with ever increased intensity and ingenuity of cruelty, and we have not lifted a finger beyond the merest idle and meaningless gestures. It is poor consolation in the midst of such humiliation to remind ourselves that there were times when our country showed a very different spirit. We have at least proud memories of a past to console us and perhaps yet to speed us into action. Our action against Russia and other countries had far less provocation. It is late, but not yet too late, for us to redeem ourselves, open up our secret diplomatic archives and publish the official reports. We now demand to know the truth and the whole ugly truth, so that our people may get some faint conception of the horrors that have been inflicted upon tens of thousands, of the murders, suicides and other crimes, and the intolerable sufferings that have been perpetrated upon these 600,000 loyal German citizens of Jewish faith or ancestry, and to which they have been and are being day by day subjected, solely because their ancestors were, or one of them was, of Jewish blood. In that way we should be able by one fell stroke to pull down the house of cards that this vast German-paid propaganda bureau has built around us. We have the facts. Why continue to suppress them and thus become a party to the floods of falsehoods that are being constantly fed to our people? With the dissemination of these official lies the time for maintaining these niceties has passed.

Since our Government apparently will not protect our manufacturers and consumers, why should they not protect themselves, the manufacturers by conspicuously labeling their products "Made in America," and the consumers by buying American goods. As the result of intensive investigation we find that there is nothing Germany manufactures that we cannot duplicate here if given tariff protection.

Fortunately, the liberty-loving American people, irrespective of creeds or races, as well as the great masses of the Jewish people, realize the crisis and are proving the effectiveness of this defensive Boycott as the only conclusive answer to the

cruel Hitler boycott of the unfortunate German Jews, the extermination of all labor unions and the attempt to destroy the Christian Churches. This effectiveness is evidenced by the havoc that is being wrought to Germany's export business all over the world. For six months after our campaign began and until it had been organized and put into full swing, the German Government was able to camouflage the figures, but that is no longer possible, as is evident from the November and December returns. They have now reversed and belied their previous boasts and representations and are crying that because of the Boycott they are forced to repudiate their obligations and are unable to pay the interest on their debts due America. In point of fact that argument is as false as was the other. They had defaulted on their debts long before there was a boycott. History tells us that they are chronic incurable debt repudiators.

World opinion cannot reach into Germany. The masses of its people have no conception of the opinion the world holds of their brutal and reckless crucifixion of their minorities, nor of their attempts to destroy the Christian Churches, and the freedom of religious worship, nor of the wicked, seditious propaganda they are conducting all over this country against our established institutions, nor of the assaults upon the freedom of and disfranchisement of all womanhood. With a press gagged, bound and censored as never before in modern history, and with all criticism of the Government and freedom of speech punishable as a capital crime, by death, there is only one language that can be conveyed to the German people or that they can be made to understand. When their factories are closed and their workmen discharged because the world has turned its back upon them, and as a result Germany cracks, as it will economically, then and only then will the masses of its people, who have been kept in ignorance of what has been happening, demand to know the reason the world refuses to deal with them, and will rise and destroy their false leaders.

As a lifelong open and aggressive champion of organized labor for the past 54 years, from the days when such championship was a reproach, I am thrilled and proud to have lived to see the day when the dream that labor is to come into its own is about to become a reality. Through the NRA we are on the threshold of a new economic era, of which the step now being taken is a mere entering wedge and which will eventually secure for labor a more just share of the wealth it creates. The peaceful struggle has just begun. I venture the prediction that the present codes signalize the dawn of a new charter of liberty and justice for the toilers.

By the same token that the old economic order in industry is about to be reversed and regulated competition and coopera-

tion are to take the place of compulsory ruinous competition among employers, so is the atrocious fraudulent company-union to be abolished, the right of labor to combine for its protection to be enforced by law and all the long-denied demands of an advanced social state are to be written into our statutes.

At last we are to realize the outlawry of child labor, that was denied us by the Supreme Court: the minimum living wage, the inauguration of old age and unemployment insurance and kindred reforms, that will bring about the substitution of a real Democracy for the cold and narrow Bankocracy that has until now ruled the land and has molded our laws to register the selfish demands of concentrated capital, as opposed to the recognition of human rights. No longer shall the labor of human beings be treated as a mere commodity regulated solely by the economic laws of supply and demand. The wear and tear and depreciation that have always been conceded to capital as applicable to the mechanical machine as a legitimate part of the cost of business, are at last to be applied to the human machine.

It is, therefore, with enthusiasm that I endorse and applaud each and every one of the ten planks of the sound and humane platform publicly announced a few weeks ago as embodying the demands of labor by our honored guest as President of the American Federation of Labor.

Strange indeed it is that at this epochal stage in our history, when our country is going forward by leaps and bounds towards the goal of social and economic freedom, we should find ourselves forced, in the interest of common humanity, to take up the cudgels in denunciation of the medieval policies of a foreign country that has reverted to brutal savagery, and the most inhuman industrial, racial and religious persecution of modern times, by a Regime that has seized and is prostituting the government of a people that was once regarded as amongst the most cultured of the nations, but that now has ruthlessly severed all the ties that bound it to civilization, and has reverted to an unrecognizable state of barbarism.

The proper limits of this address will not permit of even a brief summary of the many counts going to make up the terrible indictment against this band of cruel Sadists, masquerading as a Government, that constitutes the Hitler Regime, and of the reason why the entire civilized world should, with one acclaim, regardless of Race or Creed, refuse to recognize Germany under its present despotic rule as a member of the family of nations.

Suffice it to say here, that bearing on the widespread extent of this Anti-Semitic program of the Nazi Government, figures have been collated and published by the Chairman of the German Relief Fund of the Joint Distribution Committee, showing that

up to December last 120,000 Jews had been deprived of their occupations in various fields of endeavor, and that, including members of the families of those ousted, the total number thus without means of livelihood was 175,000. The report also showed that in many instances businesses owned by Jews were being boycotted, and portrayed the indescribable plight of Jewish children in German schools.

Let me here emphasize the fundamental fact that lies at the basis of our Boycott campaign, that although the German citizens of Jewish birth and ancestry, who have been imbedded in the soil of their native land for more than a thousand years before the Teutonic Invasion, and who freely shed their blood for their fatherland, are the immediate victims of this nightmare, their tragic plight is only one of the many phases of this mad onslaught upon civilization. That outbreak of racial and religious bigotry, horrible as it is, is not more serious in its effects than are other phases of the reign of terror that is convulsing and threatening to destroy Germany. The 550,000 Jews thus murdered, starved, beaten or disfranchised and deprived of all the opportunities to earn a living, or thrown into vile concentration camps and driven to suicide, constitute, after all, less than one per cent of the population.

The point I want to make is that, incredible as are these atrocities, this is not primarily a Jewish question. Other equally revolting crimes and misdemeanors are proven against the Hitler Regime, on their own confession, that alike directly affect all humanity. Those of us who refused to believe the reports of the Belgian atrocities have but to hear one per cent of what the Jews are enduring, and their doubts will be dispelled. And yet the full extent of the gruesome tragedy can only be conjectured. The hideous facts will never be permitted to be told but we know enough to sicken our souls, and to turn away in horror from these fiends in human form, whose fanatical joy is in torture.

Reverting to the uprooting of the labor unions, we now know that the exclusion of all Jews from the unions of Germany so as to destroy their opportunity to earn a livelihood and thus to intensify and prolong their agony, was a mere Satanic prelude to the destruction of the unions themselves. Why, you may well ask, have these unions, that are the developments of generations of social progress, been thus wantonly annihilated and outlawed? The Jews are being crucified upon the grotesque pretext that there is to be a new race founded in Germany, having only pure Aryan blood, as though there were or could be such a thing. It is a fantastic pretense born in ignorance and dishonestly pursued in defiance of all history. The Germans of North Germany are of an entirely different strain of blood from

those of South Germany. Neither has at most more than a smattering of Aryan blood, if any, as have the Jews. The thing would be a huge joke if it were not tragic in its effects.

It is a logical reaction to these absurd myths and vagaries about Aryan and Nordic blood now sought to be implanted into the German consciousness that at least the beauty-parlor industry should be thriving in Germany to such an extent and has so alarmed this Opera Bouffe Government that it has felt called upon to issue an official warning against the rate at which brunettes are being converted by these beauty parlors into peroxide blondes to meet the Nordic requirements. Whether this decree is to apply to men as well as women does not appear from the cable despatches. Why not? Sterilization of all peroxide blondes should be the next step. But imagine if you can the consternation of the fond parents when the progeny fails to abide by the peroxide test. Gilbert and Sullivan in their most palmy days never wrote anything quite so funny.

The underlying reason for the destruction of the German labor unions, although no more excusable, is more understandable than its wicked persecution of its Jewish citizens. The labor unions were suppressed upon the command of the ammunition manufacturers and the industrial barons of big business who financed the Hitler campaign. They are responsible for the rise of Hitlerism to power and are the real rulers of the present regime. It is upon the demand of these industrialists that every trace and vestige of social freedom and democracy in Germany has been annihilated; and banished liberty of speech and of the press have converted that benighted country into the most cruel, bigoted despotism on earth. We shall have to go back more than 1,000 years in the world's history to find its like.

These industrial barons have decreed this enslavement and destruction of labor, which has so valiantly fought for the freedom which it has achieved. Under the inspired leadership of organized labor, Germany had become the pioneer country of the world in advanced social legislation. All this now bids fair to be undone. The serfdom of labor is again enthroned in that savage regime. That is one of the many reasons why it must be destroyed.

The same industrial overlords are fomenting war for their own profit, and have suppressed organized labor, the better to coin blood-money out of the sweat of the workers. They are merely attempting in a bigger, more daring and more ruthless fashion, with Hitlerism as their pliant and willing tool, what the trusts and big business have been doing to our labor until their reign was ended by the advent of President Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Herein lies also the greatest peril to the success of our NRA.

This is not so apparent in the East as in states such as California from where I am writing you now. Nor is the revolt against the concessions to organized labor in its relation to the NRA on the surface so general among the great corporations controlled from the East, as among the smaller business men in the West and South. As I see the situation the battleground will be in this State, after the Federal Government has established the constitutionality of the law in the courts, in which I believe it will succeed but only as an emergency measure. If it has not by the time the emergency has passed become so firmly imbedded in the roots of business as to continue on its own momentum, I fear that it will not survive. It has its perils, chief of which is its encouragement of trusts and monopolies. How it can enthrone them as it is doing by legalizing and strengthening these cartels and at the same time pursue them under the anti-trust law is to me a paradox. It means the maintenance of a vast bureaucracy to police the business of the entire world; and yet the experiment is well worth trying.

Some of the many other counts in the staggering indictment against the Hitler Regime remind us of the wisdom of the trite adage that "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." What, for instance, can be the motive for this relentless war against the Christian Churches in Germany? Its avowed objective is said to be to bring about the substitution of a so-called German State Church in place of the present Catholic and Protestant Churches. The separation of church and state and the freedom of the church from state control has heretofore been the proud boast of the German people. In South Germany the Catholics are in the majority; in North Germany the Lutherans and other Protestant churches prevail; but they have all had their own laws and forms of religious creeds and private government, free from the control of the state. Why is it now being attempted to destroy that independence and to revive and substitute paganism in its place?

The reason, if it can be so dignified, is as cheap, trivial, bigoted and fantastic as is the pretext for the persecution and annihilation of the Jews. The two are intimately associated. The thought that the Old Testament, and parts of the New Testament, teach that Jesus was born a Jew of the House of David, and that his mother was a Jewess, is intolerable to these fanatics. And so they have actually decreed that these parts of the Bible shall be eliminated. In order to effect that elimination, the Government has accordingly decided that there shall be a new bible and a new church.

But here these gentlemen reckoned without their host when, drunk with their brief power, based upon the suppression of the popular will, they stupidly imagined that it was only necessary to

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order the clergy to change their deep-rooted convictions over-night to suit the crack-brained notions of these mad heretics. Never in modern times, or since men went to the stake for their beliefs, have the clergy more proudly demonstrated their willingness to suffer for their convictions.

One of the most heartening recent evidences of the courage and independence of our own clergy was its protest published on January 29th by "The American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities" against the present campaign of the German Government to make all Christian churches subordinate to the State, and the persecution of Jews, and in which Germany was denounced in unmeasured terms. The protest was signed by the leading men of the Catholic clergy and the Protestant and Jewish ministries, but mainly by outstanding members of the Christian clergy. It was a fit corollary to the document issued almost a year ago by 1,200 of the outstanding members of the American clergy.

The following is quoted from the recent protest:

"Whether or not the first reports of physical mal-treatment were exaggerated there certainly were many attacks upon Jews. Far more serious, however, is the announced determination of the Government to eliminate a vast majority of the 600,000 Jews in Germany, and the larger part of others who were counted Jews on account of mixed Jewish and Gentile ancestry, from the political, commercial, professional and cultural life of the nation. The evidence of this is clear and based on official statements of Government authorities.

"Any man would rather suffer some physical injury than be ruined or driven out of his profession, and thus deprived of the means of support for himself and his family. The resultant suffering to women and children is worse than assaults upon men. Peculiarly trying is the fear of Jewish children who are compelled to live in an atmosphere of fear and hatred which dooms them to an abnormal life.

"No nation in the modern world * * * * can afford to alienate the confidence and good-will of the civilized world as Germany is now alienating it. It is far more serious, however, when, as in Germany today that is the official and avowed policy of the Government, to deny to a whole class of its people their equal rights as citizens on account of their Jewish citizenship, and then virtually to order Christian churches to become an instrument in the carrying out of this policy."

It is no easy matter to find out what is happening in this struggle that is surging beneath the surface and is fairly convulsing Germany. Every bit of news, or so-called news, that trickles through, has been so doctored and censored by the vast government propaganda bureau under the direction of that arch-fiend Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, and his atheist colleague Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, who now openly denounces Christianity, that we learn of only the merest fraction of the tortures being

inflicted upon recalcitrants. No record is kept of the thousands upon thousands who are being murdered in and out of the concentration camps, or of the suicides or of the deaths by starvation.

I wish it were as simple a matter to secure anything like equally wide publicity for the American side of the story as is being accorded by the American press day by day to the vast output of the German Propaganda Bureau. Of late even the National broadcasting companies have been virtually closed to the discussion of the boycott. They call it "controversial," as though all important discussion is not in a sense controversial. Radio control should be vested in the Government. Supervision is not sufficient. It does not supervise. It is too much power to entrust to private control.

For years I have pointed to Mr. William Randolph Hearst as the most clear-sighted statesman of the present generation. I am more than ever confirmed in that view. And yet the Hearst papers that have always justly earned and enjoyed a nation-wide reputation for independence, for social advancement and race and religious liberty, have done themselves no credit and have not added to their reputation by prominently printing, at great length on Sunday, January 28th, a long laudatory interview on Hitler and his alleged accomplishments, being another of the many outputs of the tireless, distorted German Propaganda Bureau.

The author of that particular output is the present Vice-Chancellor, Capt. Franz von Papen. The article, like all the others emanating from that bureau, is mainly characteristic for what it suppresses rather than for anything it says.

So true to form is it in its bogus historical review of those accomplishments, that not one word is uttered concerning its crucifixion and avowed determination to exterminate the Jews, that has so profoundly shocked and stirred the hatred and contempt of the people of all lands. Equally eloquent is its silence over the attempt to supplant the Christian Churches by the New German State Church that is to scrap the Bible and destroy all freedom of religious worship and beliefs. Nor is there a word about disfranchisement of womanhood and their exclusion from business.

Here is the dishonest and cavalier way in which Captain von Papen discusses the destruction of labor unions and the enslavement of labor:

"Dissolution of labor unions and employers associations follows. . . . *The owner will again become the undisputed leader of his undertaking*; there is no longer to be collective responsibility; on his (the employer's) shoulders rests the responsibility for the weal and woe of the workers."

May God help the workers!

Is it any wonder that in our country, Great Britain and every other country where labor is organized, a Boycott has been declared and is being prosecuted by the labor unions against German-made goods, and against all relations with that enslaved, benighted country.

The writer of that article is, by the way, the same Captain von Papen who was attached to the German Embassy at Washington at the time we severed diplomatic relations with Germany, and who was, together with a number of his associates, unceremoniously expelled from and kicked out of our country before we severed these relations, for having been discovered by our Secret Service Agents betraying our hospitality and criminally conspiring to violate our neutrality.

That "trifling circumstance" has not been forgotten.

Underneath a false propagandist appearance of peace and order presented by the censorship picture, Germany is today an armed camp, virtually ruled by military law, with courts of justice as a mere "blind" to carry out political administrative decrees.

It is only a few days since the publication of incidents that escaped over the rigid censorship, of which the following are a few illustrations:

In Munich the public prosecutor, on behalf of the Government, demanded sentences of eight months each in jail for three Catholic priests accused of "spreading atrocious stories about conditions in Germany"—which meant telling the truth.

In Berlin on January 5th, Stuttgart's political police arrested two Catholic priests, Father Dangelmeier of Metzinger and Father Sturn of Waldheim and sent them to the concentration camp at Kehburg. The police accused one priest of saying Mass for six Communists as they were about to be beheaded; the other priest was charged with having actually dared to hold a meeting of young Catholics on an evening when Chancellor Hitler was addressing the nation over the radio "thus tending to deflect attention from Hitler's remarks."

The Nazis were reported to be further incensed when they learned that the Bishop of Mayence had ordered Catholic Churches of his diocese to fly the church flag instead of the Nazi banner. Hundreds of such instances might be cited. They are a mere small fraction of the thousands that are occurring, the news of which is suppressed by the stern edicts of the Minister of Propaganda—that "Knight Errant of religious 'tolerance,'" Dr. Goebbels!

During the present month a Jewish butcher named Ludwig Froheimer, wide-eyed with fear, was hustled into Court at Wiesbaden and confessed that he had actually been guilty, as he had been all his life, of having slaughtered a steer in Kosher fashion.

Chancellor Hitler had decreed that no Kosher meat may be prepared in Germany, (no one knows why, except his fiendish hatred that prompts to make life more and more unbearable for his persecuted victims). He had likewise decreed that such meat could be imported only under restrictions so drastic that German Rabbis are urging vegetarianism as the only salvation for the orthodox Jews—for which they will probably be punished for insubordination.

Until recently, anti-kosher arrests had all been for the crime of smuggling in kosher meat. Froheimer was the first to be arrested for actual kosher butchering, which has existed and been recognized, and approved, and the use of which has been lauded in Germany, and for that matter all over the world, for untold centuries. It is universally admitted to be a health measure and is prescribed by the Bible. Here is what the Nazi judge said to this wretched offender:

"You placed an *alien* law, namely the *Talmud*, above German law. Since this is the first offense I sentence you to two months in prison."

Meantime the Ministry of Justice was in chaos in Berlin as weary German jurists who had scarcely slept for weeks had rushed to completion the "code Hitler," a complete new body of penal laws.

"Race stamps this code" said Nazi Codifier Helmuth Nicolai, "Our whole new legal system is constructed on the cornerstone of race. There are two kinds of justice. The Nordic or Teutonic is something one feels. The conscience of the racially pure Teutonic tells him what is right and what is wrong. The Oriental has no conscience, being of mixed race. He does not perceive what is right as clearly as does the German."

Was there ever such drivel dispensed in the sacred name of justice? It would be excruciating comic-opera if it were not such ghastly tampering with human lives.

Jewish lawyers and judges who had been permitted to resume their offices have been again thrown out of the courts in East Prussia, while Jewish lawyers in Berlin were warned that they should refrain from appearing in court.

No wonder Mr. Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*, and President of the Calvert Association, who is a member of the committee appointed by the "American Committee on Religious Reports and Minorities" to go to Germany and investigate conditions there, after spending weeks in Berlin interviewing members of the Hitler Government and leading professional and business men, both German and American, as well as Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders, reported on his return that the Nazi atrocities perpetrated upon the Jews are the worst known in History.

"So far as the persecution of the Jews is concerned," says Mr. Williams, "I am positive that those in the best position to know the facts, the foreign newspaper correspondents in Berlin and the American consular officials, agree that there was, and that *there continues to be*, a persecution of Jews which, in its extent surpasses any record of persecution in Jewish History, for it goes deeper and is more inclusive in its intent to absolutely eliminate the Jewish portion of the German Nation, than any other outbreak of the kind.

"One of the most prominent German political leaders told me that he believed that while the world outside of Germany might palliate the physical violence perpetrated upon the Jews during the first days of the Nazi rule as understandable, even if deplorable, that when the Nazis deliberately undertook to write into the fundamental law of the land, measures outlawing all Jews, including Germany's most patriotic citizens, they made a mistake comparable only to the invasion of Belgium at the outbreak of the World War. For several hundred thousand young Jews there is no future, as long as the present regime retains its present position."

From his personal investigations made within a few months after the outbreak of the Jewish atrocities, Mr. Williams reported the then recorded deaths and serious casualties from the Nazi troopers' attacks on the Jews at 3,300 of which 300 cases resulted in death and at least 3,000 in serious injury and that it began with a veritable massacre and continues to the present day with more refined, but nonetheless cruel, forms of murder and extermination by Germany of its minorities.

That is what the German Government calls an "internal affair" with which other countries are not concerned and against which they have no right to protest.

If that be true, the World War was indeed fought in vain.

These people are heretics and atheists at heart although they have not, until recently, dared openly avow it, to what were once a God-fearing people. They not only have no religious beliefs, they have no veneration or respect for religion. Their ambition seems to be to tear up by the roots and destroy all faith. Whilst they dare not use the same brutal methods of persecution against the terror-stricken Christians because they constitute 99% of the Nation, as they have used to exterminate the Jewish minority, their assaults upon the religious convictions of the Protestants and Catholics are nonetheless intolerable.

In an article recently published in *The Commonwealth*, by the eminent writer Mr. George N. Schuster, he reviews and analyzes the struggle that is now under way in Germany between the Government and the Catholics.

He likens the struggle of the past nine months to a battle where the only weapons are rifles and Maxim silencers and says it is impossible to spend months in the country without getting

one glimpse of what is a great, fearful and bitterly contested fight.

"The Catholic population," he says, "is hardly aware of what is going on, since all discussion of conflict which appears in the Nazi press makes it appear as if a few recalcitrant 'political priests' were 'misrepresenting the pure doctrines of the new Germany. A seal has been placed upon the lips of the priests; at least one hundred members of the regular and secular clergy have been put in jail, but only one has been permitted to be brought to trial.

"Today the material advantages gained in nearly 60 years of effort have been almost completely lost. Practically all positions they (the Catholics) once held in the ministry, judiciary and the various administrative organizations are now occupied by others. Even more impressive is the wholesale loss of smaller government jobs in cities, towns and villages. A whole thousand burgomasters were fired in Westphalia alone.

"As to the Catholics unfortunate enough to be wholly or partly of Jewish blood, the only thing left for these people to do is to go off somewhere and die.

"Less obvious but more important is the change in the spiritual ministry of the church; religious journalism is today almost a thing of the past in Germany. Catholics still possess a number of daily papers but everyone of these is patently dying of inanition. . . . More dangerous still is the threat to the educational program of the church. Today every young German who expects to get on in the world must become a member of the official Nazi 'political education' group. . . . There were whole months during which the activities of the Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth) were so arranged as to render impossible church attendance on Sundays; Catholic parents said to me bitterly that they found themselves wishing their children had never been born."

Mr. Schuster concludes as follows:

"Against it (The Hitler Government) Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism must stand allied, cost what it may. So far the spoils of battle have gone to the Nazis but it is ultimate victory which alone counts. The lot of German Catholics will not be easy — indeed it may enlist the outraged sympathies of the world — nevertheless I do not believe in the permanence of bogus faiths."

Just a word here about the platform of the New German State Church as outlined by Dr. Reinhold Krauss, leader of the so-called German Christians in Berlin, which he summarizes as follows:

- (1) That all non-Aryans should be removed from office in the German Protestant Church (there are at least 30 Jews who are Lutheran pastors in the Reich);
- (2) The establishment of separate "Ghetto" Churches for racially Jewish parishioners of Christian Churches who are Christians but partly of Jewish ancestry.
- (3) The exclusion of the Old Testament from the Bible on

the ground that it is a Jewish document. (Dr. Krauss is reported to have given deep offense to hundreds of pious Germans by characterizing the Old Testament as "a collection of tales by cattle dealers and pimps.")

(4) The elimination of the Apostle St. Paul and other "inferiority complex" passages from the Bible, including all references to the crucifixion of Jesus.

In other words all the present Christian religions and beliefs are to be scrapped and emasculated and a new Nordic Pagan Faith is to be substituted.

There is still another feature to this Hitler campaign which, to my mind, far transcends in importance to America and American citizenship all the crimes that are being perpetrated by the Hitler Regime within its own boundaries, and all its assaults upon the liberty of its own people. Whilst this reversion of a once great Nation to the savagery of the Dark Ages is by no means the "internal affair" that the Nazi Government claims it to be, but is on the contrary a great international concern that is a challenge to humanity, in the end it more directly affects its own people. The aspect of the Hitler activities to which I wish now briefly to revert, constitutes a wanton violation of our American neutrality and a direct assault upon our institutions.

This is a grave indictment of a Nation with which we are supposed to be at peace, but it is one that is overwhelmingly established by the facts in our possession, which it is proposed to bring to the attention of Congress in an investigation that has already been demanded by a Senate Resolution that is now under consideration.

The grave offense charged against the Hitler Government is that of a country-wide seditious propaganda conducted on our shores with the aid of German ships and seamen, and German emissaries, directly aimed at undermining the loyalty of our 13,000,000 American citizens of German birth or ancestry, sowing and spreading widecast the seeds of racial and religious bigotry and hatred.

To that end organizations have been formed under the names of "Friends of New Germany" and other names such as "Storm Troops," "Blue," "Brown" and other "Shirts." Tons of circulars, newspapers, magazines and other literature from Germany, published and printed in German and English, have, as before stated in another connection, been smuggled into this country on German ships and scattered by German agencies into every corner of the land. Other newspapers, printed in German and English, are being published in various parts of this country, bitterly assailing our Government and its President and calling upon American citizens of German birth or descent to embrace and

introduce into our laws the un-American treasonable doctrines of Hitlerism.

The alarming extent to which this constantly increasing and distorted Government-paid flood of propaganda is unconsciously impregnating and influencing the American Press, is becoming day by day more apparent and more dangerous. It must be checked or counteracted if our traditional liberty-loving protection of the oppressed is to survive.

There are gratifying signs from the belated action of our Departments of State and Labor that we are at last to be aroused from our Rip Van Winkle slumbers, at least to the extent of making possible an asylum for the crucified German Jews.

Senator Borah has admirably characterized this persecution as:

"A wicked and blasphemous exhibition of diseased minds."

And has declared on the floor of the Senate:

"That the upholding of American principles is our supreme duty, a duty we cannot disregard" and that "we need not be dismayed, but we cannot be unconcerned. The right to worship according to the dictates of one's conscience, the right to freedom from persecution on account of race, are parts of that political liberty, that freedom from oppression which is the life-blood of democracy."

At this time we may profitably take a leaf out of our history of the action of our Government over 80 years ago, when Kossuth, the Hungarian Patriot, as the result of his struggle for the political and religious freedom of his country, barely escaped with his life when he was driven out of Hungary and escaped to Turkey where he was held captive at the request of the Hungarian Government. We all recall with a thrill of pride in Our Country how we sent our battleships for Kossuth and his little band of patriots, how Kossuth was welcomed by Congress and was presented to the President by that great lawyer and eloquent statesman, Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, in one of the greatest of his many famous speeches, in which he used these memorable words:

"Gentlemen, there is something on Earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power, and that is the aroused indignation of the civilized world."

How true that is of the present situation and what a conclusive answer to the absurd contention that the slaughter and persecution of the German Jews is an "internal affair."

"The American Hebrew" in its issue of January 26th, reminds us that a generation later that same exalted principle was uttered by President Harrison, when in 1891, referring to remonstrances made by the United States to Russia because of the May Law in force against the Jews, he said in his message to Congress:

"The banishment, whether by direct decree, or by the less certain indirect methods of so large a number of men and women is not a legal question. A decree to leave one country is, in the nature of things, an order to enter another — some other. This consideration, as well as the suggestions of humanity, furnishes ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia."

We are now told that there is an intensive propaganda lobby in Washington that is directing its activities toward killing the Tydings Anti-Nazi resolution in the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. "The American Hebrew" reports on what it says is the most trustworthy authority that Senators are being personally assured by messages coming from the German Embassy at Washington that the preamble setting forth the Anti-Semitic campaign in Germany as described in the Tydings Resolution is contrary to the facts and that the Jews in Germany are in no way the object of Government persecution. A more brazen, audacious falsehood it would be impossible to conceive. It flies directly in the face of all of the official pronouncements of the Nazi Government itself, of the hundreds of censored reports from the distinguished American correspondents, and can only be characterized as a piece of unexampled audacity and effrontery. This Embassy propaganda is said to dare to make the silly threat that if the Tydings Resolution should be passed by the Senate, it will mean that Germany will break off relations with the United States, and that that incident might possibly be followed by a war between the two nations. The Senators are said to be also flooded with telegrams and letters from the Nazi propaganda sources throughout the country.

"The most disheartening part of the report," says the same reliable authority, "which comes from the same sources in Washington is that the Senators, in the face of the facts as known to the entire world, and as confessed, and in fact boasted by Germany, is that almost all of the Senators accept the word of the German Embassy as facts, and most of them are almost totally ignorant of what the Nazi Government has actually perpetrated."

Writing editorially of the attitude of the Senators, with regard to these threats the same authority says:

"They (the Senators) have heard vaguely of the dismissal of professors, and the exclusion of artists from the theatre and the cinema, but they seem totally unacquainted with the economic restrictions and persecutions that make the life of Jews in Germany humanly unbearable.

"What the Senators who have been approached by agents from the German Embassy fear most is the threat that favorable action on the Tydings Resolution will be followed immediately by a break in our relations, by the Reich, and possibly by war.

"What we have written here is calculated merely to call the attention of the country to the type and character of this

one phase of the Nazi propaganda which is leveled to destroy the Tydings Resolution."

Other phases of this daringly false propaganda are pointed out as follows:

"(1) Newspapers in this country are being fed with material bearing a Berlin datehead. It is so obviously German propaganda that at times 'I wonder,' says Mr. David A. Brown, 'how it passes the editorial desk.'

"(2) Special articles sent from Europe, and in many cases written in this country, presenting in the most favorable light all that Germany has done, and making favorable comparisons of the Revolution in Germany with that in Russia. There is no point of similarity between the two.

"(3) A Speakers Bureau of English speaking men and women is maintained here, all of whom are well trained speakers, and who travel the width and breadth of the land. This portion of such addresses is purely Anti-Semitic."

Says Mr. Brown of that work, "I consider the work of the speakers bureau the most effective and at the same time the most dangerous phase of their activities in the United States. These lecturers are appearing before Clubs, Societies, Churches, Fraternal Bodies—in fact before any group that will give them a hearing. They make no charge for the services of their speakers or for their traveling expenses, and they even offer to assist in the publicity attached to a meeting of this kind.

"(4) In addition to the publication of five propaganda newspapers printed in Germany and distributed here, there are several printed in English and likewise distributed here. Anyone reading them would at once realize that they are Nazi sheets to the core, but much material has been furnished either directly by Germany or by Nazi headquarters in America.

"(5) There are being published in America, and also being sent by Germany, large quantities of leaflets, booklets, and pamphlets, printed both in English and in German that reek with Anti-Semitism.

"(6) The Nazis, realizing the possibilities within the high schools and colleges of this country, are making use of such students as will lend themselves, to carrying on a subtle campaign of Anti-Semitism. They are presenting (lying) statistics to show that the Jews predominated the professions of Germany; and that unless the youth of this land takes steps to prevent it the Christian youth here will find itself in a second rate position, entirely ignoring the fact that the Jews are but 3% of the total population of this country.

"(7) Every German Consular office in the United States has a propaganda bureau, having definite instructions to use their offices for German propaganda purposes; that the Consuls and their staffs shall be available at all times to carry out the instructions of the Propaganda Bureau in Berlin, and its counterpart in this country."

It is further charged that among other propaganda activities radio speakers are employed or secretly subsidized, who, in the course of their news presentation of the day to vast audiences manage to introduce an item or two of pure, unadulterated German propaganda, and that one or two of the regular news announcers over the radio are at present under

suspicion of being in the pay either of the German Government or of the Nazi organization in this country.

"Even moving pictures," says Mr. Brown, "are not free from this insidious propaganda, mainly in the form of news-reels depicting outstanding events throughout the world. No event of importance in Germany but what is flashed on these news-reels, and that holds true of events favorable to Germany taking place in this country. This seems strange when you consider that these news-reels have never depicted the horrors and brutalities that have occurred in Germany since the coming of Hitlerism."

All this leads to the problem of how best to combat this campaign against the peace, order and security of our country.

One of the boldest and most alarming steps that has been taken by the Hitler Regime toward undermining and eventually destroying the existing Christian religions, was the appointment a few days ago by Hitler of Alfred Rosenberg, one of his closest friends and leaders, and one of the original and most virulent of living anti-Semites, as head of the so-called "Foreign Policy Division" and Government supervisor of the church bodies of the nation, that have now been virtually taken over by the Hitler Government.

Following, and in line with the vicious activities of Reich Bishop Mueller and the jailing of priests and clergymen, the placing of this supreme power in the hands of Dr. Rosenberg is the most significant step yet taken toward disrupting the Christian Churches and the Catholic and Protestant religions and substituting Paganism or the "Nordic-Germanic Cult."

Let it be remembered that Rosenberg is the author of the widely read book "The Myth of the Twentieth Century," in which he decries and denounces Christianity.

I quote verbatim from an inspired official cabled propagandist report from Berlin on February 2nd, headed: "A New German Cult" . . . a religion with a "German" Heaven and a dogma replacing the Bible with Nordic myths . . . was envisaged today as an equal of Protestantism and Catholicism.

"Since July 30, when about 100,000 Hitlerites had disavowed Christianity in Eisenach and declared their responsibility for our Germanic origin before the divine reality, the movement has grown apace."

The Eisenach resolution reads:

"We are adherents of a Germanic faith which derives its guiding strength from the religious inheritance of the German people. We all confess that resting in divine reality we are, responsible with our Germanic origin before this divine reality, and before our people for a German-born faith."

From this it would seem that Odin and Balder and Freya, and other German gods, are to be placed back on the throne from which they were driven by advancing Christianity.

A leader in the movement recently said that Naziism and

Christianity are incompatible. "Germany's great aim," he said, "must be one people, one Reich, one religion, one church. The one religion, of course, can be only a Nordic-Germanic one. The National Socialist revolution must become transformed into a heathenish-Germanic one; then only will the revolution have achieved what we all hope for."

On the fifth of this month a meeting was held at Berlin of a congress of the "Germanic Research Society," consisting of noted German professors. The censored cable reports say that at that meeting—

"It was agreed for the most part that Christianity was not meant for Germans."

The delegates represented "The Pagan Teutonic Faith Movement" of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, the new philosophic dictator of the New Germany. That movement was the sole topic of discussion. The religious correspondent of The Frankfurter Zeitung was permitted by the propagandist censor of the Empire to say of the movement as follows (which would indicate that the Government was behind the movement):

"The movement at heart is anti-Christian. Christ and Christianity as a whole are denied."

Dr. Johann von Leers, the official Nazi Culture Leader, and a personal friend of Dr. Rosenberg, was among the most outspoken in the conference. "Christianity," he said, "is a composition of inferiority and Jewish philosophy." He demanded abolition of Christianity outright, and return to pre-historic light-bearer worship. He said the trend was toward a national, not a universal religion.

Dr. Neckel, of Berlin, presented a dissertation lasting hours to prove his contention that Christianity triumphed by the most brutal methods.

On January 22nd, Professor Karl Adams, of Tuebingen University, before The Catholic Youth Society in Stuttgart, delivered a sermon in which that great Catholic savant illuminated the bitter conflict now proceeding between the Catholic clergy and the Nazi Government authorities in South Germany. Not one Berlin newspaper published any account of the sermon. In the course of his grave denunciation of the German Christians (the name of the Rosenberg Nazi movement within the German Protestant Church) Professor Adam said:

"If that is the German faith movement as based on biology, then for us Catholics it is superstition. Has German history ever been able to point to men like Peter and Paul? The German Christians know nothing about Prophets. They know only myths, fairy tales and sagas."

"It was after this bold sermon," says the cable dispatch, "that the Stuttgart Police broke up the parade of the Catholic Youth Society."

Last November, John Elliott, writing for the New York Herald Tribune from Berlin, presented a graphic word picture of this movement to oust the existing Christian Churches. Among other things he said:

"Parsifal and Zarathustra are struggling these days for mastery of the German Protestant Church. The opposing factions and the Evangelical Modernists organized in the Pastors Emergency League, which already has more than 3,000 clergymen on its rolls, and the Nazi radicals, who have banded together in the German Christian Church with Hossenfelder, Bishop of Brandenburg. The Modernists stand for the Christian spirit of humanity. The Nazi extremists represent the worship of blood, force and gratification of Nordic supremacy."

Hitlerism and Christianity are incompatible on at least two grounds, says Mr. Elliott:

"(1) The internationalism of Christianity is in conflict with the fanatic nationalism that animates the Hitler movement. Upon the appeal of Archbishop Erling Eidem of Sweden and the Bishop of Chichester to Reich Bishop Mueller to dislodge the Aryan clause for the sake of preserving the connection between the German Church and the Protestant Church abroad, Bishop Hossenfelder replied: 'We German Christians believe that it is more important for us to share the faith of German people than to preserve contact with the churches of other people.'

"(2) The glorification of the Nordic-Germanic race as superior to the other nations is frequently opposed to the teaching of Christ."

The Evangelical Modernists see in the movement of the Nazi radicals the entering wedge for the introduction of heathenism that would make of German Christianity a revised form of ancient Germanic Wotan worship advocated by General Erich von Ludendorff and his ilk.

There can be no question that the triumph of Naziism and the enforced substitution of Pagan religion, to be known as the German Church, under rigid State control, means the destruction of Christianity in Germany, and that just as the Russian Communists tried for years to introduce Communism into other countries, just as the Hitler Government is now spreading its anti-Semitic propaganda in our country and in other lands, and is spending tens of millions of dollars for that purpose, so will the campaign be waged to spread paganism and unbelief in our and other lands.

Permit me, in conclusion, to appeal to organized labor, through our honored guest, to now give to your boycott resolution the active force, life and vitality into which they are capable of being galvanized at your hands, throughout the length and breadth of the land. This you can do by urging, not only upon your membership, but upon all of the workers of the country, and par-

ticularly upon their families, that they carefully scrutinize all of their purchases, so as to protect themselves against the many forms of fraud and evasion that are being practiced, and that they refuse to buy German goods or to patronize German ships or shipping or to deal with any shop or merchant that handles German merchandise

Such action would eventually automatically compel all shops that are seeking their patronage to permanently display signs announcing that they do not buy or sell such goods, and at the same time stimulate the sale of goods made in America, and thus give much needed employment to our labor. Whenever necessary further tariff protection to that end should be asked of Congress.

Another step in your campaign that would be equally potent would be to support the stevedores and others who are connected with the loading and unloading of German ships that are most active agents in smuggling into our country and distributing products and seditious contraband literature against American institutions, in their refusal to handle such goods.

I do not believe that any patriotic American Union or non-Union worker would refuse to respond to such an appeal, or would take the place of one who so refused. You can thus be the most important factor towards smashing the present despotism that has outlawed all organized labor in Germany, and which is now engaged in a dastardly campaign to destroy Christianity and to enthrone virtual Paganism in its place.

I repeat, for the reasons above stated, that this is not primarily a Jewish question. It is the intimate concern of all humanity. As stated by Mayor LaGuardia in a speech in New York City, after strongly assailing Hitlerism, and endorsing the boycott of German goods, and after pointing out that he was a Vice-President of the organization of which I am the President:

"The Nazi problem is not a religious question but a grave international problem. The boycott was a decisive and active stand against Hitlerism which at the same time fits in perfectly with the program dedicated to the prevention of war. To be against Hitler is to be for the people of Germany. To be against Hitler is to be for the peace of the world."

Address at the Annual Memorial Service of the Jewish War Veterans, New York, May 27, 1933

Never before in their peacetime history, except at the anniversary of your organization last year, have the Jewish War Veterans met to celebrate this glorious, inspiring and usually joyous anniversary under such heart-rendering conditions. Never before have they been forced to sit helplessly by as witnesses to the crucifixion of their unoffending brethren upon an altar of bigotry and hatred that was supposed to have been driven into oblivion and destroyed centuries ago by the onward march of civilization and the brotherhood of man.

When we reflect that of these 550,000 German Jews (which includes men, women and children, old as well as young), upon whom these diabolical tortures and persecutions are being perpetrated, 96,000 were actually at the front; 12,000 of them made "the supreme sacrifice," and 35,000 were seriously wounded—many thousands of them permanently—in the cause of their ungrateful country, one begins dimly to visualize something of "man's inhumanity to man," when human being are turned into beasts of prey by the wild fury of brutal fanaticism.

Every page of Germany's history and of ours, and of that of other countries, bears eloquent, unimpeachable witness against the foul libels behind which these savages seek to hide this crime against civilization—that the Jew is not the most loyal, patriotic and self-sacrificing citizen to his own country, wherever he may be.

As proof of this let us take a brief glance at the part the Jews have played in our own history. We may well hold up our heads, for the record is one of which we are and should be intensely proud. It demonstrates that at all times patriotism has been the guiding star of the American Jew. In all the wars of the Republic his deeds have cast their fragrance of heroism and sacrifice over every page of the military and naval annals of the Nation.

Beginning with the Revolutionary period: Manuel Mordecai Noah, Col. Isaac Franks and Major Benjamin Nones were aides-de-camp on the staff of General Washington. Nones was a Frenchman fired by the sentiments that enlisted Lafayette. A private under Pulaski, he attained the distinction under Baron DeKalb of Major commanding a legion composed in large measure of Hebrews. At Beaufort, Washington's corps of Jewish volunteers fought under General Maultrie with indomitable valor.

When Robert Morris appealed for funds to aid the colonists in the Revolutionary War it was a Jew, Haym Salomon, who most generously responded. He immediately subscribed \$300,000 to

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the cause, and in all gave \$658,007.13, not a penny of which has ever been repaid to his heirs. That was a great fortune in those days.

Within the last few years there has been considerable discussion in Congress over a Bill introduced in the Senate to repay the heirs of Haym Salomon the money loaned by him to finance the War against the British. Accompanying this Bill was a Senate resolution enumerating Salomon's patriotic donations to Robert Morris. Besides his contributions, he supplied Congressmen and officers of the Army and of the Government with the means of defraying their ordinary expenses, among whom were Jefferson, Madison, Lee, Steuben, Mifflin, Sinclair, Wilson, Monroe and Mercer. He sacrificed his fortune for the cause.

Will it be said that such a man was not a patriot? He was captured by the British, thrown into prison and died before he himself could take any steps to secure reimbursement for the wealth he had expended, leaving his wife and four small children in want.

Nor was Haym Salomon by any means the only Jew who unselfishly sacrificed his fortune for independence. Among the signers of the bills of credit for the Continental Congress in 1776 were Samuel Lyon and Benjamin Jacobs of New York, Benjamin Levy and Isaac Moses of Philadelphia. Herman Levy, another Philadelphian, repeatedly advanced money for the support of the Army in the field. Manuel Mordecai Noah of South Carolina not only served in the Army as an officer on Washington's staff, and with General Marion, but gave \$100,000 to further the cause.

The story is told, and it is authentic, based upon an unpublished letter of Jared Sparks, that at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War a Mr. Gomez of New York proposed to a member of the Continental Congress that he be permitted to form a company of soldiers for service. The member of Congress remonstrated with Mr. Gomez on the ground that he (Mr. Gomez) was then 68 years of age; to which Mr. Gomez replied that he "could stop a bullet as well as a younger man."

Mordecai Sheftall was appointed Commissary-General of the troops of Georgia in 1777. Soon thereafter he was also appointed Commissary to the Continental troops. When the British attacked Savannah in 1778, Sheftall's name appears as one of the most patriotic of the defenders, besides contributing large sums of money.

Major Benjamin Nones, a Jew of Bordeaux, France, served with signal success on the staffs of both Washington and Lafayette. He became Major of a legion of 400 men composed largely of Jews, and fought in nearly every battle of Carolina.

Among the many Jews in the War of 1812 who fought for

the infant Republic were: Col. Nathan Meyers, Capt. Meyer Moses, Adjutant Isaac Meyers, Samuel Noah, Isaac Mertz, Benjamin Gratz, David Metzler and Judah Touro distinguished themselves.

After the Revolution Touro went to the then French territory of Louisiana, settling in New Orleans in 1802. During Andrew Jackson's memorable defense of that city, after the Territory had become a part of the United States, Touro, who had amassed a great fortune, entered the ranks as a common soldier and was severely wounded, being given up for dead.

The history of the War with Mexico also sparkles with the achievements of the American Jew. General David DeLeon twice received the thanks of Congress for his gallantry and ability. At Monterey, Lieut. Henry Seligson was complimented in person by General Taylor for his dauntless heroism.

The pages of the Civil War again bear overwhelming witness to the courage, patriotism and heroism of the American Jew. More than 8,000 were arrayed on either side. The 1st New York Volunteer Infantry alone was more than one-half composed of Jews. The highest rank attained by any of them during the Civil War was earned by Frederick Kneffler, who enlisted in the 79th Indiana Volunteer Infantry as a private, and rendered such signal service that he was breveted a Major General. Lieutenant Edward S. Salomon of the 24th Illinois Volunteers attained the rank of Brigadier General. Leopold Blumenberg and Philip J. Joshimson were each breveted as a Brigadier General.

In the political movements for the abolition of slavery the Jews took a leading part. The first official call to organize the abolition movement was signed by four Jews of the five leaders of the German population of Chicago.

In that great political movement, Dr. Edward Moritz of the Philadelphia *Demokrat*, Rabbi Samuel M. Isaacs, a preacher and editor of the Jewish Messenger, Rabbi Liebman Adler in Detroit, Dr. Horowitz in Cleveland, and Dr. Felsenthal in Chicago, were among those who sowed the seeds of liberty.

Rabbi Morais, on account of his anti-slavery sentiments, was elected an honorary member of the Union League Club of Philadelphia, an honor which he shared with Rev. Dr. David Einhorn, who, in 1856, had come to pro-slavery Baltimore from Austria, where his temple had been closed against him by the Imperial Government on account of his alleged revolutionary efforts. From the sacred desk of the Har Sinai Congregation and in his periodical, Dr. Einhorn poured forth shot and shell from the Old Testament into the ranks of the advocates of slavery and the time-serving attitude of the churches, until driven out of the city and his return prohibited under martial law.

Dr. Einhorn in Baltimore, and later in Philadelphia, did as

much as any man in his day to create public sentiments which destroyed slavery.

If we inspect the muster rolls of the Spanish-American War here again we find over 5,000 Jews who volunteered and offered their lives on the altar of their country.

It may not be generally known that the first Philippino standard lowered in the Philippines was captured by Sergeant Morris J. Cohen of Funston's regiment, who afterwards fell in the charge at Caloocan. Jacob Wilensky, a mere lad of sixteen, was killed in the first skirmish of Col. Roosevelt's Rough Riders. The first American soldier to fall in the attack on Manila was a Jew, Sergeant Maurice Justh of the 1st California Volunteers, a regiment containing over 100 Jews.

And who dares detract from the achievements of the Jew in the great World War? A phalanx of upwards of 250,000 strong, these sons of Israel, all American citizens, battled for their Country on land and sea, in the air and under the sea. Though constituting but 3% of the population, over 5% of their number were in the fighting forces of the Nation. Available statistics disclose that nearly 20% of the entire Jewish contingent in the great conflict were volunteers. In the army alone, nearly 10,000 Jews held commissioned rank.

Outstanding deeds of heroism credited to the Jewish soldiers are far too numerous to recite here. It was Sergeant Max Goldstone who crawled into the enemy machine-gun nest, from which perilous position in the thick of the fight he directed the American artillery fire until the enemy was forced to retreat.

The name of Battling Benjamin Blaustein will be forever enshrined amongst the heroes of the Fighting 69th Regiment.

Wherever the story of the "Lost Battalion" is chronicled there must be told how, after messenger upon messenger seeking to bring relief to the despairing troops, sped to certain death, it was Abraham Krotoshinsky, a little Jewish tailor from the Bronx, who volunteered and saved the day.

Not less than 1100 citations for valor were awarded to men of the Jewish faith. Of these, 723 were conferred by the American command, 287 by the French, 22 by the British, and 46 by various others of the allied commands. The Congressional Medal of Honor, of which only 78 have thus far been awarded, were conferred on three Jewish soldiers. The Distinguished Service Cross is worn by at least 150 American Jewish ex-service men. The French Medaille Militaire by 4 American Jews, and the Croix de Guerre is known to have been awarded to 174 Jews in the American Expeditionary Forces.

With about 14,000 casualties and 3,000 Jews who gave up their lives, where is the man so bold as to deny to the Jews the courage

that he has shown in the defense of the country of his birth or adoption?

The thrilling story of Libby Goldstone, who at the age of 88 years, led a parade in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1917, to help the Liberty Loan Drive, is well known. This daughter of Israel, an American patriot to the core, died in Pittsburgh in 1932 at the ripe old age of 105. She had 20 grandsons in active service in the World War, and another 14 grandsons awaiting service in concentration camps throughout the country.

Mrs. Gustav Jacobson of Caldwell, New Jersey, is the mother of seven sons whom she gave to the country of her adoption, every one of whom saw active service in the World War.

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, originally organized by Jewish survivors of the Civil War as a living refutation of the slanderous aspersion upon Jewish patriotism, was augmented at the close of the Spanish-American War by Jews who had served with distinction in that conflict, and still later by Jewish survivors of the World War, now comprises an organization of more than 22,000 active members distributed in 70 posts or Units throughout the country. Their activities are centered, in a large measure, in "Object Two" of their constitution, which reads as follows:

"To combat the powers of bigotry and darkness; wherever originating and whatever their target; to uphold the fair name of the Jew and fight his battle wherever unjustly assailed."

One would imagine from this man Hitler's drivel that but for the 1% of the Jews the German people would be pure Nordic or Aryan. It is the same sort of ignorant racial arrogance on which the political campaigns were based of our once powerful but now despised and well-nigh extinct Ku Klux Klan when they prattled about "pure racial stock."

Eight of the thirty German winners of the Nobel prize were Jews, or over 25%.

Dr. Clinchy reminds us, referring to this absurd Nordic or Aryan myth:

"Purity of German stock is sheer nonsense. Eastern Germany is said to be about 60% Slavic population. Southern Germany is about 40% Celtic. Naturally the Nazi drive is in the perilous region of racial megalomania. Surely the Nazis must very well know that there are no pure national stocks in the Western World. France, for example, has been stated as 10% Latin, 30% German, 5% Jewish and 55% Celtic. The Austrians, who are nominally 100% German, are a hybrid of Germans, Magyars, Celts, Czechs, Serbs and Croatians, with a bit of Latin blood."

In conclusion, let me quote from Mark Twain's eulogy of the Jews in his book "Concerning the Jews":

"According to statistics, the Jews constitute but *one per cent* of the human race. * * * Properly the Jew ought hardly to

be heard of; but he is heard of—has always been heard of. He is as prominent on this earth as any other people, and his commercial importance is absurdly out of proportion to the smallness of his bulk. His contributions to the world's list of great names in art, science, music, literature, finance, medicine and abstruse learning are and always have been grotesquely out of proportion to his numbers. He has made a wonderful fight in this world, in all the ages; and he has done it with his hands tied behind him. * * * The Egyptian, the Babylonian and the Persian arose, filled the planet with sound and splendor, then folded his tent and passed away. The Greek and the Haman followed. They made a vast noise, and they are gone. Other peoples have sprung up and held their torch for a time, but it burned out, and they now sit in twilight or have vanished. The Jew saw them all, beat them all, and is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no infirmities of age, no weakening of his parts, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind. All things are mortal but the Jew, all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?"

How then dare these brutal, upstart savages, masquerading for a brief day on the World stage have the brazen effrontery to challenge the courage and patriotism of the Jew in the face of all history?

To our glory be it said that there is no spark of revengefulness or vindictiveness in the Jewish character. Throughout all the centuries of persecution to which our race has been subjected we have ever evidenced a forgiving spirit. We have never struck a blow except in self-defense, and then all too rarely and only when driven to desperation, with our backs to the wall.

Perhaps we would have suffered less but for our lack of fighting spirit, except as patriots in the defense of our native or adopted country. There our heroism and spirit of self-sacrifice are boundless and are written large in the histories of all countries.

In the present emergency we have at last found in the economic boycott an effective weapon whereby we can make common cause in the interest of humanity and against all assaults, not only upon our religious beliefs but upon those of other creeds, and upon organized labor and democracy. That is the holy cause in which we are now embarked, and with every promise of success. The economic downfall of Hitlerism and the liberation of civilization from its hateful yoke are nearer at hand than is generally realized, through the world boycott of German goods, ships and shipping.

Let us take a look at present-day facts and figures, as reflected by the German gold standard and gold reserve. There is something farcical in her pretense of maintaining a gold standard. With her interest and other obligations dishonored, Friday's [May 25, 1934] Reichsbank statement showed a beggarly ratio of 4.6% of gold reserve against her outstanding note circulation,

which is virtually no gold reserve whatever. Even this meager showing compares with 4.8% of a week ago, 6.8% of a month ago, and 8.3% of a year ago, as indicating the growing, destructive effect of the boycott and that Germany is now trembling on the verge of economic collapse.

Comparing its gold holdings of Thursday last with those of May 28th of the years 1932 and 1933, here are the figures:

1932—856,284,000 marks

1933—372,348,000 marks

1934—146,951,000 marks

or about one-eighth of what they were two years ago. She is at the lowest ebb since the War, when she repudiated her entire outstanding currency. If she were to pay a fraction of the interest on her obligations, incurred since the War, she would be hopelessly insolvent.

Since January 5th of this year her gold holdings decreased from 389,190,000 marks by 242,259,000 marks, or by about 60%.

Not even that grand-past-master in financial jugglery, Dr. Schacht, can much longer maintain the pretense of solvency or keep a straight face whilst he prates about the gold standard.

And yet her solvency could be restored almost overnight, whenever she is ready to abandon her midnight madness of medieval bigotry and fanaticism and return to the fold of civilization. She has only to restore civic and religious freedom to the Jews and religious freedom to the Catholics and Protestants and to return their confiscated property and economic rights to Labor and all will be well. The world is not interested in her internal affairs or the extent to which her own citizens may see fit to surrender their freedom, but the heinous crimes she is perpetrating upon her own people have long since passed the boundaries of "internal affairs." They have become the concern of the entire world.

The German people are not permitted to know that they are on the verge of bankruptcy, or what is happening to them. World-news and world-opinion that are inimical cannot reach into Germany, with its gagged press and suppressed freedom of speech. Their rulers know full well the economic debacle that confronts them, because other countries are turning their backs upon and refusing to deal with them under existing conditions.

In joining with our Catholic and Protestant brethren and with the Labor Unions and Masonic Lodges of the world we are performing a great service for the masses of the German people. If we succeed in cracking and overthrowing the Hitler regime we will have rescued Germany from the frenzy that is inevitably driving it into war, and will have restored its people to sanity. That will be well worth to civilization the sacrifices that we are making.

In conclusion, let me again repeat what I have so often said, that this is not a Jewish question, heartrending as is the plight of our fellow-Jews. The service in which we are engaged far transcends the limitations of any one race or sect. It is a service that embraces all humanity.

Address Broadcast Over Station WEVD to the
Workers of the United States, April 22, 1934

I UNDERSTAND that this Radio Address, urging active participation in the boycott of German goods, ships and shipping to which I have gladly consented to devote the intermission in the splendid concert we are now holding in Carnegie Hall, is more particularly directed to the workers of the country.

There is one aspect of this situation to which I must call your special attention. It is this: The impression is studiously, but I am glad to say unsuccessfully, sought to be created that this boycott is directed against or includes our own German-American merchants and shop-keepers. I need hardly say to you that this is a wicked falsehood. We have no quarrel with them, whatever may be their views or sympathies. Our campaign is strictly confined to *goods* made in Germany. It does not concern persons or their nationality.

Besides, we know that there are 100 German-American citizens who hate Hitler and everything for which he stands, and who love American conceptions of fair-play, for every one bigot and fanatic who is opposed. Let no one deceive you on that score. We have the same contempt for a man who would boycott a shop because it is run by a German as if it were boycotted because it was run by a Jew.

You are, of course, familiar with the fact that this is a purely defensive boycott, which the American Federation of Labor and other labor organizations of this country and of Great Britain, and, in fact, nearly all over the world, have declared against all German goods, ships and shipping because of the ruthless destruction by Germany of all Labor Unions and of the social system built up by the Unions through a generation or more of struggle, and because of the horrible persecutions it has practiced and is continuing, with ever increasing bitterness and intensity, upon its own loyal citizens, solely because they are Jews, or of remote Jewish ancestry in whole or in part.

Thanks to the destruction of the Unions and to the confiscation of their funds, the workers of Germany are now back, chained by the yoke of serfdom to the employers where they were before they began to enjoy the fruits of social freedom earned by their hard-won victories.

This was to have been expected. Hitler is the tool and spokesman of the munitions manufacturers and other industrial barons. They financed his campaign, and in return he is doing their bidding in suppressing the voice of labor. His newly organized puppets, which he calls "Labor Fronts," are squarely under the

heels of their masters, and there they will remain until rescued by the collapse of his government and the reassertion by the people of their rights, which nothing can avert short of the war toward which he is bending all his energies.

The destruction of a free press and of freedom of speech—which is now a capital offense—and the rigid prohibition of any party or other organization to oppose any of the policies of this despotism, have hushed the voice of the people and relegated it to the dim memories of the past. The workers are now slaves of a great State machine that rolls over and crushes them, so that the expression of their individual opinion is no longer possible.

All German citizens who are Jewish artisans and workers have been barred from the Labor Unions, no matter how long their service and how useful, patriotic, law-abiding and inoffensive they may be. It is a brutal and wholly unnecessary act of despotism and injustice to these loyal citizens who shed their blood in the defense of their country and to their children and children's children. It is an outrage upon civilization and humanity.

The structure of Trade Unionism, which has always been regarded as the bulwark of the liberties of German workers, has been completely annihilated. As Mr. Green, who is one of my authorities for many of these statistical statements, very aptly said, in one of his recent speeches:

"A new industrial and economic order which, in operation, subjects the worker to industrial management control, reduces the worker to an industrial status approximating slavery. Not only have the German workers suffered the loss of millions in money, but they have been robbed of their economic power—the only weapon which free labor can use in establishing decent wages and humane conditions of employment."

In the Address I made a few moments ago before the concert audience in Carnegie Hall, I referred briefly, within the limit of time allotted me over the radio, to a few incidents illustrating the nonchalant and apparently unsympathetic and non-helpful attitude of our Administration toward the situation in Germany.

I bow to no man in my admiration and affection for our great President. He has been confronted with problems fully as great and as anxious as those that were encountered by our lamented President during the World War, and has unfortunately but necessarily been compelled to rely for the solution and the details of the questions with which I am now concerned upon members of his Cabinet, and especially on his antiquated-minded, reactionary Secretary of State. The latter seems more interested in vainly trying to resurrect his exploded World Economic Conference and hopeless Disarmament negotiations, in which Germany has been tagging along, laughing up its sleeve and with its tongue in its cheek, than in hearkening to the voice of humanity, in obedience to the great traditions of our Nation.

It is generally believed that because of the unlimited and well-deserved confidence of Congress in our President, it is likely to leave in his hands the negotiation of new tariff treaties, having for their purpose the extension of our export trade. If it were possible for the President, with the burdens upon him, personally to negotiate such treaties, I think we would all feel safe. But with such negotiations entrusted to the present Secretary of State I am frank to say that I, for one, would feel most unsafe just now whilst the German government, although refusing to pay its debts, or even the interest on them, has had appropriated and otherwise provided over 30,000,000 Marks for this year to continue and extend the existing vicious propaganda, most of which is being spent in this country, and with which the German Ambassador, the Embassy and the various Consuls in this country are more than familiar.

The Secretary of State is reported to be negotiating one of these treaties with Germany. The principal items of that treaty are reported to be cotton, copper and other materials entering into and to be used for the purpose of manufacturing war munitions, in violation of the Treaty of Versailles, and of equipping Germany to destroy the peace of the world and to embark upon what will perhaps be the most destructive war of all time.

In a cable dispatch of the 12th inst., from Prague (it would not have passed the German censor) from Frederick T. Birchall, one of the most distinguished and experienced of foreign correspondents, we find the following declaration made by Dr. Paul Hertz, former Parliamentary Secretary of the German Socialist Party:

"If the United States grants Germany credits for raw materials in any large quantities the United States will be responsible for the next war in Europe. Most of the world has already accepted this as certain."

"Without a foreign loan—or credit for raw materials, which amounts to the same thing—Hitler in Germany is doomed. With the aid of a foreign loan Hitler may continue for some years. A continuance of his regime would simply imply the steady rearmament of Germany. With armaments completed the time will arrive for carrying out that part of the Nazi program involving the incorporation in the Reich of neighboring territories containing large numbers of Germans. That surely will mean war.

"The only country that can supply on credit such raw materials as Germany now requires in quantity, but cannot pay for, is the United States."

The latest budget nominally allots 30,000,000 Marks to the Department of Propaganda—actually, however, the Department gets between 50,000,000 and 60,000,000 marks from the radio-broadcasting service which formerly went to the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and now goes into the propaganda coffers,

which accounts for the 80,000,000 marks (or \$32,000,000) appropriated this year for propaganda, to which I have referred.

As evidencing the pace at which rearmament is going on in Germany, and to which we are contributing, our Foreign Policy Association has collected interesting statistics:

The Storm Troopers, sometimes referred to as "Hitler's Private Army," are now estimated at about 2,500,000 men. This army possesses an aviation squadron!

The French dossier on German rearmament reports that—

"The German rulers have almost completed the reorganization for war of the entire industrial, material and human resources of the Reich."

The best proof of the intensive preparations of Germany within its own borders is offered by the recent increases in the prices of munitions stocks of German firms:

In 1932, the shares of the Berlin Karlsruhe Industrie Werke were quoted at from 16 to 58. In 1933, they were between 55 and 95. During the same period the stock of the Bayerische Motoren Werke, manufacturers of airplane engines and trench mortars, ranged from 24 to 64 in 1932. During 1933, it varied between 67 and 140. The I. G. Chemical combine was listed in 1932 at between 81 and 108, and in 1933 at 95 to 148.

Another indication of the scale on which war preparations are being conducted in Germany, in which we are actively assisting and are now asked to be the principal factor, is the great increase in the importations by the Reich of raw materials used particularly for war purposes, such as copper, cotton, nickel, manganese, iron, aluminum, wood and wood-pulp.

Is our Nation made up of guileless children that, in the face of what is going on, they are willing to pay any attention to Hitler's absurd and insincere professions of peace, when everyone at all familiar with world affairs must realize that that nation is feverishly and enthusiastically preparing to plunge the world into the greatest war the world has ever known and that in that way only does their present government expect to hold its despotic power.

If our Government furnishes the credits with which to bring this crowning disaster upon the head of civilization, its responsibility will be beyond words.

Use your influence in every direction to stop this foolhardy enterprise. We owe something to humanity. If we cannot improve our economic position without precipitating such a catastrophe, we deserve to go to the wall.

Greatly as I admire the President, it is my sincere hope and prayer that he will make no trade treaty with Germany. There is nothing we can contribute to such a treaty except war materials. With their semi-pauper labor they can manufacture merchandise

in ordinary commerce so much cheaper than we can that any exchange on that basis would result only in destroying and closing our factories, just as they are about to revive.

If the treaty contemplates furnishing mainly war materials and taking in return manufactured products that will compete with our manufacturers, what is to become of the latter?

I have always felt that the wisdom of making such sacrifices to extend our export trade is more than doubtful. After all, our exports amount to only 6% of the total business of the country. We would be better off, if necessary, to reduce our production to that extent, if our consumers cannot absorb it, than to open wide our doors to the destructive competition that would result from the reduction of our tariffs.

However that may be, let us, who entered upon the destructive World War to end War and to "make the World safe for democracy," avoid the furnishing of sinews to a country that could not put itself in condition to wage war without our active aid.

The main object of civilization just now should be, not to build up the Hitler regime, but to destroy it, so far as that is possible within the rules of international law; and the way to break that power peacefully is through economic sanctions, of which the boycott is the most powerful.

Does experience teach us nothing? If we had kept out of the World War, as we should have done, and our Government had forbidden our ammunition-makers to sell to the belligerents, as humanity dictated, we would have saved untold lives and billions of dollars, and all the misery of this depression would have been averted.

Is it not high time that civilized countries reckon lives above dollars, and that we take the lead among the nations in prohibiting the sale of arms and ammunition to foreign countries for war purposes? If necessary, let the Government take over all the plants. Anything is better than to continue responsible for the butchery and savagery of war.

We prattle a lot in high-sounding phrases about the iniquity of war, but lack the moral courage to take the only step that would end it.

Address at the Maccabean Chanukah Celebration, Madison Square Garden, December 16, 1933

THIS year's Chanukah has a far wider and deeper significance for World Jewry than at any time in the past. I need not remind you that the purpose of this traditional holiday is to commemorate the heroism of the Maccabees of old. Over 2,000 years ago, Judas Maccabeus and his small band of sturdy Jews courageously faced the invading herds of Syrians and successfully repulsed them. This triumph for the Maccabees insured the survival of the Jewish people and their culture that was gravely threatened by that invasion. It is this holiday of "Chanukah," or the "Feast of Lights," that marks this joyous event.

Coming at this, the greatest crisis in our long existence, this celebration is an inspiring symbol of the solidarity that is the greatest need of the Jewish people in this, the most cruel and unprovoked assault upon their existence in the long history of Judaism. To meet it as it should be met and conquered, calls for the revival of the militant Maccabean spirit of the Jews. That this spirit is not dead but merely slumbering has been repeatedly demonstrated in the past, but I will admit that, except among the great masses of our people in this country, prosperity has deadened our fighting spirit. Our so-called "high-brow," ultra-prosperous leaders have become "pussy-footers," though always generous, well-intentioned and loyal to the cause of Judaism—according to their dim lights.

They have forgotten that our dauntless-spirited, persecuted downtrodden people have never gotten anything except by fighting for it. An incursion into the history of the Maccabees may give them some of the courage they need in this crisis.

Let them recall that upon the result of the 2,000-year-old struggle between the Maccabees and the Syrians depended the survival of the Jews,—but the issue was not any more grave than it is today. They at least had the alternative of accepting assimilation at the hands of their oppressor or of fighting for their perpetuation in the face of tremendous odds.

Mathathias, spurred on by his valiant sons, was the guiding force in arousing the Jews of that time to an understanding of the peril that faced them. It was this handful of Maccabees that was responsible for saving Jewish civilization.

Despite its small size, Palestine is wonderfully rich in historic associations. Not a hill or valley, not a town or village throughout the whole country that does not possess proud and

sacred traditions which run back into the dim and distant past. Jerusalem, as you probably know, was an old city when Egypt began to flourish, and was already ancient when Rome was founded. The early records of Palestine go back many thousands of years, to the time when all of Europe was covered with enormous forests inhabited by wild men just emerging from their rough Stone Age.

If anything could permeate Hitler's dense ignorance of history, as when he chatters about the Germans being "Aryan," it would be useful to him, if anything could penetrate his bigoted, fanatical anti-Semitic hatred, if he were to grasp the full significance of this Feast of the Lights.

The home of the ancient Maccabees, in the village of Modin, is well-known to us. Its site is now occupied by an Arab village, called Midien, about seven miles east of Ludd. The village is located in the foothills of Judea in a rather out-of-the-way, but not inaccessible spot. It was here, according to history, that the Maccabees lived and died. It was in this village that old Mathathias, the father of the five patriot sons, raised the standards of revolt against the Greek Syrians and started the series of conflicts that have gone down in history as the Maccabean Wars.

A second landmark in that War is the pass of Upper Beth Heron. As its name signifies, this is a narrow pass in the Judean mountains, on the road from the coast to Jerusalem. The modern village of Beth-Ur is situated on a hill overlooking the pass. It was at this point that Judas decided to meet the Greeks, under the leadership of Heron. When the enemy's army came in sight, "foot-soldiers, cavalry and slave-merchants, as numerous as the sands at the shores of the sea," Judas' little band were frightened at their display of power. But Judas reminded his men that they were fighting for their lives and laws and that they should draw inspiration and courage from the justice of their cause. The soldiers responded with a will, and swooped down from the hillside upon the enemy. The Greeks were completely routed; only a few hundreds remained of the thousands that had ventured into the pass.

A third landmark of the Maccabean Wars is the village of Enmaus, called by the native—Amwas. It is located in the hills about seven miles directly south of Modin. It was here that Judas Maccabeus, by a brilliant feat of generalship, outwitted the Syrian commander Gorgias and won a tremendous victory.

After some preliminary skirmishes with the Greeks, Judas and his little army of only 6,000 men retired to the mountains of Judea, believing that the Greeks would be afraid to pursue him there. The Greek general with 40,000 trained troops encamped west of the village of Enmaus. When Judas learned of the

location of the Greeks, he came down from the mountains and took his stand on the south side of the village, with his right flank resting on the Judean hills.

The Greek general, Gorgias, then decided to surround Judas and his pitiful handful of soldiers; and so, in the dead of the night, he took some picked men, and by a roundabout way over the hills, reached the right flank of the Jewish encampment. To his surprise he found the camp utterly deserted. Judas had left campfires burning in order to mislead the Greeks and had disappeared. Gorgias, thinking that Judas might have escaped to his favorite retreat in the hills, wheeled about and started in pursuit.

But what had happened to Judas? Instead of retreating before the Greeks into the mountains, he had marched west and had come around the rear of the Greek camp which had remained at Enmaus. After a bloody engagement in which they lost heavily, the Greeks decided to abandon the camp and retreat to the coast. Judas then followed at their heels and turned what would have been an orderly retreat into a veritable rout. Nor did he call his men back until they had pursued the Greeks almost to the gates of Jamnia and Ashdod. Then he came back to the deserted camp of the Greeks and set it on fire.

When Gorgias returned from his search of Judas' army in the mountains, he saw his camp in flames and the Jewish army drawn up in front of it ready to give him battle. The Greek soldiers were so paralyzed with fear that they refused to fight. They turned and fled, leaving Judas undisputed master of the field, and Judas now had his path clear all the way up to Jerusalem. He left several detachments of soldiers to guard the various mountain passes, while he himself took the bulk of the army with him to Jerusalem and there rededicated the Temple to the service of the true God.

Whilst we are gathered here tonight to celebrate that victory, the Feast of Lights means more to us than the mere commemoration of that glorious ancient event. It serves not only to remind us of our present difficulties, but it is a call to arms for the exercise of the courage and resistance against great odds that animated our forefathers over 2,000 years ago. Not for many generations has the festival of Chanukah had the meaning that it holds for us this year. Antiochus Epiphanes was the enemy in the days of the Maccabees. His unworthy descendant, Adolf Hitler, is our arch-foe today. The success of our efforts in combatting Hitler involves, in a sense, the use of weapons that served Judas Maccabeus. The Maccabees succeeded because they did more than utter pious wishes for the salvation and regeneration of their people. With their backs against the wall they fought bravely and continuously until the enemy had been van-

quished. That must be the keynote of our struggle today. A struggle no less significant in its bearing upon the future of our race than was the battle of the Maccabees against the Greek invaders.

The only difference is that the weapons of warfare have changed. Instead of physical force we are driven to the economic counter-boycott of Germany as our only defense against the cruel campaign of persecution, having for its admitted ultimate objective the extermination of all German Jews solely because they are, or their ancestors were, Jews.

Although the German Jews are the immediate victims of this unspeakable campaign of sadist horrors of a loyal, patriotic, inoffensive people, solely because of their race, the fight this time is more than a Jewish fight—it is a struggle in which the Hitler regime is arrayed on one side and all world-civilization on the other. The outcome of that struggle means vastly more to non-Jewish Americans and to American institutions; to the Christian religion, and to all womanhood regardless of race or creed, than it means to the Jews of Germany, or even to the Jews of the world.

Let me develop my meaning more plainly. It is now an established fact, of which we have overwhelming evidence, that this country is being overrun with seditious Nazi propaganda, the purpose of which is to sow the seeds of race-hatred among our people. Just as Russia unsuccessfully tried to spread the doctrines of Communism in America and other parts of the world, so the Hitler regime, with its swarms of agents now covering this country, is seeking to implant the poison of anti-Semitism.

The Russians were for years refused recognition by us because of this campaign, and when finally recognized it was upon the express agreement that they would not again seek to invade our shores with Communist emissaries or propaganda.

Germany is recognized by our Government and has an alleged Ambassador, who is really a propagandist in disguise and is violating our neutrality and hospitality. Are we to lend our encouragement and support to a country that is thus seeking to undermine our institutions?

Has not this country already suffered sufficiently at the hands of Germany to make it plain that it is to our interest to cease having anything to do with her? That is one reason why I say that this is not a Jewish question, but one in which all Americans are still more deeply concerned.

If any evidence further than that which Ambassador Luther furnished in his recent address at Columbia University were required to demonstrate that this man is a pernicious propagandist, it is abundantly furnished by what he said from this platform at the so-called "German-Day" celebration on December 6th,

where the circumstances of his appearance and what he said were so deeply resented that it required a substantial section of the New York police force to protect him and to prevent a riot.

It would, by the way, be interesting to know upon what pretenses and representations so good and guileless an American as Secretary Roper was lured into taking part in that unpatriotic meeting, surrounded by anti-Semitic swastika emblems, and thus attempting to lend it respectability and apparent official sanction. He had no business there.

Before referring to that part of Dr. Luther's speech, to which I feel that the American people should take the deepest offense, let me draw your attention to a few pieces of unconscious humor in which that gentleman indulged, which demonstrated an amazing want of a sense of humor and a false conception of the gullibility of the American people. He said:

"I ask you your firm resolve to *study the truth about Germany* and not to be satisfied with incomplete reports whose correctness is often contradicted and inherently questionable."

Does he take us for a pack of ignorant fools? Is he not aware that we know what is happening in the world? Where can we get "the truth" about Germany, except as it trickles through over the most rigid censorship the world has ever known, cabled from its own vast propaganda service in Berlin, presided over by its Minister of Propaganda?

Our complaint is that we do not get the truth, and that the German propaganda bureau garbles and suppresses the facts. Now then where are we to get or "study the truth"?

And what does he mean by "incomplete reports"? We are fairly flooded with this dishonest and distorted "news." And whose reports are they?

The picture that is being made of Germany in this country is one that is drawn by the German Government itself. The American correspondents there are under the most rigid control. We are literally fed upon German fables, except that now and then someone escapes from the horrors of that country to the safety of neutral soil from whom we learn at times a little of the truth. But who will ever know the unspeakable cruelties, murder, suicides, starvation and other crimes visited upon our unfortunate brethren?

When the Belgian atrocities were reported in our press there were many of us who refused to believe that such things were possible even in war in our 20th-Century civilization. Now we know better, and that there is nothing in the way of refinements of cruelty of which these Sadist brutes, inspired by race hatred and the joy of witnessing torture, are not capable. Is there not something either demoniacal or delightfully naive in this man,

representing a country that has destroyed a free press and freedom of speech, calmly inviting us to "study the truth"?

Do you realize how many newspaper offices have been closed and their presses silenced? And how many Jewish editors of those papers have, without rhyme, reason or excuse, except that they were Jews or of remote Jewish ancestry, been ousted from their own properties, without compensation had them literally confiscated and supplanted by Nazi editors, until there is not now in Germany a newspaper that dares print a line contrary to the commands of the Government, and that all of them are mere servile Government "mouthpieces" who dare not print the truth, under penalty of long imprisonment?

Under these circumstances this appeal of the Ambassador is an insult to our intelligence and a flagrant evidence of insincerity and hypocrisy.

The crowning instance of unconscious humor and downright dishonesty is the following delicious bit from that same gentleman:

"I pray you to hearken attentively to the great peace declaration of Chancellor Hitler."

"Peace declarations," indeed! From this "Mad Dog of Europe," who is giving every energy and planning on a scale never before known toward plunging Europe into another war; who is violating every word and line of the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Peace, and practically daring the Allies to bring him to terms. He has converted all of Germany into a war camp.

But the gem of the collection is the following:

"Germany asks for peace, domestic tranquillity ('tranquillity,' mind you)—the right to regulate her own affairs according to her own wishes."

This right of Germany to regulate "her own affairs according to her own wishes" refers, of course, to the atrocious and inhuman persecution by Germany of her Jewish citizens; to her right, without reason or excuse, to murder, rob, torture and disfranchise those of its own citizens who have been for centuries imbedded in her soil, because they are in a hopeless minority, unarmed and unable to defend themselves,—with the avowed purpose of exterminating or driving them into suicide or starvation, and without the protest or interference of the civilized world.

No country has any such right. The claim is contrary to international law and to all the dictates of humanity. Such tortures and crucifixion of an innocent, law-abiding minority of its citizens, without rhyme or reason, is not an "internal affair." It is an international crime. No man who entertains such views of human relations or of the rights of minorities is entitled to be received or retained as an Ambassador to this country. Nations have again and again protested against such treatment by a country of its minorities, far less cruel than that to which Germany has been forced to confess.

To use "German Day," which has been for generations celebrated in this city as the anniversary of the time when the first Germans landed in America, is a prostitution of the day and a gross offense against the German-Americans who are among our most valuable citizens. They are a peace-loving, law-abiding and justly recognized influential section of American life.

What, then, shall we say of a Sadistic, non-American organization in this country, supported by the money of the German Government, setting up all over the land "Silver Shirts," "Storm Troopers," "Steel Helmets," "Fronts" and the like, that has violently seized unlawful control of the machinery of the remnants of these old patriotic German-American societies, driven out thousands of their oldest and most respected members, and attempts to use the remnants to breed race hatred?

And what shall be said of another movement, financed by the German Government, under the name of "Friends of New Germany," which has, as have many other bodies of this propagandist movement incorporated under the laws of our States, had the hardihood to use, in the furtherance of their seditious conspiracy, a seal having imprinted upon it the flag of the United States, and over it the swastika emblem, that dares assure American citizens, on the authority of the German Government, that they will be received in Germany as German citizens, and that thereby encourages and actually provides for a divided loyalty by our citizens? Yet, amazing as it seems, that is the situation.

As an essential part of this propaganda, a number of newspapers have been started or acquired by these propagandists. One of them, the "Deutsche Post," in an editorial in its issue of June 15, 1933, on the front page, prints an appeal in which it is demanded that all Germans in this country be united in a strong political organization which is to be called "The German Ring."

In that issue, the headquarters of the foreign Nazi groups in Hamburg made the announcement and laid down the rule of what the friends of the Hitler movement in the United States are to accomplish:

"It is the purpose of this association to propagate German national socialism. Members of this association *must be citizens of foreign countries.*"

What does that mean but that American citizens are to propagate on American soil the disfranchisement of Jewish-American citizens? That is precisely what we are today tolerating. How long is it to be permitted to continue? I hope not long after Congress convenes.

This is followed by the statement that German nationals are not to join the association. The purpose of this precautionary advice is manifest. It is to avoid deportation.

The order continues:

"It is the duty of the association to prepare for our party members in foreign countries the possibility to get connection with foreign authorities, foreign newspapers, and influential persons."

In the August number of the same publication, new appeals are made to Americans of German descent to enter politics in the United States. The appeal reads, in part:

"To be in politics means to join the fighting troops of the Friends of New Germany and cooperation in forming a bulwark of a united German America."

In another paragraph is the following:

"The National Socialists' work in foreign countries is the unification of all Germans whether they belong to the Party or not. There is only one condition, and that is that every German is willing to cooperate *according to the tendency and the ideas of the National Socialist Government*. It is therefore necessary to strain all efforts toward the formation of State organizations and other directing organizations. This has to be done in closest cooperation with the National Socialist groups in all places concerned. The Steel Helmets have already put themselves under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, *which in itself means cooperation in foreign countries also*. All state and local groups of the Nazi Party in foreign countries receive at the same time parallel instructions by the foreign department of the Nazi Party in Hamburg. The Steel Helmets will give identical orders in due time."

The appeal is signed:

"BUND DER AUSLANDSDEUTSCHEN,
Grosse,
Acting member of the Presidium."

"Heil Hitler"

"Ruberg
Plenipotentiary
of the Foreign office."

If the investigation that will be demanded of the new Congress is granted, I think it can be shown that the present "Friends of New Germany," "Fronts," "Steel Helmets" and the like, with the aid of the old despised KU KLUX KLAN, constitutes a criminal conspiracy against the sovereignty and neutrality of our country.

If, as Dr. Luther claims, the wholesale butchery and every other form of refined cruelty of which human fiends can conceive, practiced upon a helpless minority of its own citizens, constitutes an "internal affair" of Germany, how will he explain the intrusion of the horde of agents of his country into our land and the carrying on here of its seditious activities from one end of the country to the other?

The Chairman of the "German Day" celebration in this building proposed and the "packed" audience passed a resolution unqualifiedly condemning the action of Mayor O'Brien in refusing permission for the holding of an earlier celebration of German Day in an armory belonging to the City of New York at which

a German emissary named Spanknoebel (who was placed by the German Government at the head of this "Friends of New Germany" movement in this country), was to be the chief speaker. This is the same Spanknoebel who, after promising to appear before the Mayor to explain the purpose of the meeting, fled the country rather than subject himself to an examination and is now hidden somewhere, a fugitive from justice, under an indictment by the Federal Grand Jury in this District.

Why should the Mayor of the city permit city property to be used for this vile propaganda against our institutions? I bow to no man in my championship of free speech. I am quite willing that Jew-haters, Communists and other bigots and crack-brains shall howl themselves hoarse—if they have the money with which to hire a hall for that purpose—but why should the City lend its property, free of cost, for such purposes?

The temper of the meeting was well illustrated by that arrogant and asinine resolution.

This war into which civilization has been driven is a purely defensive war. The world did nothing to seek or provoke it. Its duration depends upon the will of the aggressor. Whenever Germany restores its disfranchised minority, reinstates the men in the professions whom it ruthlessly cast out, reopens its schools and labor-unions to all regardless of race or creed, reinstates freedom of religious belief and observance among the Christian Churches, abandons the attempts to destroy the emancipation of women, and discontinues its seditious and anti-Semitic propaganda in this country, then, and not until then, will this war end. Then, and only then, will Germany be fit to reenter the Family of Nations, where all will be forgiven and then the Prodigal Son will be welcomed back into the fold. For we realize that these fiendish crimes against civilization are not primarily the work of the German people but of their false and faithless leaders who have led them into this morass where the world regards them as pariahs.

Answer to an Address of Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels,
Delivered over Station WOR, May 16, 1934

PROBABLY the most amazing speech that has ever come over the Trans-Atlantic cables was that of Friday, May 13th by Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, the German Minister of Propaganda, from the Sportspalast in Berlin.

On page 6 of next morning's issue of the *New York Times* there were two cable reports from Berlin, one headed:

"GOEBBELS UTTERS THREATS TO JEWS
Germans Will Vent Rage if the Boycott Continues,
He Says in 'Last Warning' Speech. Assails
Catholics Also."

The other heading reads:

"NAZI POLICE STOP PROTESTANT RALLY
Break up Meeting in Berlin Suburb when
Bismarck's Nephew Assails Violence.
Disperse Hymn Singers."

In that speech Dr. Goebbels is reported as having said to his audience that:

"All Germany is aware of the fact that if part of the outside world continues the anonymous boycott against German goods this is due to our own Jewish fellow-citizens."

Pray, what is there "anonymous" about it? The action taken has been pursuant to innumerable formal resolutions of nationwide organizations throughout the world.

"If," said he "the boycott were carried to lengths actually endangering our economic situation, it would not mean that we would let the Jews go free. No! The hatred of the German people would first of all vent itself on those who can be grabbed in the homeland.

"If," he continued, "the Jews imagine that the bloodless course of the German revolution gives them the right to disappoint themselves again in their habitual impudence and arrogance and provoke the German people, let them be warned not to tax our patience too severely.

"We have spared the Jews." (It would be interesting to know how, when and where they have been "spared." Or what he means by "bloodless revolution" as applied to the pogrom of last year, or to the tortures worse than murder since then.) "But if they think they can reappear on the stage and in the editorial office, or if they imagine they can stroll along the Kurfuerstendamm as if nothing at all had happened, let them take my words as a last warning.

"German Jews must conduct themselves in Germany in a manner befitting 'guests.' They will be left alone by us if they will quietly and modestly retire within their four walls and if they will refrain from putting forth a claim to equal worth and equal rights with Germans. If they do not, they will have to blame themselves for the consequences." (Does that mean that they can no longer walk the streets?)

The cable report continues as follows:

"Dr. Goebbels was almost as unsparing, if not so contemptuous, of Catholicism. He charged that Catholic pulpits were being used as screens for 'Centrist politics,' and he admonished 'Militant Churchmen' to have regard how their activities were viewed by the German people. He paid his compliments to Cardinal von Faulhaber of Munich."

Reverting to the subject of the Jews, Dr. Goebbels further said:

"We expect every reader, party member, storm trooper and worker to report to us every case of Jewish shamelessness in the last months and weeks." (What does he mean by that gratuitous insult?)

"Let every man," says he, "watch them on the streets, in the open, in cafes and restaurants, in their professions and on voyages, every place where the Jew is to be found individually, but especially where they appear in crowds. You cannot possibly miss them."

In the article reporting suppression by the Berlin police of the Protestant clergy, the cable reports that when a nephew of Bismarck, von Arnim, said in his address—"We will not submit to these acts of violence," the meeting was summarily broken up.

"The speakers," the cable continues, "had been all too obviously referring to former occasions when the police had suppressed synods and assemblies in other parts of Germany."

You may have observed that more cable news is reported from Germany in the *New York* newspapers than from all the rest of Europe combined. This is directly due to the activities of Dr. Goebbels' widespread propaganda campaign, for which, in one way or another, \$32,000,000 has been appropriated for this year, of which \$12,000,000 is a direct appropriation in the budget and the balance comes from the transfer of the funds derived from taxes on aeroplane and other transportation companies and public utilities.

Accurate data as to still further expenditures now being made in this country is being gathered and will, I am told, be shortly exposed by the Congressional investigation now under way of which Hon. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts is Chairman and ex-Senator Hardwick of Georgia is Counsel.

From what I can learn, the revelations of the testimony gathered by this Committee of the country-wide seditious propaganda to spread the seeds of race and religious hatred among our people will startle and shake the country to its very foundations.

When we consider that all the news and mail going into and coming out of Germany are rigidly censored and that most of these cables originate directly from Dr. Goebbels' propaganda bureau, it is manifest that this address of Dr. Goebbels was intended as a daring attempt to intimidate the Jews of America and of other countries of the world and to warn them that if they continue to boycott German goods the Jews in Germany will be

made to suffer, even though they are in no way responsible and have no control over such actions.

It is the most daring and amazing unmasking of the long campaign of hatred against the Jews and Catholics that we have had in the entire course of this unspeakable reign of terror of racial and religious persecution.

Manifestly goaded by the success of the boycott, as the world's answer to and only effective defensive weapon against Germany's persecution of the Catholics, Jews and Protestant Churches and of the annihilation of the German Labor Unions and Masonic orders and the confiscation of hundreds of millions of dollars of their money and properties, this latest revelation confirms our worst fears and prophecies of the ultimate purpose of the Hitler regime.

Dr. Goebbels continues to refuse to realize that the effectiveness of this boycott and its constantly growing strength are due mainly to the fact that it is overwhelmingly non-Jewish. He is apparently blind, or pretends to be, to the force of the official boycott by the British Labor Party, the American Federation of Labor and practically every Labor organization and Masonic order in the world. He will not allow for the resentment of the Catholics and the Protestants in the various countries in which the boycott is most effective, and that it is even more formidable in countries like Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia and in far-off lands, starting from Egypt and South Africa to Finland, where there are fewer Jews proportionately than in the United States, constituting here about 3½ per cent of the population. It apparently best serves his purpose to falsely place the responsibility for the boycott upon the helpless, persecuted German Jews who had no part in it and no more to do with it than he himself, and to virtually warn them of the resumption of the dreaded pogroms of last year (which he has had in mind from the beginning and would doubtless long since have launched but for the fear of world opinion), whilst at the same time disclaiming any such intention.

His reference to the "bloodless course of the revolution" (against the Jews) reminds us that, in all, about 3,000 human beings are said to have been murdered in that pogrom and that tens of thousands have been wounded and injured.

It would be interesting to know to what Dr. Goebbels refers when he says—"We have spared the Jews." Spared them from what? Even those, and their ancestors, who shed their blood for their country have, in common with all other German Jews, been disfranchised and deprived of their citizenship; their children excluded from the schools that they are taxed to support, and they are not to be members of Labor Unions so that they cannot work at their accustomed trades. Their shops are plastered with

boycott signs and with warnings against dealing with them. All professions have been virtually closed to them; they are subjected to constant surveillance, insults, beatings, abuse and contumely. Life is made intolerable.

In the same breath in which Dr. Goebbels tells you that "We have spared the Jews," he warns them that they who were once citizens and the equals of all other citizens, many of them holding positions of trust, honor and distinction, are now "guests" who cannot walk the streets, but that if they "will quietly and modestly retire within their four walls, and will refrain from putting forth a claim to equal worth and equal rights with Germans," they will be left alone. But if they do not, they will have themselves to blame for the consequences.

These are all ominous signs of a determination to exterminate the German Jews. How much longer, in the face of such amazing outbursts and danger signals, will the civilized world in this Twentieth Century stand idly by? Is it not high time that, in the light of these official threats of the coming storm, the Hitler Government should understand that we will no longer tolerate this inhuman attitude?

And how much longer will it permit the use of German money, supplied by that Government, to be used in spreading the foul seeds of bigotry and hatred among our people?

Can you visualize the psychology of a man in high official position who, in the face of all that has happened, has the blindness or hardihood to say to the world—"We have spared the Jews"? What could the Hitler regime have done that was not worse than death that it has not done and is not doing?

We refuse to believe that any American, either German born or otherwise, will support the revolting program outlined by Dr. Goebbels on last Friday. If there are any such let them stand forth and subject themselves to the "admiring" gaze of the world.

Referring to Dr. Goebbels' statement:

"I cannot withdraw the Jewish legislation because the Jews abroad boycott us"

as though it were the Jews alone, or as though they were the most important factor. He and his Government know full well that if there were not many other far more powerful and numerous factors than the Jews alone, engaged in this boycott, it could not have assumed its present proportions.

If Germany really wants to "hold out the olive branch" to the world, as is there intimated, but which I do not for a moment believe, it would be eagerly seized and the boycott ended—but only in one way:

Let Germany repeal its medieval laws; cease its brutal persecutions; restore equality to its minorities and freedom of worship

and belief to all creeds; reinstate Organized Labor to its former dignity, and return their confiscated properties to them.

In short, let it come back into the fold of civilization, and it would, like the Prodigal Son, be welcomed.

Official threats, such as those by Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, to *permanently* forfeit the respect of all mankind, by way of reprisal for acts for which they are not responsible, will not avail. The world has at last found in the economic boycott a powerful defensive weapon against the Hitler regime. We now know that civilization will not hesitate to use that weapon against a nation that chooses to become a social outcast against humanity.

The world should feel indebted to Dr. Goebbels for his incredible exposure. It now knows to what lengths Hitler proposes to descend and what to expect from him.

The preservation of civilization imperatively demands that the entire world band together in self-defense, regardless of race or creed, as though a fatal plague were sweeping over the world or savage beasts of prey were roaming at large in their midst.

The economic world-boycott now under way, extending into every corner of the earth, and that alone, short of war, will accomplish that end. It is evident from the cries of distress now going up that Germany at last realizes the effectiveness of this remedy.

There are only 16,000,000 Jews, or less than one per cent of the world's population. Does Dr. Goebbels really believe that we are so dull as to be hoodwinked by the silly pretext that the Jews are an important factor in this boycott? Not for a moment. It happens to suit his purpose to wreak vengeance upon those poor defenseless victims on whom the Hitler regime has its iron heel.

If the German Government had any understanding of world opinion it would realize that it has already gone too far toward forfeiting the sympathy that was at one time concentrated in its favor because of the harshness and injustice of the Versailles Treaty, and that it is now on the highroad to not only forfeiting that sympathy but of being barred from the Brotherhood of Nations.

Address Before the Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Associations, at the Hotel Pennsylvania,
December 13, 1933

I AM here to unfold to you the present condition of the American boycott of German goods, ships and shipping, and to urge upon you the importance, in your own interest and in that of all patriotic Americans of using this opportunity to patronize and build up the vast American business interests that are dependent upon your encouragement and support.

Prior to the accession of the Hitler regime to power and its brutal racial and religious persecution with the avowed official purpose of exterminating all its citizens of Jewish birth or ancestry, its suppression of freedom of speech and of the press and of every right of liberty-loving government, I had frequently expressed myself as opposed to the Versailles Treaty and as sympathetic with the right of Germany to re-arm for its protection against assaults, on an equality with the Allies.

I felt that the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations contemplated a gradual disarmament by the nations, in the course of which Germany would eventually find itself on a par with other nations—as to defensive armament.

I had also felt that undue advantage was taken of Germany in the formulation of the Peace Treaty, in that neither the letter nor the spirit of the "Fourteen Points," on the faith of which Germany laid down its arms, had been observed in the formal Treaty, and that the Allies had availed themselves of the fact that Germany was crushed and unarmed to force unjust terms of peace upon the latter.

These conclusions were based upon my long familiarity with the life and customs of cultural Germany and of the marvelous industry and intelligence of its people, for which I had great admiration.

All of this is now changed. The old Germany is no longer recognizable, either in the thoughts or habits of its people—insofar as they are permitted to express themselves to the world over the rigid censorship of a gagged press and the destruction of free speech, carried to the extreme, so that any substantial difference with the ruling dictatorship constitutes a capital offense punishable by death. With great sadness and deep regret I have reached the conclusion that this once proud people, especially its younger generation, has been converted into a nation of Sadists and that much of the Allied propaganda of Belgian atrocities circulated during the War, which none of us believed, was probably true. It is as least quite consistent with the horrors that have been visited upon a loyal, patriotic, law-abiding and un-

offending people who worshipped their fatherland and who had been for centuries imbedded in its soil, before this terrible catastrophe was visited upon them.

If anyone for a moment imagines that the unbelievable atrocities perpetrated upon the Jews of Germany have been in the least abated, or that they are not in fact increasing in the refinements of cruelty I would like him to see some of the evidence that has been collected on this subject. True, the difficulties have been almost unbelievable, because of the rigid censorship of the press, and the prohibition of free speech, but some of the facts have trickled through over this censorship and they are horrifying, as indicating the sufferings of these innocent, loyal people and the studied efforts to exterminate them—and all solely because they are Jews or of Jewish ancestry.

Here is one characteristic incident, related to me recently by a young writer of great talent from the West. He became alarmed at the reports of what was happening in Germany, because his mother was still living there, and took a trip to the little town in which she lived. Whilst there, one of her neighbors, who was a widow with two sons, both of whom had served in the German army in the World War, came to his mother's home in great agony and explained that a few days previously Nazi soldiers had come to her home and had forcibly taken her sons away, without reason or explanation. She suspected, from their arrogant and insulting conduct, that their visit boded no good, and so, having heard nothing from them after a few days, she began to make inquiries, the result of which was that two sealed coffins, said to contain the bodies of her sons, were delivered at her place with instructions that under no circumstances were they to be opened. A courageous man in that community dared, however, to open the coffins, and was confronted by the gruesome sight of the bodies of the two young men, having been so mangled and emasculated that there was not an unbroken bone left in either body, from the top of their heads to their feet.

There was, of course, no remedy. There is never any remedy in Germany for any atrocity committed by German soldiers. The word "Sadists" was invented for such people. They are human beings turned into wild beasts.

Nobody really knows what is happening to these half million or more hopeless, defenseless people left to the tender mercies of these savages. The thousands of cases of murder, insanity, suicide and starvation will never be recorded. Nor will the horrors of the vile "concentration camps" ever be known. Perhaps it is just as well that mankind shall be kept in ignorance of the depth of depravity to which that people has descended. We know sufficient of those unspeakable depths to remind us that

of all the tragedies confronting us in life none is greater than "Man's inhumanity to man."

As one of a thousand instances illustrating the extremes to which the present regime is willing to go in suppressing and punishing all independent expressions of opinion, I call your attention to an article on page 10 of the *New York Times* of November 22nd, headed:

"EX-JUDGE IS JAILED AS NAZI DEFAMER.
GETS 15 MONTHS FOR PUBLISHING JOB APPEAL
THAT SAID JEWS' CHANCES WERE DWINDLING.
AUTHOR GETS LIKE TERM."

The case in question was that of a former judge and a newspaper publisher. The prosecution was based on an article written by one of these gentlemen and published by the other—the editor of a Jewish community paper. The offense consisted only of a respectful, inoffensive appeal to Jewish employers to be more solicitous of their co-religionists "whose chances of finding employment have been steadily dwindling since the national revolution." That clause constituted the burden of the offense. The article charged that "Jewish employers have been evading their duty of employing Jews."

The record shows that ex-Judge Rechnitz had volunteered for service at the outbreak of the War; had been commissioned an officer; been severely wounded; had been decorated with the Iron Cross (both classes), and had finally written a campaign history of his regiment. Rechnitz's forefathers had lived on Silesian soil for two centuries and knew no other fatherland than Germany. The Judge ordinarily assigned to that Court, and who would normally have presided at the trial, refused to serve on account of his old association with Rechnitz, who had served with him in the same Court.

This most recent instance is merely symptomatic. I have had recounted to me and have investigated hundreds of bloodcurdling horrors, without reason or excuse and prompted only by race hatred, bigotry and fanaticism that have been, from day to day, perpetrated upon our people.

To enter into any adequate description of the horrors of the present governmental persecution of the Jews, merely because they are Jews; of the thousands of reported suicides and tortures of the concentration camps and prisons, in which men are confined merely because they are Jews; of the confiscation and destruction of fortunes honestly gained by generations of thrift and industry—would require volumes.

The underlying purpose stands not only confessed but is glorified by Hitler in his book—"Mein Kampf." It is avowedly the result of years of steady inculcation into the minds and

hearts of the German people of the doctrine of fanatical hate, based on that most absurd, false and imaginary race theories that were ever foisted upon the world. The thought is that by exterminating the Jews, and preventing the birth of future children of mixed blood, the German people will become "pure Aryan stock." If that mad conception were not so ridiculous to all who have studied this subject it would be the laughing stock of the world, as it is to most and will be to all of us some day.

Answering now, directly, the frequently propounded question, as to whether Germany should be given international equality, I say, emphatically, *no*. Her people are ruled by a despot, with a hand of iron. Liberty is a crime. They are ground down under the heel of the most brutal and ignorant dictatorship ever known.

World opinion of her barbarous government and of the savages who at the moment control it, cannot reach into Germany through its uncivilized censorship. The German people have no idea what the world thinks of the reversion of their country to the "civilization" of the Dark Ages. They delight in cruelty. Such a people, so ruled, crushed under the heel of a medieval dictator, cannot safely be entrusted with armed equality. They have been taught, and are acting on the theory, that their lives and those of their children, and their children's children, are dedicated to a war of revenge. The facts fly in the face of all protestations to the contrary.

Under existing circumstances the present regime has already been permitted, through the supineness of the Allies, to go too far in preparing for another war. Every energy is directed to that end. Hitler's peace professions are as dishonest as have been his other assurances. In my judgment the mistake that France is making is in not marching into the Rhineland and taking possession, until the wanton and defiant daily violations of the terms of the Treaty with respect to armaments are terminated and removed. If she waits much longer she will have herself only to blame for the tragedy that is about to overtake the world. Germany can afford to pour out more wealth in modern rearmament than the countries that pay their debts—for she not only does not pay them but does not pretend that she will ever do so. Her first act was to absolutely destroy the entire currency of her country and to repudiate her internal debt. Now she has repudiated her debts to the world whilst she pours hundreds of millions into new armaments, foreign propaganda to poison Christendom, and has so lowered the moral standards in her own country that the former family-loving people of Germany are no longer recognizable. They have been played upon and whipped into the fury of wild beasts against their defenseless fellow-citizens for no understandable reason except their des-

peration at the unjust treatment they have received at the hands of the Allies.

The events of the past few weeks, even as colored, distorted and minimized by the censorship through which they have passed, are but one more demonstration of the contempt of the Hitler regime for the religious convictions and practices of the Protestants and Catholics in their country. That regime would destroy religious freedom as it has destroyed individual liberty, and reduce it to the proportions of a State serfdom. The civilized countries of the world will be false to their duty to humanity to permit such a tribe of savages and Sadists to regain entry into the Brotherhood of Man.

I repeat—a thousand times, NO. Although this "Mad Dog of Europe" and his satellites have Germany by the throat, crushed under their feet, and are venting their long pent-up racial hatred and fanaticism upon their defenseless, unoffending Jewish citizens to their heart's content, the security of civilization demands that they in turn be kept under the heel of the enlightened nations of the Earth, until Germany awakens to a realization of the enormity of its crimes, forgoes its mad dreams of revenge and installs a Government representative of the cultured, freedom-loving people that the Germans were until this virus was injected into their blood. Then, and not until then, will it be time enough to take up the question of modifications of the Versailles Treaty, on the basis of the old legal maxim that "he who comes into a Court of Equity must come with clean hands."

I refrain, at this time, from commenting upon the cheap, false, garbled and utterly shameless and unworthy statements of Ambassador Luther and Mr. Hoffmann, the President of the Steuben Society, in their attempts on their "German Day" celebration at Madison Square Garden on December 6th, to excuse or apologize for the most brutal, barbarous regime of modern times.

I expect to deal with the occurrences of that occasion, and the resolutions there passed, on Saturday evening of this week from the same platform at Madison Square Garden from which those falsehoods were uttered. I wish, however, to say here that the views and sympathies of our non-Jewish American citizens of German birth were grossly misrepresented at that meeting. They are not apologists for the horrors that continue to be inflicted upon German Jews by Hitler and his satellites. On the contrary, they abhor and feel that their native land has been disgraced and outlawed from the brotherhood of nations.

Have you, in all your associations with the millions of these respected of our citizens met one who has been willing to attempt to defend or excuse it? I know thousands of them who are among my friends and have yet to hear of one who has not

bowed his head in shame or openly denounced this mad reversion to the Dark Ages. At the proper time I propose to defend these gentlemen against this propagandist whom I here again charge with masquerading as an Ambassador and lending his exalted office to the insulting argument that this unspeakable campaign of persecution is an "internal affair." Internal affair, indeed! It is the concern of all Civilization.

Address Delivered on October 17, 1934

THE entire German nation is today suffering under a reign of terror unequalled in history, in which freedom of speech and of the press are reminiscences of the dim past and in which the courts are a mockery of justice and the administration of the law is a servile tool of the political bandits now in power.

All political opposition is annihilated by the simple method of standing opponents by the thousands up against a wall and filling them with bullets without a pretense of indictment, accusation or trial. For almost two years this condition of anarchy has prevailed in Germany.

It is because of this unbelievable medieval tyranny and despotism that the whole civilized world with one accord has turned its back upon Germany in outraged shame and disgust and is refusing to have any relations with the men who have seized the reins of power, prostituted government, trampled upon Christianity, and destroyed all the ideals for which liberty and civilization stand.

It is as false as false can be that ours is in any sense a Jewish question, as Hitler and his brigand band in all their speeches are persistently attempting in and out of season to make it appear.

True, the Jews were the first victims of this reign of terror. Thousands were murdered, in one of the most hideous pogroms ever known. Other thousands were plunged into prisons or concentration camps, again without accusation or trial, where many of them were either beaten or starved to death, or driven to suicide. No one will ever know the extent of that ghastly record. Their desperate families are still vainly begging to learn what has become of them. Germany has been converted into a hellish charnel house for its Jewish minorities whom it is its avowed purpose to annihilate.

If there were nothing else, this would be a question that concerns all humanity, regardless of race or creed. But gruesome as this is, it is but a small part of the story. What shall be said of the destruction of Organized Labor at the command of the munition-makers and industrial barons to whom the Hitler regime owes its ascent to power and in whose interest it has reduced the wages of Labor almost to the starving point, in order to accomplish that, and it has destroyed the Unions, imprisoned their leaders and confiscated their hundreds of millions of dollars of property. That is the reason why Organized Labor the world over is embarked upon this boycott. There is not a Labor Union in a civilized country that has not joined this movement. And yet with twenty million or more Union men and their families engaged in this struggle we are calmly told that this is a Jewish boycott.

This is Christianity's struggle in which the Jews are an insignificant factor. They constitute less than one per cent of the German population, less than four per cent of ours, and less than one per cent of the population of the world.

The claim is nothing short of fantastic. This boycott covers the entire world and is growing day by day more intense. It is quite as pronounced and effective in South Africa, Egypt, Finland and South America as in this country. Does anyone suppose that the Jews alone could have created such havoc in the export business of Germany as is shown even by the garbled figures of exports that it puts forth? It has lost fully one-third of its export business, and the fight has just begun.

In the very near future I expect to attend a Conference in Europe where it will be more completely organized and a central bureau established for the interchange of information, and to supply information as to countries where substitute merchandise of all kinds can be secured. Mr. Rabinowitz established such a research bureau in our organization and it is working most effectively. American manufacturers are largely getting the benefit of these substitutions, though they will get more of them as time goes on.

What is to become of the Christian Churches, Catholic and Protestant, if these atheists and pagans now in control have their way? They, Hitler, Muller, Rosenberg, and their ilk dare not be as open, outspoken and ruthless in their methods as with the Jews, but their brazenly announced purpose is to destroy Christianity and to set up in its place what they falsely label a "German Christian Church," under the cover of which they propose to scrap the old and parts of the New Testament; to place the churches and all religion under the control of the Government and to dictate what shall be their creed and how they shall practice it.

It would indeed argue poorly for the spiritual reaction of the world if it were to idly submit to this desecration of everything that is sacred. Every day is adding to the sight that the revolt is growing. The Government may and doubtless will soft pedal and perhaps pretend to modify its program against the Catholic Church until after the Saar plebiscite, but in the end there is the cruel determination to destroy religious freedom and to force the destruction of the present religions and to establish in their place a new Pagan faith under the domination of the State.

There are only two alternatives by way of revolt against this shattering of all our ideals of human liberty and of racial and religious freedom:

One is war against this cruel, outlaw tribe, which is unthinkable.

The other is pointed out by the Covenant of the League of Nations—in its provisions for imposing what it calls "economic

sanctions" against the offenders—which is analogous to and merely another phrase for the boycott.

Unfortunately, those salutary provisions of the Covenant of the League have never yet been invoked, and yet they point the road to averting war, for there are few countries whose governments could continue to exist if barred from reciprocal trade.

The honor and dignity of our country are involved in this boycott movement. Among other things it is our answer to the vile, lying, seditious propaganda that the German Government is spreading broadcast throughout the country, sowing the poisonous seeds of race-hatred in every nook and corner of the land. If you have not read the startling disclosures of the McCormack Congressional Committee that is now investigating this subject, I advise you to do so. The evidence shows a worse condition than the traitorous conspiracies of that same Government on account of which a number of the members of the German Embassy were expelled from this country prior to the sinking of the "Lusitania" and shortly before we severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

The proof is overwhelming and unanswerable. Only a pitiful, weak-kneed Secretary of State would have tolerated such violations of our neutrality and such a conspiracy against our peace, order and security and the rights of our citizens. Not even a word of protest has been uttered. Imagine what Great Britain, with its fine traditional self-respect and sense of justice and protection toward its citizens, would have done under like circumstances. Every mother's son of these hundreds of alien recreants who have been sent here for that purpose would have been shipped out of the country, and the German steamship lines that are landing these men on our shores, and tons of seditious, libelous, contaminating literature that they are dumping upon us, would long since have been denied entry to our ports. That is what should be done with the companies anyway, although no newspaper is willing to say so because of the advertising patronage that they distribute. They have been the purveyors and distributors of propaganda-money that has been used to pollute the minds of our people.

For many months it has been known to the Administration that the country was being infested by German spies; that military drills were being held here—in German uniforms—and that in innumerable other ways our neutrality was being violated. But our State Department has been so concerned lest we offend the tender sensibilities of the present Nazi regime which personally conducted the wholesale murders of Jews and the unexampled historic slaughters of June 30, 1934, and lest our citizens lose another precious opportunity of throwing more millions into the gutter by making further Trade Agreements that would be mere

"scraps of paper" like the others, whenever they feel so disposed, that not a word has been uttered and not one of these swarms of spies and conspirators has been deported or otherwise interfered with.

We are having lists taken of American Jews who are so wanting in dignity and self-respect as to travel on these ships, so that all of us may know who they are.

One of the most despicable incidents of many years in our public life is furnished by the candidacy for Governor of a man who is apparently seeking to attract support by aligning himself with and bidding for the support of a group (most of whom are not themselves citizens) that is seeking votes on the platform of race and religious hatred. He cannot hope for other support. Having been repeatedly rejected by the major political parties as a candidate, he must know that he has as much chance of election as a "snowflake has in hell." His candidacy is doubtless based on the fact that all three candidates of the major parties are Jews and to capitalize that coincidence. Apart from the fact that he is ludicrously unfitted to fill that exalted post, I do not for a moment believe that any self-respecting voter, be he German-American, Irish, or what-not, will so desecrate the franchise as to encourage its use to assist this small un-American group of bigots in their futile efforts to make a demonstration of political strength.

It is simply inconceivable that a man who has been so honored by his fellow-citizens should become a tool in such an ignominious cause. He is doomed to be the ridiculous flop that he deserves to be, for our citizens of German birth and ancestry are amongst the most loyal outstanding people, and will not lend themselves to this disgusting scheme of this group of the Friends of New Germany, who are thus seeking in this prostitution of the ballot to out-Hitler Hitler in this country.

The whole sickening performance is nauseating beyond words.

Weak and futile attempts, without a shred of basis, have been recently made from time to time, emanating from the Hitler regime and its agents here, as an excuse for the torture and persecution of the Jews, to link them with the Communists, and with as much basis as the fantastic "Aryan" myth, which is the outgrowth of a strange combination of ignorance and mendacity. Lest well-meaning but uninformed people be deceived it is high time to take note of these inventions.

There is no link whatever between the Jews of America and the Communist Party.

There is a wholesome statute in this State, under which Gitlow was convicted of anti-American activities during the War, making the advocacy of the overthrow of Government by force a crime. There should be a Federal statute to the same effect, including

a provision that the use of the mails for any such purpose be made punishable as a felony.

Here is a brief summary of the facts:

The Communist Party has 26,000 members in the United States. There are about 2,000,000 Jews in the City of New York. The total Communist vote in the last election was 27,644.

There is a vastly larger proportion of almost every other nationality connected with the Communist Party than of Jews. They constitute less than 3%.

The official head of that Party is Earl Browder. He is not a Jew, but a native-born American and of non-Jewish ancestry.

The head of the International Labor Defense, which, whilst it has Communist leanings and leaders, does not admit that it is a Communist organization but does most of the Communist defense work, is William L. Patterson, a native-born Negro.

Clarence L. Hathaway is a leading figure in Communist circles and was the contact man with the Soviet Union. He is an American-born Nordic and a man of education.

William Z. Foster, who was titular head of the Party until about a year ago when he became ill, is a native-born Nordic, a college graduate, and either a Protestant or a Catholic.

Another important figure is Isaac Ferguson, who is the attorney for the "Left Wing" in Chicago and represents Communist groups. He is an educated man and is also a Nordic—either a Protestant or a Catholic.

The Communist weekly is "NEW MASSES." Their Business Manager is William Browder, a brother of Earl Browder.

The head of the Workers' International Relief, the left-wing relief organization, is Alfred Wagenknecht, of German or American origin, but at all events a Nordic and not a Jew.

The local attorney down South in the Scottsboro case is George Chamlee, a Nordic, an educated man and at one time Attorney for the State of Tennessee. He is not himself a Communist but is erroneously rated among that group because he has defended a Negro.

Leo Gallagher, Los Angeles attorney, went to the Reichstag trial. He is a native-born and a Catholic by birth.

Charles Garland, who gave his entire inheritance, about two or three million dollars, to the Garland Fund that has contributed large sums to Communist activities, is not a Jew. In point of fact, there are very few Jews connected with the Communist Party.

One of the outstanding figures is Joseph R. Brodsky, who is Chief Counsel for the Labor Defense, (which is not itself a Communist organization. Its chief purpose is the defense of workers in difficulty because of their working-class activities), but is not officially a member of the Communist Party.

The head of the local office of the International Labor Defense in New York is named Stevens.

As to the left-wing labor unions, Biedenkapp—not a Jew—a naturalized American citizen, is head of the shoe industry Union.

In the Food Workers' Industrial Union, two of the leaders are Jews—Cranberg and Rubin—but, on the other hand, the most active people on the capitalistic side of the industry are likewise Jews.

Mr. Louis Rittenberg, in the August 17th, 1934, issue of the *American Hebrew*, vouches for the statement that of the over 2,000,000 Jews in New York City only 2,000 are connected in any way with the Communist Party, and that of the Central Committee of that Party, composed of 29 members and 6 alternates, there are not more than 4 or 5 Jews. Whilst the Jews constitute about 30% of the population of the City of New York, the Jewish membership is considerably less than 3%.

If time and space permitted, I could go on indefinitely with statistics, conclusively disproving this charge, which is not only intentionally false but malicious.

The magazine "FORTUNE," in its September, 1934, number, has collected interesting and informative data covering this entire subject. The charge reminds me of the recent book by Elizabeth Dilling, called "The Red Network" containing a "Who's Who" of radicals in the Communist ranks that lists 1,450 names, including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, General John F. O'Ryan, Newton D. Baker, many other equally well-known men and women of life-long antagonism both to Communism and Socialism, including my humble self. And yet that is the sort of material on the basis of which the Hitler regime seeks to rank Jews with Communists.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND NAZI GERMANY

Letter to Avery Brundage

September 26, 1934.

AVERY BRUNDAGE, ESQ.,
President, American Olympic Association and his
Associate Members of the Executive Committee
of that Association, 233 Broadway,
New York City:

Dear Sirs:

Although I happen to be a Jew, I am not addressing you solely or mainly in that capacity, but as an American citizen and as President of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights, which, as its name indicates, is a distinctly non-sectarian organization and which numbers among its officers and directors the following among other non-Jews of great distinction:

HON. JAMES W. GERARD, *Vice President*
HON. FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA, *Vice President*
HON. ARTHUR S. TOMPKINS, *Vice President*
COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *Vice President*
HON. JAMES M. BECK, *Director*
HON. GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, *Director*
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Director*
REV. EDWARD L. HUNT, *Director*
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *Director*
HON. FRANK P. WALSH, *Director*

On behalf of this organization, I beg herewith to submit to your Committee the following epitome, as briefly expressed as is possible within the limits of space permitted for such a communication, of the reasons why we protest against the holding of the Olympic Games of 1936 in Germany:

Holding these Games in Germany in 1936 would violate the economic boycott and cultural isolation which the civilized world has been forced to employ against the brutalities of the current regime in Germany. The abuses of Jewish, Catholic, Labor, and Liberal individuals and organizations that have been the avowed policy of the Third Reich have been nowhere more exhaustive than in the realm of sports. The restriction against Jewish athletes have not abated one jot in the fifteen months since the German Government solemnly undertook to eliminate such measures, but have on the contrary been extended with machine-like precision to include every field of sport and skill within the scope of Olympic competition. The Olympic ideal of fair play and good sportsmanship irrespective of creed, color, race, and social condition, constitutes a criminal utterance in Germany today for which large numbers of innocent citizens have been exiled, ex-

propriated, tortured and slain. There is no reason for participating in these games in Berlin for twenty-one nations have not agreed to compete there in 1936 and a congress can be readily arranged to select a site more harmonious with Olympic ideals. The anarchic character of the Third Reich, symbolized by the wholesale slaughter of June 30th, makes it a grave responsibility to send thousands of young people there. There is a serious moral problem involved in accepting the hospitality of a nation either so poor or so dishonest that it defaults on every just financial obligation. Large sectors of the democratic and sport-loving American people will be deprived of participating in or visiting a Berlin Olympiad, out of respect for solemn pledges they have made to refrain from traffic of any sort with Germany.

Before entering upon a detailed statement of our reasons for urging you to refuse to participate in the games at Berlin in 1936 we beg herewith to submit a copy of the Resolution that was unanimously adopted at the meeting of the first American Youth Congress, held at the New York University on August 16, 1934:

"(A) To oppose the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin and demand that the American Committee rescind their decision to send a team to the Olympic Games in Berlin;

"(B) That American athletes boycott preparation for the Berlin Olympiad."

The organizations that voted on this resolution represented 2,000,000 young Americans of all faiths, races, creeds and political views. Accompanying (marked "A") is a list of the 79 organizations that participated at that meeting.

In addition to the above, many non-Jewish organizations, including the American Federation of Labor, have endorsed the boycott of German goods and services and may thereby be fairly assumed to be opposed to the participation of our country in the Olympic Games to be held in Germany.

At the meeting of the International Olympic Committee, held in Vienna, June 7, 1933, the President asked the German delegates if they would guarantee the observance of the articles in the Charter dealing with the Organizing Committee and the Rules of Qualification, just as they had been guaranteed by the Governments of countries where preceding Olympiads had been organized, and that the application of the Olympic Rules dealing with the Committee of Organization and the qualifications of participants would be scrupulously observed, even though certain limitations of our International Rules should seem to be inconsistent with recent orders laid down in Germany.

To that question His Excellency, Dr. Theodore Lewald, the then President of the German organization, who has since been

uncovered as having perpetrated the heinous crime of having had a Jewish grandmother, replied, with the consent of his Government: * * * *

"3. As a principle, German Jews shall not be excluded from German teams at the Games of the XIth Olympiad."

After this declaration Mr. Garland, American representative of the National Olympic Committee wished to have it known that the American Olympic Committee, who were desirous of having the United States strongly represented at the next Olympic Games in Europe, would have had to give up participation altogether if German-Jewish athletes had not been assured the same terms as members of the same faith in other countries.

Subsequently, at a meeting of the American Athletic Union of the United States, at its annual convention, held in Pittsburgh on November 20, 1933, resolutions on this subject were passed, of which a copy is hereto annexed, marked "B".

Among other purposes, I desire by this protest to call to your attention the following epitome of the gross abuses and breaches of faith perpetrated by the German Olympic Committee and the sports' officials of that country of the pledges that were made, subsequent to June 7, 1933, when those pledges were made:

ABUSES OF GERMAN JEWISH ATHLETES AFTER
JUNE 7, 1933

1933

July 1—The Reich Committee on German Youth Associations abolishes Jewish student organizations, barring Jewish students from youth houses.

July 6—Jews prohibited from being life-savers in Breslau. A new educational law limits the attendance of German-Jewish students at universities to 1½ per cent of the total enrolment; the administration of every institution is granted the right to admit less than the legal quota without explanation; East European Jewish students are completely banned, no matter how long their parents may have resided in Germany.

July 9—None but Aryans and Nazis permitted to join Greater German Chess Ass'n.

July 28—The Nazi political police order the dissolution of the Jewish Students Association of Thuringia.

July 29—Jewish Boy Scouts Association in Pirmasens, the Palatinate, dissolved and its funds confiscated.

August 3—All Jewish student homes in Wurzburg, Bavaria, occupied by Nazi troops, confiscated and appropriated for the use of the troops, while the Jewish Student Association was ordered dissolved.

August 7—Municipality of Doberndorf in Nuremberg forbids Jews to remain in towns near Nuremberg; Jews forbidden to use public baths and swimming pools.

August 22—State Commissar orders Jews barred from Wannsee, Germany's largest bathing and swimming resort.

- August 24—Government forbids German-Jewish Maccabee team of 100 athletes to participate in the world Maccabiade to be held in Prague.
- September 18—Bergzabern and Coepingen municipalities bar Jews from fishing.
- September 23—The presidium of the All-German Writers Association order the exclusion of all Jewish writers.
- October 3—Commissar of Justice Frank, in an address at the All-German Jurists Convention in Leipzig, declares that further anti-Jewish laws are unlikely, but those enacted will remain.
- October 10—The Rotweiss, Berlin's most exclusive tennis club, bars Jews.
- October 13—The Nazi press voices threat that Germany will withdraw from League of Nations if further effort is made to force recognition of German Jews as a minority group.
- October 14—"Hagibor" Jewish sports association, is declared illegal and its property confiscated.
- October 24—Nazi student association orders ban on Jewish coaches.
- November 23—The Red and White Tennis Club having excluded all Jews, announces the expulsion of members of Jewish origin and those who are married to descendants of Jews, and declared that foreigners, regardless of race, will not be accepted as members.
- December 1—Nazi sport units given free hand to accept or reject non-Aryans; only Nazis permitted on executive bodies.
- December 4—Colonel Ernst Roehm, Commander-in-Chief of the Storm Troops and Cabinet Minister, issues new ruling which bars Jews from participation in sport activities.
- December 10—Hermann Wilhelm Goering, Premier of Prussia, issues an edict barring "non-Aryan" horsemen and drivers from participation in horse shows or tournaments.
- December 22—Berlin.—Association of Life-Savers expels Jewish members: no Jews may henceforth be engaged as life-savers on any public bathing beach.
- December 29—Sport Groups in Berlin expel all Jewish members. The Deutscher Turnverein orders all its affiliates to expel their Jewish members.
In Mayence, all Jews expelled from skiing club.
Nuremberg.—In New Year's greetings to his readers, Julius Streicher, chief Nazi official of Franconia, asks for annihilation of Jews in 1934.

1934

- January 19—In an article in Maerkischer Adler, Wilhelm Kube, leader of Nazi fraction in Prussian Diet, declares that Jews must be eliminated from every sphere of German life without exception.
- February 6—Stettin.—Property of all Jewish lodges is confiscated by local Nazi party organization.
- February 11—Police President Rheydt, of Gladback, issued orders forbidding, until further notice, the calling of any meeting by any Jewish association, including sports clubs.

- February 19—Bavarian political police issue order dissolving the Maccabee and the Organization of Jewish War Veterans in Bavaria, the only Jewish sports group theretofore tolerated in the Reich, and providing that any new clubs formed must be under supervision of the Nazi sports commissar.
- March 2—Police in various parts of Reich raid B'nai B'rith lodges, confiscate their property, and arrest Benno Walter, vice-president.
- March 4—Police raid Berlin headquarters of B'nai B'rith and confiscate documents.
- March 5—Stettin.—Authorities return confiscated B'nai B'rith building to Jewish community for use as a school only and not for athletic purposes, declaring that building is no longer property of B'nai B'rith.
- March 12—Bavarian Government orders dissolution of Bavarian Jewish Sports Association, the only sports group theretofore tolerated and under government supervision, upon the baseless pretext that "other Jewish organizations are hiding behind the Sports Association."
- April 9—At direct request of Hitler Youth Movement, Committee of Jewish Youth Organizations warns Jewish youth groups that they are forbidden to wear any kind of uniform and that they must have special permission of Hitler Youth leadership to make excursions to frontier zones or abroad.
- May 31—University authorities announce that Vandalia, Heidelberg student corps, has been expelled from Federation of Heidelberg student societies and from two general unions of German students because it has "refused to oust Jewish students and those of Jewish descent, and that no Heidelberg student will henceforth be allowed to join the Vandalia group."
- June 20—Authorities confiscate, without explanation, property of Jewish Labor Association of Prussia, and sports affiliates.

I cannot here begin to recapitulate or describe the number or extent of the insults and humiliations to which the German Jews have been and are being subjected in connection with this subject. Suffice it to say that it will be impossible for any self-respecting Jew from any part of the world to enter Germany or to subject himself to the degradation that would be involved in his participating in the Olympiad of 1936 in that country, either as a contestant or an observer.

The application of the "Aryan" paragraph of the German law would also exclude the participation of negroes, such as Metcalfe, who are connected with amateur sports. It would also exclude American College Athletics and teams from nations whose names are not within the grotesque definition of "Aryan." CCC Boys' Protection is the present German Government, which is the laudable subject of contemptuous derision of the entire civilized world.

Permit me also to mention to the essential fact that your authority to investigate conditions in Germany applied only to

the Jewish situation and that it did not take into account the discriminating and destructive action against German Organized Labor, the confiscation of its vast properties on account of which almost every labor organization in the civilized world has officially boycotted German merchandise; nor did it take into account the action taken against the Catholic Youth groups which, it seems to me, must necessarily prevent those elements from participating in the International Games if held in Germany.

The pledges given you by Herr Tschammer von Osten, the special Olympics minister, you yourself termed "very peculiar" when you learned that they were not to be made public in Germany. You will not be surprised therefore to learn that you had scarcely taken ship when a new decree was promulgated (September 22) categorically forbidding Jews to take sports or exercises in a body. Your own familiarity with the nature of athletic activity will acquaint you with the paralyzing effect of such a prohibition on sports of every sort; this final measure shuts down every prospect, even a verbal one, of just treatment for a single Jewish athlete in Germany. And with the perspective of complete forgetfulness, with which the German Government has enshrouded its pledges of fifteen months ago, officially given to the International Olympic Committee, what weight is to be attached to von Osten's individual promise given *sotto voce* and *sub rosa*?

The unsportsmanlike and humiliating condition now imposed is in and of itself so grave an affront to the Jewish athletes that it automatically bars every self-respecting Jew from participation.

How any fair-minded representative of your organization could permit himself, by voting for this resolution, to become a party to any such insult to his fellow-members is inconceivable.

Frankly, I was surprised and shocked at the argument put forth by you in favor of holding these Games in Berlin, as reported in this morning's Herald Tribune.

As I see it, there is not the remotest analogy between your supposititious case of Japan in 1940 and the situation that confronts American participation in the Berlin Olympiad. If in 1940 it should appear that the Japanese Government has deprived its own citizens of their Japanese rights of citizenship and has heaped upon them every conceivable torture and form of persecution merely and solely because they were white, and excluded them from participating in the Prussian Diet, whether we would hesitate long about refusing to participate in Japan.

How any impartial person who has not been thoroughly infected with the poisonous virus of antisemitism can for a moment expect Jews to participate in the International Games, in the face of this record, is impossible to imagine.

The decision to participate in these Games would necessarily mar, if not destroy, the harmony and freedom from racial and religious distinctions that have heretofore marked the career of American sportslife. Nothing more unsportsmanlike than such an award has ever been known in sports circles.

There is nothing either "internal" or "political" about the grave problems of equality, Americanism and decent sportsmanship that confront your organization. The unprovoked massacre and persecution by a government of a country that was once civilized, of its innocent minorities merely because of their race or creed, has never been regarded by the world as an "internal" or "political" affair. It is an affront to all humanity. The discrimination, amounting to virtual exclusion, against their and your own members from equal participation in the international games, because of conditions affecting them, that render it impossible for them to participate with dignity or on equal terms, is so repugnant to our conceptions of true sportsmanship that for your organization to submit to such conditions, or to "pussy-foot" on the subject, would be a gratuitous degradation for you, in which your fellow-citizens would share, and one that I hope you will spare us and yourselves.

After all, barbaric Germany is not the only country on earth in which to hold these Games. The atmosphere would be less contaminated and purer in almost any other country on earth that might be selected.

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL UNTERMYER.

Enclosures

"A"

List of organizations participating in First American Youth Congress:

- American Country Life Association
- American Red Cross
- Associated Office & Prop. Emergency Employees
- American Youth Hostel Assn.
- Associated Workers Clubs and Cultural Fed. N. J.
- Association of Lithuanian Workers Nat. Youth Com.
- Association of Unemployed College Alumni
- Boy Scouts of America
- Broadway Tabernacle
- Brooklyn College Anti-War League
- Brooklyn College Social Science Club
- CCC Boys' Protective League
- Collective Youth
- Columbia Social Problems Club
- Columbia Spectator
- Communist Youth Opposition

Congress Club, University of Oregon
 Cooperative League
 Cooper Union Night School of Engineering
 Council of Social Agencies, Royal Oak, Mich.
 Farmer-Labor Political Federation
 Fellowship of Reconciliation
 Honorary Square Economics Society N. Y. U.
 Inquiry Club, University of Pittsburgh
 International Workers Order
 Labor Sports Union
 Ladies Garment Shipping Clerks Union
 League for Industrial Democracy
 League for Political Education
 Nation, The
 National Farmers Holiday Assn.
 National Furniture Workers, Inc.
 National Municipal League
 National Pioneer Council
 National Recreation Association
 National Spartacus Youth League
 National Student Federation
 National Student League
 National Women's Christian Temperance Union
 National Youth Committee Young Circle League
 Negro Educational Club
 N. Y. District Normal Student League
 N. Y. State Youth Com. Against Child Labor
 N. Y. Summer School for Workers (FERA)
 N. Y. U. Anti-War Committee
 N. Y. U. Student Liberal League
 Passaic County Youth Congress
 Pioneer Youth Camp
 Progressive Club, University of N. Hampshire
 Rocky Mount. Regional Council YMCA
 Russian Nat'l Mutual Aid Society
 St. James Presbyterian Church Youth Council
 St. Lawrence College Theological Seminary
 Student Christian Movement Mid. Atl. States
 Student Council, Brooklyn College
 Student Council, C. C. N. Y.
 Telegraph Messenger Union
 Transient Camps (FERA)
 United Amstern Press Assoc.
 United Ukrainian Toilers, Youth Section
 Walther League
 War Resisters League
 Why Club of Smith College
 Workers Laboratory Theatre
 Young America
 Young Communist League
 Young Falcons
 Young Liberators of N. Y.
 Young Liberators of Md.
 Y.M.C.A. (National Council)
 Young Negro Cooperative League
 Young People's Socialist League

Young People's League Against Marxism
 Y.W.C.A. (New Jersey)
 Youth Clubs of Finnish Fed.
 Youth Committee Aiding of U.T.W.
 Youth Committee of T.U.U.C.
 Youth Incorporated
 Youth Section Strike Relief Knit Goods Union

"B"

RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ITS ANNUAL CONVENTION HELD AT THE WILLIAM PENN HOTEL IN PITTSBURGH ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1933

WHEREAS sport is the greatest, if not the only true democracy in the world, all therein being equal, irrespective of race, color, religion or social or financial conditions, and

WHEREAS both the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States of America and the American Olympic Association were founded and exist upon these basic principles, and

WHEREAS the Olympic Games of 1936 were awarded to the City of Berlin by the International Olympic Committee, and

WHEREAS it is our understanding and belief that, at the time of such award, the German Olympic Committee, representing itself and also the Organizing Committee of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, accepted the games upon the basic principles of sports competition as herein referred to and reiterated its continued adherence to said principles as late as June of 1933, and

WHEREAS it is believed and is common and universal knowledge, that the German Olympic Committee and the Berlin Organizing Committee, under and by reason of the decrees and directions of the Government of Germany, *have violated the Code of the Olympic Games and the fundamental ideals of sports competition* in that they have deprived Germans of Jewish descent or belief from the rights of Olympic competition, if not by direct restriction, certainly, indirectly, by the withdrawal from them of the rights of German Citizenship and of a reasonable opportunity to train, prepare for and take part in sports competition in general and in the Olympic Games in particular.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Amateur Athletic Union, as a member of the American Olympic Association, about to be assembled at its quadrennial meeting in Washington, D. C., instruct its delegates thereto to call upon said American Olympic Association, to resolve that the American Olympic Association through the members of the International Olympic Committee to the United States of America, namely Colonel William A. Garland, General Charles E. Sherrill, and Commodore Ernest Lee Jahncke, Jr., give notice to the International Olympic Committee, and through it, to the German Olympic Committee, to the Berlin Organizing Committee and to the German Government, that neither the American Olympic Association or the members thereof, nor the American Olympic Committee to be organized for the Olympic Games of 1936, will certify any athlete of the

THE OLYMPIC GAMES · LETTER BY SAMUEL UNTERMYER

United States of America for competition in the Olympic Games of Berlin, until and unless the position of the German Olympic Committee, of the Organizing Committee of Berlin and of the German Government, is so changed in fact as well as in theory so as to both permit and encourage German athletes of Jewish Faith or heritage to train, prepare for and participate in the Olympic Games of 1936;

AND WHEREAS the relations between the athletes of Germany and of the United States of America have been, are and should continue to be friendly, cordial and cooperative, and the desire and expectation of American athletes to compete in the Games of 1936 has been and is keen and enthusiastic,

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Amateur Athletic Union urge upon the American Olympic Association that there be impressed upon the International Olympic Committee, and, through it, upon the German Olympic Committee, the Organizing Committee and the German Government, that the plea of the athletes of the United States be taken not as one of threat or bitterness but as one of concern and desire that a way be found for Germany to satisfy the world, that all and not merely some of the fundamental principles of the democracy of sport and of the Olympic Games are and will continue to be dominant.

THE QUESTION OF TRADING WITH
GERMANY

An Open Letter of Protest to Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

September 29, 1934.

HON. CORDELL HULL,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

Supplementing the various persistent rumors that have been floating around all parts of the country and that have reached our organization, of active negotiations between representatives of the German Government and your Department looking to a trade-agreement for the exchange of merchandise, I received yesterday a telegram of which the following is a copy:

"FIVE GERMAN COTTON MERCHANTS REPRESENTING GERMAN GOVERNMENT ARRIVING TOMORROW STEAMER BREMEN FOR PURCHASE LARGE QUANTITY OF COTTON AGAINST PAYMENT IN GERMAN MERCHANDISE PROCEEDING WASHINGTON."

These reports, if true, are now sufficiently definite to justify us in entering a formal and emphatic protest against any such agreement or any further negotiations looking in that direction, as contrary to the best interests of the country.

The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights, of which I am President, reflects the views of millions of American citizens against any commercial treaty or agreement with Germany at this time, for many reasons, of which time and space permit me to summarize here only a few.

In this connection you are reported in the New York papers and the Dow-Jones news-ticker of the 20th inst., and in other publications, as having made the extraordinary and unfounded statement, in referring to the boycott by this country of German-made goods, that as an example of practical economics:

"if such measures are resorted to by citizens of this country it will result in the loss of approximately \$5.00 in exports for every Dollar's worth of goods kept out of the United States."

Your colleagues at the Commerce Department could have informed you of the glaring inaccuracy of the assertion on which your statement to the press of the country was based. Last year, for instance, this country sold to Germany only \$1.15 of goods for every dollar's worth of goods bought. In 1932 the ratio was \$1.18 to \$1.00. In 1929 it was \$1.19 to \$1.00. By what process of arithmetic, reasoning or economics that is converted into a ratio of \$5.00 to \$1.00 it would be interesting to have explained.

I am sure you appreciate also that a purchaser is one who pays for what he buys, and that the type of customer who buys

only with funds borrowed from the seller—which he subsequently refuses to repay—is not valuable to the country from which he buys.

The uniform result of our past experience in commercial and financial transactions with Germany, ever since the War, has been disastrous to us. When Germany has not defaulted upon its solemn obligations, or repudiated them, we have been paid either in "stage-money" or depreciated currency. Even while we were pouring our billions into the securities of German Industries in return for worthless bonds, they have kept that money and given us worthless or depreciated money in return.

Your apparent efforts (if these rumors be true) to force German-made machinery, gloves and other goods upon our market, manufactured by workmen whose former standards of living have been destroyed and their wages reduced to considerably less than \$1.00 per day—through the annihilation and confiscation of the properties of the Labor Unions at the command of the Industrial Barons who financed the Hitler regime into power, and rule the government, are not likely to succeed.

All the agreements you may choose to make that would strike down all protective tariffs would not overcome the righteous, country-wide "trade-resistance" against German goods. The outraged Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Labor Unions and women cannot be compelled to buy them.

In your statement you characterize this as a "racial or political boycott," which indicates how little you understand the scope of this movement. This boycott is a spontaneous uprising of all civilization—not merely in this country but throughout the world—against the revival of medieval savagery, spreading from South Africa, Egypt, South America, around the globe to Finland. It is, in a sense, analogous to the "economic sanctions" provided for by the Covenant of the League of Nations against countries that violate their agreements. It is the only effective weapon yet devised as a peaceful substitute for war. The "Blue Eagle" that is being used in connection with our NRA is another form of boycott.

It is evident from your public statements that you are also unaware of the extent to which this boycott has stimulated the "Buy American" campaign in this country and in the founding and expansion of industries here that are already successfully manufacturing all kinds of goods that were formerly imported from Germany.

Your views on the refusal of Americans to purchase Nazi goods, as a protest against the persecution by the Third Reich of its helpless minorities, sounds very much like qualified approval of the Hitler-Schacht policy that has thus far resulted in the repudiation by Germany of more than a billion dollars' worth of

bonds owned by American investors; has deprived the latter of some \$70,000,000 annually due them as interest on their holdings, and has caused a decline in the market value of American owned German bonds of almost one-third of a billion dollars.

I assume you must be aware that many thousands of Americans are being forced to forgo the payment of interest rightfully owing them on their German bonds, whilst Germany, pleading poverty as the reason for her default, has at the same time been vastly increasing her purchases of war supplies in this and other countries, and has employed her funds that should have been devoted to the payment of interest on her debts toward the repurchase of her dollar-bonds from us at greatly depreciated prices.

The contention of Dr. Schacht, which you seem to accept at its face value, that Germany's inability to meet payments on her legally contracted debts has been caused by the boycott of German goods, is as baseless and fantastic as other theories propounded by the leader of the Third Reich. The German National Socialist Party proclaimed its policy of repudiation by a special law—long before the boycott. Ours is a purely defensive boycott, as a small measure of protection and reprisal against the murder, torture and persecution to which Germany has subjected its innocent minorities—solely because of their race—and against its policy of religious fanaticism directed against Catholics and Jews.

As indicating that there has been no let-up in this policy of persecution, this morning's cables from Berlin, reprint an official order signed by Dr. Seiler, Nazi President of the Duesseldorf Medical Association, published in the "Reichwart" directing physicians to boycott the entire medical staff of the Duesseldorf Hospital for having failed to vote in favor of Hitler as Reichsfuehrer in the plebiscite of August 19th. That, among thousands of other incidents, illustrates this "free plebiscite" and the secrecy of the election.

While European creditors have been protected by the energetic action of their governments, our Government has confined its activities on behalf of the American public holding defaulted German bonds to the dispatching of eloquent notes which the Hitler-Schacht combine has uniformly dealt with in a manner reminiscent of the treatment which Bethmann-Hollweg accorded the Treaty guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality some two decades ago.

In connection with your apprehension that our sales to Germany may be diminished by the boycott (as I note with satisfaction that they have been and are being affected, though not yet quite to the extent of the decrease in other countries), our total normal exports to the Reich have in the past aggregated less than 6½% of the total American shipments abroad. Their complete elimination, which you seem to dread as the eventual result of

the boycott (unless the rising tide is stemmed by official announcements of our Secretary of State), would not affect our foreign commerce to any material extent.

Furthermore, inasmuch as Germany's purchases in the United States have in the past almost invariably been paid out of the proceeds of loans and credits obtained in this country that are now being repudiated—would we not have been better off if we had kept our goods?

Are you not aware of the extent to which our protective laws are being evaded, our customs swindled and our manufacturers betrayed by the ruse of the camouflaged "blocked" marks?

Is it possible that in your public discussion of the economic theories underlying boycotts, based as they are upon false premises, you have in mind diverting the attention of the tens of thousands of victimized Americans who hold German defaulted bonds and are vainly waiting for the protection of our Government?

Considering the ethics and wisdom of making another agreement with a country that holds the record for broken and repudiated agreements, we ask you also to take into consideration the evidence and disclosures already accumulated by the McCormack Congressional Committee of the country-wide seditious propaganda, sowing the seeds of race and religious hatred, and of the many millions of dollars that are being squandered here in that dastardly undertaking by a country that refuses to pay its obligations to us. The conspiracy against our peace and security, on account of which the attaches of the German Embassy were expelled prior to the severance of diplomatic relations before the War, is not a circumstance compared with what is now transpiring.

I respectfully insist that, judged by past experiences of our dealings with Germany, which have cost us literally billions of dollars, the less goods we sell that country and the less business we do with it, the better off we will be.

Very truly yours,

NON-SECTARIAN ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE
TO CHAMPION HUMAN RIGHTS,

By SAMUEL UNTERMYER, *President.*

A VITAL CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANS

By DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON

Editor-in-Chief, "The Christian Century"

*Letter to Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights
Against Naziism, May 21, 1934*

Dear Friend:

I am glad to hear that an effort is to be made to inform the American public generally with regard to the purposes and methods of the Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism. So many misunderstandings of the work of this Committee are current, and so large a portion of American sentiment will, I am sure, approve and desire to support its efforts once these misunderstandings are removed that it is important that a direct and unequivocal declaration should be made available.

Three misunderstandings, in particular, seem to me to be in need of correction.

FIRST, it should be made clear that the campaign which this committee—in cooperation with similar bodies in other parts of this country and in several European nations—is conducting is not confined to the Jewish community. This is true not only in form but in fact. The presence of Gentile names on the list of committee members, and on the committee of the Women's auxiliary, is not a mere piece of window-dressing. It is a recognition by these Gentiles—among whom will be found both Protestants and Catholics—that the policy officially adopted by the present German government in dealing with issues of race and religion presents an inescapable challenge to Christians in all parts of the world. It must be remembered that the National Socialist party in Germany (the Nazis) has been the only party consistently to declare in its platform that it represents the application of Christian principles to politics. In the 24th plank of the avowedly immutable platform of the Nazi party there is this declaration: "The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity without binding itself to any particular confession." The dangerous relation of this claim to the principle of religious freedom and autonomy has been made abundantly clear within Germany itself since the establishment of the Nazi state. The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, however, is mainly concerned with only one aspect of this issue, namely, the identification of "positive Christianity" with theories of racial discrimination which, should they be accepted generally throughout Christendom, would entail the spiritual destruction of Christianity, with the repudiation of the most vital and sacred teachings of the Founder of the Christian faith. The Christian membership in this Committee, therefore, rests on recognition that the fate of Christianity itself is involved in the promulgation of the "Aryan dogma" of Naziism.

SECOND, it should be made clear that the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights is not attempting to interfere with the right of the German people to establish any form of government which they may desire. This committee has no quarrel

the boycott (unless the rising tide is stemmed by official announcements of our Secretary of State), would not affect our foreign commerce to any material extent.

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SECOND, it should be made clear that the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights is not attempting to interfere with the right of the German people to establish any form of government which they may desire. This committee has no quarrel

with the German people. On the contrary, it conceives its purpose as an effort to help Germany extricate herself from a tragic political, social and moral mistake, and thereby to assure that nation the great future which the abilities of its people should gain for it. The Committee does not presume to pass on questions of political judgment. Whatever the individual convictions of its members the Committee, as such, makes no choice between political systems. If the German people wish to establish a Nazi government, we hold that to be their privilege. The work of the Committee, therefore, is not directed toward the overthrow of the present German government, but toward the abandonment of a policy of that government which, we are convinced, cannot be maintained without jeopardizing a species of human rights which constitute one of the most precious possessions of modern civilization, and which cannot be destroyed without endangering the decencies of normal human society under any and all kinds of political organization in every part of the world.

THIRD, it should be made clear that the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights is not attempting to conduct, or to bring into existence, any official boycott of German goods. The movement which this Committee is attempting to promote is purely individual. It makes its appeal to individuals; it asks for individual action. Put in simple terms, it is merely an attempt to insure that the highest effect shall be secured from the action of those individuals who desire to register their personal conviction that the introduction of racialism into modern life by the Nazi state is not only an affront to their most deeply cherished convictions, but a threat to the peace of human society everywhere. We believe that millions of thoughtful persons, in the United States and elsewhere, will feel a profound distaste to furthering the fortunes of the Nazis so long as the Nazis persist in attempting to divide the human family on racial lines. What the Committee is attempting to do is to gather evidence of the extent of this individual protest against the racial policy of the Nazi government, in order that its existence and importance may be made clear to that government.

If these three initial misconceptions can be cleared up, I am sure that great numbers of Americans, not themselves members of the Jewish community, will grasp the importance of the work of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism, and will wish to give their support to that work. Under the conditions now obtaining in Germany, it is impossible that any mere verbal protest against the racial policies of the Nazi government can register on the minds of the masses of Germans. Indeed, were conditions different from what they are, so that the circulation of a free press made it possible to lay such verbal protests before the eyes of the German public, there is little likelihood that this would accomplish much, since they would at the same time be subjected to the constant and mendacious anti-Semitic propaganda emanating from official Nazi sources. When this ceaseless Nazi campaign to arouse and maintain race hatred is coupled with the absence of a free press—which is the

actual condition of affairs in Germany—there is practically no chance, while doing nothing more than indulging in verbal protest, of having that protest from outside Germany register on the German mind. Yet, as that distinguished American theologian of German ancestry, Reinhold Niebuhr, declared after his return from Germany last summer, "Germany must be told." This individual, voluntary boycott of German goods, to be maintained as long as the Nazi official policy of race hatred is maintained, is the only effective method now open by which Germany can be told.

The effectiveness of the boycott has already been demonstrated. The unusual organization of the industrial life of modern Germany, by which practically a third of the entire German income is dependent on exports, makes that nation peculiarly susceptible to pressure applied in this fashion. Moreover, it happens that the Nazis were financed in their campaign for power, and are now deeply obligated to, the industrial groups which are most concerned over the status of Germany's export trade. The very virulence of recent Nazi outbursts against the Jews as fomenters of the boycott—as, for example, in the wildly inflammatory speech delivered by Dr. Goebbels in Berlin on May 13—may be taken as evidence of the pressure now being placed on the Nazi government by these big business interests in behalf of their threatened export trade. And this is understandable in the light of the figures which show that this export trade has been falling steadily ever since the Nazi government was established, and that the degree of this decline has been accelerating in recent months.

We believe, therefore, that the boycott—now being maintained voluntarily in so many countries—is proving itself to be a method by which the Nazi leaders, so contemptuous of criticism at home, are being brought to a position where they will see that it is necessary for them to reckon with criticism abroad. We believe that, by maintaining the boycott steadily for a few more months, and by enlisting in it all those who see the world-wide implications of the Nazi policy of fostering race hatred, the point will presently be reached at which the industrial interests of Germany itself will require of their government an abandonment of its policy of racial discrimination. Important modifications of that policy have, as a matter of fact, already been decreed. It is the intention of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights to continue its efforts until the entire policy is abandoned.

One further word of explanation is perhaps required in this connection. It has been charged in some quarters that racial discrimination is a feature of modern life almost everywhere, and that it takes peculiarly tragic and indefensible forms in the United States. To protest against this invasion of human rights in Germany, accordingly, is held to smack of hypocrisy and self-righteousness. Our Committee does not deny the presence of race prejudice

and discrimination in this country, nor the threat which these present to the future of our institutions and our social peace. We believe that it is necessary to protest in some effective way against what is going on in Germany for the very reason that if racial discrimination becomes an official policy of a modern state, established in the name of "positive Christianity," and is maintained as such without being effectively denied and challenged, it will contribute toward the coming of a day when, in this and other countries, the racial discrimination which now persists furtively may become an open and avowed program for official action. And the coming of such a day would witness the destruction of the finest ideals of our religion and of our nation.

It is in view of these deep issues, which affect not only Germany, but every nation, and the human family everywhere, that this Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism asks all Americans to refrain from the purchase of goods of German manufacture so long as the fomenting of race hatred remains the official policy of the German government.

Faithfully yours,
PAUL HUTCHINSON.

GERMANY HAS FORFEITED RESPECT OF MANKIND

*Address of Hon. Bainbridge Colby at Demonstration,
Battery Park, May 10, 1933*

GRIEVOUS as is the plight of the Jew in Germany today, and indefensible and beyond understanding as is the conduct of the present regime toward German citizens of the Jewish race, it is not Germany's treatment of the Jews which constitutes the sum or the depth of her offending.

Germany has sinned against the light—the light of civilization. She has struck a blow at our common humanity. She stands revealed to the world today as the ally of evil and the enemy of good.

It requires no unusual knowledge of history to realize that Germany has done itself more injury than all its enemies throughout the course of time could have inflicted upon her if massed in a single and overwhelming attack.

"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

The Germany of today is captained by madmen. She is given over to policies, both domestic and external, which are policies of sheer madness. She is galloping to the brink of destruction. It is not far off.

She has forfeited the respect of mankind and has invited the censures which are being heaped upon her by all people, regardless of race, creed or nationality, throughout the world.

Germany cannot destroy the Jewish race. She cannot even do it lasting injury. The power of the Jewish race to endure and to absorb injustice is one of the miracles of time. I would have been proud to be a Jew had I been born one.

This German outbreak is but an episode in the centuries-old record of the courage and steadiness under affliction of the Jewish race. The Jew, even of Germany, which his genius has done so much to enrich and elevate, will survive the infamies of the Hitler regime, but it is problematical if Germany can survive them.

One would think that Germany had learned the lesson that it cannot defy world opinion with impunity. A decent respect for the opinions of mankind becomes all nations. The declaration of America's independence affirmed American respect for that opinion. America has built itself to greatness by shaping its policies and directing its conduct with due regard to the approval and support of enlightened world opinion.

And so far as this mighty republic can speak for civilized mankind—and it speaks for a vast section of it—we express to all whom our voice may reach the abhorrence which prevails throughout America for the present course of Germany.

LOVE OF JUSTICE

*Address of Hon. Bainbridge Colby, Madison Square Garden,
March 7, 1934*

We have come together to-night in the greatest place of assembly to be found in our country.

The thousands who crowd this huge auditorium make up a mighty host, but they are only a fraction of the millions whose thoughts are centered here and who await with eagerness every word that shall be spoken.

America is speaking tonight—not only for herself, but for civilization and human brotherhood.

We are piously met. We bow reverently before the Lord and Master, who hath commanded of us that we love our neighbor as ourselves. And this love He has defined as the feeling for our fellow-man that worketh no injury.

A great oppression has descended upon mankind. A grievous affront to the world's sense of justice and to humanity has been committed by the infatuated usurpers of public power in Germany.

The wanton and cruel injuries inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of peaceful German citizens because of their Jewish blood have shocked the world. They cry aloud for redress. They have planted hostility to the present regime in Germany in every quarter of the globe—where no hostility was felt before.

The love of justice, which is the highest attribute of man, has been stirred to its depths by the unending story of outrage and brutality which, despite all efforts at suppression, steadily flows out of Germany.

Abhorrence of such cruelty and oppression is felt throughout the United States. In common with every civilized nation in the world, America detests it.

And tonight the stern reprobation which such acts deserve and inspire in every right-thinking man will find expression in this meeting.

You will hear spokesmen of the church, of the State, of the bar. You will be addressed by representatives of civic and social bodies of national membership and the widest influence.

The great body of the nation's workers have sent their chosen leaders to speak to us. Our institutions of learning will be heard. Never has there been assembled upon a public platform so broadly representative a group of speakers.

Every party, every creed, every section of public opinion is authoritatively present.

The truth will be uttered by men who love it and serve it.

The truth is mighty and will prevail.