

THE JEWS IN NAZI GERMANY

**THE FACTUAL RECORD OF THEIR PERSECUTION
BY THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS**



**NEW YORK
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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FOREWORD

IN the following pages are presented the facts regarding the acts of oppression and violence from which the Jews of Germany have suffered, and the degradation to which they are now being subjected under the present regime. These facts are submitted to the judgment of the public of the United States in the light of traditional American principles of justice and fair play.

NEW YORK, JUNE 19, 1933

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THE ESTABLISHED AMERICAN POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

* * *

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

* * *

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of the people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that those who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

GEORGE WASHINGTON (*In a letter to the Jewish Congregation of Newport, R. I., August, 1790.*)

* * *

. . . I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much. I wish it may do more; and annul every narrow idea in religion, government and commerce. Let the wits joke; the philosophers sneer; what then? It has pleased the Providence of the "first cause," the universal cause, that Abraham should give religion, not only to Hebrews, but to Christians and Mohametans, the greatest part of the civilized world.

JOHN ADAMS (*In a letter to Mordecai M. Noah, July 31, 1818.*)

* * *

In common with the people of the United States, the President has learned with profound feeling of surprise and pain, the atrocious cruelties which have been practiced upon the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, . . . As the scenes of these barbarities are in the Mahomedan dominions, . . . the President has directed me to instruct you to do everything in your power with the government of his Imperial Highness, the Sultan, to whom you are accredited, consistent with discretion and your diplomatic character, to prevent or mitigate these horrors—the bare recital of which has caused a shudder throughout the civilized world; . . . The President is of the opinion that from no one can such generous endeavors proceed with so much propriety and effect, as from the representative of a friendly power, whose

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institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing, the worshippers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jew, and the Christian. Should you, in carrying out these instructions, find it necessary or proper to address yourself to any of the Turkish authorities, you will refer to this distinctive characteristic of our government, as investing with a peculiar propriety and right, the interposition of your good offices in behalf of an oppressed and persecuted race, among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our citizens. . . .

JOHN FORSYTH, *Secretary of State (In a letter to David Porter, United States Minister to Turkey, August 17, 1840.)*

* * *

The United States, knowing no distinction of her own citizens on account of religion or nativity, naturally believes in a civilization the world over, which will secure the same universal views.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT *(In a letter appointing Benjamin F. Peixotto as U. S. Consul to Bucharest, Roumania, December 8, 1870.)*

* * *

Religious liberty is the chief cornerstone of the American system of government, and provisions for its security are imbedded in the written charter and interwoven in the moral fabric of its laws. Anything that tends to invade a right so essential and sacred must be carefully guarded against, and I am satisfied that my countrymen, ever mindful of the sufferings and sacrifices necessary to obtain it, will never consent to its impairment for any reason or under any pretext whatsoever.

THOMAS F. BAYARD, *Secretary of State (In a letter to Baron Ignatz von Schaeffer, Minister of Austria-Hungary, May 18, 1885.)*

* * *

We should keep steadily before our minds the fact that Americanism is a question of principle, of purpose, of idealism, of character; that it is not a matter of birthplace, or creed, or line of descent.

Here in this country the representatives of many old-world races are being fused together into a new type, a type the main features of which are already determined, and were determined at the time of the Revolutionary War; for the crucible in which all the new types are melted into one was shaped from 1776 to 1789, and our nationality was definitely fixed in all its essentials by the men of Washington's day.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT *(In an address at the unveiling of the Sheridan equestrian statue in Washington.)*

* * *

But there lies a principle back of our life. America is not a mere body of traders; it is a body of free men. Our greatness is built upon our freedom—is moral, not material. We have a great ardor for gain; but we have a deep passion for the rights of man. Principles lie back of our action. America would be inconceivable without them.

WOODROW WILSON *(In an address at Carnegie Hall, New York City, December 6, 1911.)*

CONTENTS

I. THE OFFICIAL DECREES AND MEASURES AGAINST THE JEWS.....	1
1. TEXT OF DECREES.....	1
Civil Service.—Legal Profession.—Patent Lawyers.—Notaries.—Tax Consultants.—Courts.—Grand and Petit Juries, Commercial Judges.—Tax Assessors.—Education.—University Professors and Teachers.—State Support of Jewish Communal Institutions.— Medical Profession.	
2. EXECUTION OF DECREES.....	9
Student "Enlightenment" Campaign.—Judges and Prosecutors Expelled in Bavaria and Prussia.—Business Discrimination; "Purging" of Schools.—Physicians Expelled from Hospitals.—Newspaper Men Banned.—Passports Invalidated.—Municipal Contracts Cancelled.—Court Reporters Expelled.—Judges and Physicians Dismissed in Prussia.—Employees Dismissed.—Meat Dealers Reduced.—Corporation Directors Ousted.—Sale of Books Prohibited.—Barbers and Cigar Dealers Deprived of Livelihood.—Jews Barred from Street Cars.—Red Cross Officials and Nurses Dismissed.	
3. THE EFFECT OF ANTI-JEWISH MEASURES.....	14
II. ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST JEWS SINCE HITLER BECAME CHANCELLOR.....	18
1. OFFICIAL CORROBORATION OF EXCESSES.....	18
2. PRESS REPORTS OF TERRORISM.....	19
3. LETTERS FROM GERMANY.....	28
4. INCITEMENTS TO VIOLENCE.....	35
III. THE NAZI ANTI-JEWISH CAMPAIGN.....	37
1. ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA PRECEDING THE PRESENT REGIME... 37	
2. THE NAZI PROGRAM FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS..... 39	
3. IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT THE JEWS OF GERMANY..... 42	
Number of Jews.—Eastern European Jews.—War Service of German Jews.—World War and Germany's Defeat.—Jews in Government Offices.—Jews in Reichstag and Diet.—Press and Motion Pictures.—Department Stores.—Criminality.—Political Affiliations.	
4. ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA MATERIAL..... 49	
The Sages of Zion.—"Ritual Murder."—Walter Rathenau's "Three Hundred."—The Dawes and the Young Plans.—Henry Ford.—Socialism.—Bolshevism.—Cultural Bolshevism.—Talmudical Forgeries.—Typical Anti-Jewish Distortions.	
AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION.....	57
1. ADDRESSES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, JUNE 10, 1933..... 59	
2. SELECTIONS FROM EDITORIAL COMMENT IN AMERICAN PRESS.... 69	
3. RESOLUTIONS	92

I. THE OFFICIAL DECREES AND MEASURES AGAINST THE JEWS

Following are literal translations of some of the publicly issued German laws and decrees directly discriminatory against the Jews. In addition to the Reich (Federal) Laws, such as those given below, Jews are further affected by numerous decrees and laws of the various Laender (States) composing the Reich and of the Municipalities.

1. Text of Decrees

Civil Service

Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service.

(Reichsgesetzblatt* Nr. 34). April 4th, 1933.

"Par. 1—(1.) For the restoration of a nationally minded Regular Civil Service, . . . there may be dismissed those who come under the following rules, even if, according to the general laws valid at present, there is no legal basis for such action:

* * * * *

"Par. 3—(1.) Civil Servants of non-Aryan origin must retire; as regards the honorary officials they must be dismissed.

(2.) The above section does not apply to officials who were already employed as officers of the civil service on the 1st of August, 1914, or who, during the Great War, fought at the Front for Germany or her allies, or who lost their fathers or sons in the War. Further exceptions may be granted by the Minister of the Interior, in cooperation with the competent heads of specific Ministries, or by the States' authorities, regarding civil servants working abroad.

("Par. 1.—(4.) The Federal Railways Company and the Reichsbank are authorized to make arrangements in conformity with these rules.)"

*Official Federal Law Gazette.

First Decree with Reference to the Law for the Restoration of Regular Civil Service

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 37). April 11th, 1933.

To Paragraph 3 of the above law:

"1. Non-Aryan descent means descent from non-Aryan, and especially Jewish, parents or grandparents, even though only one of the parents or grandparents was of the Jewish religion.

"2. If a civil servant was not already a civil servant on the 1st of August, 1914, he must prove that he is of Aryan descent, or that he fought at the Front in the War, or that he is the son or the father of a man killed during the War. . . .

"3. If the Aryan descent is doubtful, an opinion must be requested from the authority on race questions (Sachverstaendiger fuer Rasseforschung) of the Ministry of the Interior."

No exception is granted to sons of War combatants in general. Only if the father was *killed* may the son be a civil servant.

Second Decree with Reference to the Law for the Restoration of Regular Civil Service

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 46). May 4th, 1933.

"Par. 3.—Service contracts . . . of persons of non-Aryan descent must be annulled within one month effective at the end of the following month."

Third Decree with Reference to the Law for the Restoration of Regular Civil Service

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 48). May 6th, 1933.

To Paragraph 3.—(2.) of the above law:

"6.—(2.) All officials of non-Aryan descent to whom the above exceptions do not apply must be retired."

Attached to the decree is a sample of the questionnaire to be filled out by Government officials and employees. This questionnaire requires detailed data particularly as to the religion—including any changes of religion—of the official, his parents, and each of his four grandparents.

A separate question asks specifically: "Are you of Aryan descent?"

Legal Profession

Law Regarding Admittance to the Lawyer's Profession.

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 36). April 10th, 1933.

"Par. 1.—The admission of lawyers, who are non-Aryans within the meaning of the law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service, may be cancelled till the 30th of September of 1933. This rule may not be applied to lawyers, already admitted before the 1st of August, 1914, or who, during the Great War, fought at the front for Germany or her allies, or who lost their fathers or sons in the War.

"Par. 2.—Admission to the Lawyers' Corporation may be refused to lawyers who are not of Aryan descent in the sense of the Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service—even if there exists none of the reasons enumerated in the Regulations for Lawyers (Rechtsanwaltsordnung).

"The same rule must be observed in cases where a lawyer wishes to be admitted to another Court."

Lawyers in Germany are only admitted to one particular Court.

Patent Lawyers

Law concerning admission to the Patent-Lawyers' Association

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 41). April 24th, 1933.

"Par. 1.—Patent-lawyers who are, within the meaning of the 'Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service' non-Aryans, may be struck off the roll of the patent-lawyers on file with the Patent Office. . . .

"This does not apply to patent-lawyers whose names were on the roll on the 1st of August, 1914, or to those who fought during the War at the front for Germany or her allies or who have lost fathers or sons in the War.

"Par. 2.—The admission to the examinations, referred to in par. 4 of the law referring to patent-lawyers and their inscription on the roll of patent-lawyers may be refused to individuals who are non-Aryans in the sense of the Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service."

Notaries

Decree of April 1, 1933 regarding the exercise of the Calling of notary.

(Deutscher Reichsanzeiger und Preussischer Staatsanzeiger.)

"Maintenance of public order and security will be exposed to serious danger if Germans are still liable to be served with documents in legal proceedings which have been drawn up or certified by Jewish notaries. I accordingly ask that Jewish notaries be urgently advised in their own interests to refrain until further notice from exercising their calling.

"In this connection the attention of notaries should be drawn to the fact that, should they refuse to comply with this recommendation, they will expose themselves to serious dangers in view of the excited state of public opinion. Notaries should be recommended to inform the competent presidents of provincial courts that they will refrain from exercising their calling pending the issue of further regulations regarding conditions applying to notaries."

(Signed) KERRL,
Reich Commissioner, Prussian Ministry of Justice.

Tax Consultants*

Law Concerning the Admission of Tax Consultants

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 49). May 11, 1933.

"Article 1,—Par. 1.—(1) Persons who in accordance with the Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service are of non-Aryan descent must not be admitted as tax consultants. Admissions already granted to such persons must be revoked."

Courts

The following are extracts from the instructions issued by the Prussian Ministry of Justice for the removal of Jewish judges and advocates from the Prussian courts of justice. The document is translated from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 2, 1933:

*In Germany, the profession of tax consultant is subject to the same regulations as that of lawyer, patent lawyer, notary, etc.

"The Prussian Ministry of Justice announces that the State Commissioner for the Prussian Ministry of Justice, Kerrl, has issued the following instructions to all presidents of district courts, attorneys general, and presidents of offices superintending prisons and correctional institutions in Prussia:

"I . . . request those concerned immediately to invite all Jewish judges on the Bench to apply for leave without delay, and to grant such applications immediately. I furthermore request the authorities concerned to cancel at once the powers of Jewish court clerks and court attachés.

"Any Jewish judges refusing to apply for leave shall be forbidden to enter the court building on the basis of the law of trespass."

Grand and Petit Juries, Commercial Judges

One of the laws designed to deprive the Jews of their civic rights is the

Law on the Election of Grand and Petit Jurors and Commercial Judges

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 36). April 10, 1933.

"Par. 2. . . . New elections of grand and petit jurors are to take place immediately.

"Par. 5. New commercial judges are to be appointed before July 1, 1933."

In the *Voelkischer Beobachter** of April 13, 1933, under the headline: "No More Enemies of the State and Jews as Jurors and Commercial Judges," the following announcement of the Bavarian Minister of Justice is published:

1. On the basis of Section 3 of the Law on the Election of Grand and Petit Jurors and Commercial Judges of April 7, 1933, the following shall apply for the remainder of the period ending June 30, inst.:

"Grand and petit jurors who are of Jewish descent shall no longer be permitted to attend sessions of the grand juries and criminal courts. They shall be replaced by assistant jurors who are not disqualified on these grounds.

*Official organ of the Nazis, published in Berlin and Munich by Adolf Hitler.

"Until the appointment of new commercial judges, the following shall apply: Commercial judges who are of Jewish descent shall no longer be permitted to serve. The President of the State Court appoints in their place another commercial judge of the same or another chamber."

Another law, the specific purpose of which is to eliminate Jews from public life, is the

Tax Assessors

Law regarding the Reconstitution of Boards of Tax Assessors

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 41). April 24, 1933.

"Article 1. (1). New boards of tax assessors at the Offices of Internal Revenue are to be constituted immediately."

Education

Law Regarding German Schools, Colleges and Universities.

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 43). April 26th, 1933.

"Par. 4.—The number of non-Aryan Germans, within the meaning of the Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service, who may be admitted to Schools, Colleges and Universities, must not exceed a number proportionate to the Aryan students in each School, College or University as the total number of non-Aryans in Germany is to the total population of Germany. *This proportion is fixed uniformly for the whole of the German Empire at 1.5 per cent.** If, in certain schools the number of non-Aryan Students has, in accordance with Law, to be reduced, the proportion of non-Aryans may be 5 per cent.

"These rules do not apply in the cases of non-Aryans, whose fathers have fought during the War at the front for Germany or her Allies, or to children whose parents were married before the adoption of this Law if the father or mother or two of the grand-parents are of Aryan origin. The number of these students may not be included when calculating the quota of the non-Aryans."

The effect of this law is that Jewish pupils and students about to enter Schools, Colleges or Universities will only be permitted to enter in a proportion of 1.5 per cent. to Aryan entrants. Those Jewish students already attending the institutions will be dismissed

*"First Decree with Reference to the Law Regarding German Schools, Colleges, and Universities."—Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 43—April 26, 1933.

if and in so far as their numbers exceed 5 per cent. of the total attendance.

A further regulation provides:

"Pupils of non-Aryan descent who have newly entered or enter school at the beginning of the academic year 1933, Easter 1933, shall in all cases be regarded as not yet admitted. The same applies to university students who matriculate for the first time during the summer semester of 1933." (Par. 11).*

University Professors and Teachers

On the basis of the law of April 7, regulating the employment of officials, the Government has progressively dismissed from their positions Jewish university professors and teachers in secondary and other schools.

Even in some of the few cases where German professors were not dismissed by the Government on the basis of the law, they were ousted if the student bodies demanded their expulsion.

Third Decree with reference to the Law for the Restoration of the Regular Civil Service

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 48). May 6th, 1933.

"(8). Professors, instructors, and lecturers in colleges and universities who have been retired or dismissed on the basis of this law automatically lose the license to teach or to lecture."

State Support of Jewish Communal Institutions

Statement in *Voelkischer Beobachter* of April 7, under the headline "No More State Support for the Jewish Cult!" reads:

"(Semi-official): Finance Minister Sichert has ruled that that part of the subsidy for the past fiscal year for the Jewish religious and charity organizations which has not yet been paid, shall be withheld."

Medical Profession

*Law concerning admission of Physicians to the National Health Insurance Service***

(Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 42). April 25th, 1933.

"Article 1.—The work of panel doctors of non-Aryan descent . . . must cease. Further admissions of such phy-

*See footnote on preceding page.

**In consequence of the diminishing purchasing power of the German population, an ever increasing number is receiving medical attention

sicians as panel doctors in the national health insurance service is forbidden. . . .

"Article 2.—The registration (in conformity with Par. 7, section 4 of the Admission Order of December 30th, 1931) is permitted only if the physician is of German nationality and is of Aryan descent. . . . Non-Aryan descent does not cancel a doctor's registration, if that doctor has done military service during the War on the side of Germany or her allies, or if his father or sons have fallen in the War.

"Par. 8, III (of the above-mentioned admission order) reads now as follows:

"To the petition (for registration as a panel doctor) there must now be attached:

"(a) Birth certificate and a certificate proving that the petitioner as well as his parents and grandparents are of Aryan descent.

"(b) For physicians of non-Aryan descent the fathers or sons of whom have fallen in the War, authenticated proof of the fact.

"(c) For physicians of non-Aryan descent, who have taken part in the War, proof that they fought at the front or rendered medical service at the front or in an isolation hospital.'

"Par. 27a.—The associations of panel doctors on the 1st of July of 1933 must proclaim as cancelled, the admission of all physicians who are not capable of being admitted in conformity with the new rules. This need not be applied to physicians who practised before the 1st of August 1914, providing they have not shown any communist sympathies."

These laws and decrees are doubly disastrous because they cut every economic basis from under those affected. To all practical intents and purposes, they make it practically impossible for the Jews to make a living and irrevocably condemn them to actual starvation.

In view of the definitions of the so-called Aryan Decrees extending their validity to people with Jewish grandfathers and grandmothers, the number of those affected is several times that of the 600,000 Jews in Germany.

entirely from panel doctors. Formerly, any German physician was admitted as a panel doctor, and nearly all the younger physicians and many of the older ones earned nine-tenths of their income from their panel practice.

2. Execution of Decrees

Expulsion of Jews from public office and from the courts took place even before the promulgation of these laws and the publication of these laws was followed by an increasing number of such expulsions of Jews from the bench and the bar all over the Reich. That these laws are not regarded as drastic enough is indicated by the following facts:

In a public appeal dated Nuremberg, April 7, a group of Nazi physicians and lawyers in Bavaria favored the complete elimination of Jews from *all* the liberal professions. Similar appeals were made by many other groups during the month of April. On April 21, under the leadership of persons close to the Government, a demonstration took place in Munich at which Minister of Justice Frank and others voiced the same demand.

In the *Voelkischer Beobachter* of March 23, 1933, the Union of National Socialist German physicians publishes an appeal to the entire body of German physicians as follows:

"Purge the leadership of our organizations, wipe out everybody who will not understand the signs of the time! Make our profession in leadership and in spirit German again, just as the Reich and the people have become in recent weeks."

Before and especially following this appeal, many Jewish physicians were expelled from public health offices; these expulsions increased greatly in number following the publication of the Civil Service Law of April 7, 1933.

Student "Enlightenment" Campaign

In the *Voelkischer Beobachter* of April 22-23, 1933, under the headline "Against the un-German Spirit—Enlightenment Campaign of the German Student Body," there is published an official announcement of the head office for press and propaganda of the Deutsche Studentenschaft of a "campaign of the enlightenment" to last until May 10th. In the course of this announcement, twelve theses are set down, including the following:

"4. Our most dangerous antagonists are the Jews and their satellites.

"5. The Jew can speak only Jewish. When he writes in German he lies. A German writing German but thinking un-German is a traitor.

"7. We would respect the Jew as alien and we would treat our national being seriously. We therefore demand censorship to see to it that Jewish writings appear in Hebrew. When they are printed in German they are to be designated as translations. Emphatic measures shall be taken against the abuse of German script and type; these are for the use of Germans only. The un-German spirit shall be extirpated from the public libraries.

"10. We demand . . . the will and ability to overcome Jewish intellectualism and the phenomena of liberal degeneration associated therewith."

This announcement also suggested the public burning of "un-German" books on May 10, as part of the campaign of enlightenment.

The following typical newspaper accounts illustrate the manner in which expulsions and degradation of Jews were accomplished:

Judges and Prosecutors Expelled in Bavaria and Prussia

"Dr. Frank, Bavarian Minister of Justice, has ordered that no Jewish judges be allowed to preside at criminal or disciplinary courts, and that no Jewish public prosecutors be allowed in future to act on behalf of the State of Bavaria.

"On April 1st all Jewish judges will be banned from Berlin law courts under an order issued on March 20. It was then expected that the ban would be extended to the whole of Prussia, but there is so far no news of any extension.—Reuter."

Manchester Guardian, March 27, 1933.

"The Commissarial Minister of Justice has decided that Judges of Jewish origin are in future to be excluded from all criminal law courts and disciplinary courts in Bavaria, and that Jewish advocates are not to be allowed to act as prosecuting counsel. Exceptions may be granted in pending cases.

Business Discrimination; "Purging" of Schools

"The Commissarial Mayor of Munich stated at a Nazi meeting that in future no municipal contracts or orders would be given to any Jewish or 'Marxist' firms. The newly appointed commissarial head of the Munich municipal schools declared that from the beginning of next term 'No Jewish child will be allowed to attend a Christian school,'

and that 'Jewish school doctors' will no longer be 'let loose on German children'."

The London Times, March 27, 1933.

Physicians Expelled from Hospitals

"The Commissarial Mayor of Munich, Herr Fiehler, has recommended local authorities throughout Bavaria to send on leave all Jewish doctors engaged in district hospitals, even though they may have 'definite contracts' and permanent positions. The Government's Enabling Bill, he added, would afterwards give them the opportunity to get rid of these gentlemen for good."

The London Times, March 29, 1933.

Newspapermen Banned—Passports Invalidated

"In Hessen an order has been issued that no newspaper shall employ 'non-Germans'—that is to say, Jews. In Breslau, where the Storm Troop leader and reprieved murderer, Heines, is in control as chief of the police, an order has been issued that all Jews shall be deprived of their passports so that the passports can be made invalid for foreign travel."

Manchester Guardian, March 31, 1933.

Municipal Contracts Cancelled

"The Chief burgomaster [of Breslau] has given instructions that all municipal contracts with Jewish doctors, lawyers, chemists and tradesmen are to be cancelled. All the leading Jews of the city have been deprived of their passports, thus preventing them from leaving the country.

"Newspaper undertakings, and all those of vital interest to the State, must dismiss all Jewish employees."

Manchester Guardian, April 1, 1933.

Court Reporters Expelled

"It is announced that in future Jewish reporters will be excluded from the courts here [Berlin]."

Manchester Guardian, April 1, 1933.

Judges and Physicians Dismissed in Prussia

"The Prussian Minister of Justice, Herr Kerl, has instructed the judicial authorities throughout Prussia to see that all Jewish judges voluntarily ask for leave of absence. In cases where they refuse to do so they are to be forbidden to enter the law courts. The same steps are

to be taken in regard to Jewish public prosecutors and Jewish officials in the law courts.

"At Cologne, arrangements have been made to transfer health insurance patients from Jewish to non-Jewish doctors. Almost all Rhineland municipal authorities intend to cease giving orders for either service or material to Jews.

"It is rapidly becoming impossible for a Jew to earn a living in Germany in the law, medicine, or science, and dozens of Jewish actors and artists are leaving the country."

Manchester Guardian, April 3, 1933.

Employees Dismissed

"While the Jewish business boycott is already being forgotten, the anti Jewish campaign in other walks of life continues in full vigor. It is estimated that the clearance of Jews from the State service and public positions has been nearly completed. Thousands of Jewish lawyers, notaries, doctors, and dentists have been dislodged. Jewish professors and lecturers at the universities are likely to be entirely eliminated before the summer term begins. In big private undertakings, for instance the A.E.G., all Jewish employees have been given notice. The Nazi *Voelkischer Beobachter* reports that 'the Jewish newspaper concern of Mosse has dismissed no less than 118 Jewish employees, secretaries, and typists.' The *Berliner Tageblatt*, the best-known publication of this famous Jewish house, still bears the Mosse imprint on its front page, but its contents have been largely anti-Jewish."

The London Times, April 6, 1933.

Meat Dealers Reduced

"The Nazi drive against the Jews is being extended to the dealers attending the municipal stock yards and slaughter-houses here. A Nazi commissioner has been appointed to restrict the numbers in relation to the number of Jews in the population.

Corporation Directors Ousted

"The boards of directors of the great West German industrial business concerns are also being 'cleansed' of their Jewish members. Among these is Leonard Tietz, the firm owning the well-known Tietz chain stores seen in almost every large German town. Members of the Tietz family who have developed and carried on the business for years past have agreed to resign from the board. In some instances, it is understood, commissioners are being appointed to carry on the business deprived of their Jewish heads.

"Dr. Silverberg, one of the most influential industrial magnates in West Germany, is retiring from the boards of concerns of which he was a director. He has also resigned the chairmanship of the Cologne Chamber of Commerce, to which he was elected only a few weeks ago."

Manchester Guardian, "Cologne, April 6".

Sale of Books Prohibited

In future books by Jewish authors written in Germany or abroad, will not be published in Germany. This action was decided upon at a meeting of the "Boersen Verein der deutschen Buchhaendler (Association of German Book-sellers*). A resolution adopted at the meeting states that "in view of the fact that German book sellers were always in the foremost ranks of the German course, the Verein now unanimously decides to join the National front without any opposition."

Berliner Tageblatt, May 12, 1933.

Barbers and Cigar Dealers Deprived of Livelihood

German Government authorities today initiated a move to do away with Jewish barbers. Measures were introduced under the heading of "hygienic control" giving Nazi commissars the power to shut down "undesirable shops." The Union of tobacco retailers resolved to prohibit Jews from selling cigars and cigarettes at retail.

Berliner Tageblatt, May 14.

Jews Barred from Street Cars

"The Town Council in Coburg has adopted a law to the effect that Jews may no longer use the municipal tramcars."

The London Times, June 2, 1933.

Red Cross Officials and Nurses Dismissed

The German Red Cross will be completely "Aryanized" as a result of an agreement reached today between officials of this non-sectarian relief agency and representatives of the Ministry of the Interior.

All functionaries of the Red Cross and male and female nurses will be Aryans.

The New York Times, June 10, 1933.

This regulation is particularly significant as in Germany, all nurses in hospitals and in private practice, are Red Cross nurses, with the exception of those who are members of Catholic religious orders.

*This Association includes all book publishing and selling firms.

3. The Effect of the Anti-Jewish Measures

No reliable statistics are available as to the exact number of people affected by the various decrees and measures. However, it is a known fact that tens of thousands of Jewish professional men have been thrown out of their careers and are utterly unable to earn a livelihood, and that innumerable Jewish businessmen have been driven out of business and ruined.

One ghastly indication of this situation is the number of people driven to suicide. Although the German authorities make every effort to suppress authentic information regarding these suicides, by listing many of these deaths as accidental, by impounding cemetery statistics, by forbidding the publication of death notices, and by withholding information on missing persons whom they know to have committed suicide, the mere list of names which has been published in the American press is shocking by its length.

Exhaustion of resources and inability to make a living are constantly leading many more Jews who have been deprived of their livelihood to take the last desperate step.

The effects of this intensive persecution of the Jews in Germany is adequately sketched in the report of the prominent Catholic, reprinted on page 16.

The utter inability to continue in their work or to make a living has compelled a number of German Jewish writers, doctors, musicians, businessmen, etc., to leave Germany and seek refuge abroad. In most of these cases this meant not only the abandonment of the homes and surroundings to which these people had become attached emotionally and by tradition, but also substantial material sacrifices. Many of those forced into exile who were formerly in comfortable circumstances have to build up a new existence. The number of those who had to flee from Germany in order to escape their worst fate is not definitely known.

It has been stated frequently by apologists for the Nazi regime that the various acts excluding Jews from the professions would be modified, and especially that they would not apply to German Jews who have been on active duty during the war.

The actual practice varies widely from these pronouncements, as indicated by the following statement made by the very man who has been charged with the re-admission of Jewish lawyers:

"Now Jews pretend that they fought in the front line trenches; now, they dig out their Iron Crosses which they

obtained by fraud. Now, they brag about their wounded and dead in order to gain their selfish ends . . .

"It is impossible for us to find out those very few Jews who really fought at the front, and those who did were men who had some Aryan blood in their veins. These few 'just' ones will have to suffer with the 'unjust'. The ones who are really 'just' will admit readily that this has to be . . .

"As Chairman of the committee for the selection of Jewish lawyers appointed by the State Commissioner I have had terrible experiences with Jewish hypocrisy . . .

"It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee that their work has definitely proven that there is no such thing as a Jewish front fighter . . . The few Jewish 'front fighters' whom we found have strongly non-Jewish, Aryan features.

"We are absolutely opposed even to permitting the Jews a participation in the professions to the extent of their proportion to the total population; they should be kept away especially from the professions of doctor and lawyer because by means of their peculiar 'intellectual weapons' like fraud, persuasiveness, etc. they will again—even if restricted to the percentage basis—procure for themselves a much higher degree of influence than the one to which they would be proportionally entitled and because they would find ways to circumvent the percentage basis. Let us remember the tens of thousands of unemployed German lawyers who can not marry, who can not bring children into the world but are supposed to wait until the 'old Jewish veterans' have completed their lives of extravagance and have amassed riches in addition to what they have already stolen from the German people and taken across the borders."

—"Jewish Front Fighters?" by Dr. K. Deutschmann, Berlin, April 24, 1933. Published in *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Tuesday, April 25, 1933, Beiblatt, 115. Ausgabe.

The apologists for the Hitler regime in Germany have been sedulously endeavoring to assure the American public that the position of the Jews in Germany is safe.

In contrast to the reassuring voices of Nazi sympathizers and apologists in this country, we quote the following paragraphs from an appeal issued by Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*, a Catholic weekly review, published in New York. This appeal was sent by Mr. Williams to the League of Nations and to other bodies about May 21st, from Vienna, after an investigation in Germany. Mr. Williams said:

"Between 200,000 and 300,000 Jews have been deprived of any hope of the future. The older Jews must live out their lives deprived of all rights of citizens as long as the present appalling dictatorship dominates Germany.

"The situation of the Jews in Germany is deplorable beyond words. Israel in Germany is perishing under a yoke only comparable to that under which its forefathers groaned in Babylon and Egypt.

"Don't be deceived by false denials concerning the persecution of Jews under the Hitlerite regime; guard against its paid and voluntary propaganda. Pay no heed to certain journalists who seem to learn only what the dictatorship desires them to believe.

"Unless the present rulers of the great German people are cast aside by the civilized Germans they now oppress, Jews and Catholic Christians will be subjected to scandalous persecution. Plans for world dominance of the Nazi system are a menace to the institutions of free men of Europe and America.

"What you will decide to do is your concern. Either harden your hearts and let the worst crime of our age proceed in the deliberate extinction of nearly 1,000,000 men, women and children, or come quickly and strongly to the rescue."

Numerous statements have appeared lately in the American press to the effect that the German Government and the Nazi Party, were about to modify their anti-Jewish policy. The Berlin correspondent of *The New York Times* reported on May 16, 1933:

"Private assurances such as have been received by interested Americans that the anti-Jewish governmental attitude has undergone or is about to undergo a radical modification cannot be confirmed officially. Specifically it has been reported to have been arranged here that ousted Jewish lawyers not included in the greatly restricted quota permitted to practice might continue their office work provided Christian colleagues appeared for them publicly.

"Inquiry on this point at the Reich Ministry of the Interior, which is in charge of all racial questions, brought the response:

"We know nothing about any such change. It would be contrary to our policy and would cause further disturbances. The necessary decrees laws have been adopted. Nothing new is contemplated."

"As to a reported promise to cease propaganda against Jewish mercantile houses, no further propaganda is needed.

The establishment of Nazi shop cells has taken care of that situation."

In other dispatches to *The New York Times*, it is reported that several responsible government officials and Nazi leaders had issued orders within the past few days to push the various anti-Jewish measures and to investigate office-holders, etc., in order to find out whether they are married to Jews, are interested in Jewish business, or maintain "close social relations" with Jews.*

*See *New York Times*, June 10 and June 11, 1933.

II. ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST JEWS SINCE HITLER BECAME CHANCELLOR

1. Official Corroboration of Excesses

Much has been said and written about the so-called "atrocious story campaign" against Germany since the Nazis came into power. Repeatedly, German Government officials, organizations, private individuals and propagandists* have made general denials or minimized the occurrence of violence. It was denied in particular that any acts of violence against the Jews had taken place. However, the German Government authorities themselves have made a number of admissions, though of course these admissions are made in very reluctant and guarded form. For instance, the fact that such acts of violence did occur is indicated in the opening paragraphs of Chancellor Hitler's rescript to his followers (March 12, 1933):

"Unscrupulous individuals, especially Communist stool-pigeons, are endeavoring to compromise our party through isolated actions that have no connection with the great achievement of national rising and can only burden and disparage the accomplishments of the movement."

Further corroboration can be found in the telegram dispatched by the Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, to the President of the American Jewish Committee on March 26, 1933:

"You will remember that at the time of your recent call at the Department I informed you that in view of numerous press statements indicating widespread mistreatment of the Jews in Germany I would request the American Embassy at Berlin in consultation with the principal consulates in Germany to investigate the situation, and submit a report. A reply has now been received indicating that whereas there was for a short time considerable physical mistreatment of Jews this phase may be considered virtually terminated. There was also some picketing of Jewish merchandising stores and instances of professional discrimination. These manifestations are viewed with serious concern by the German Government. Hitler in his capacity as

*For instance, one Dr. Otto H. F. Vollbehr in a pamphlet sent to many Americans on May 10, 1933, and T. St. John Gaffney in a similar "release."

leader of the Nazi party issued an order calling upon his followers to maintain law and order to avoid molesting foreigners, disrupting trade and to avoid the creation of possible embarrassing international incidents. Later von Papen delivered a speech in Breslau in which he not only reiterated Hitler's appeals for discipline but adjured the victors of the last elections not to spoil their triumph by unworthy acts of revenge and violence which could only bring discredit upon the new regime in foreign countries. . . ."

Still, denials of outrages came from Germany thick and fast. On March 31, 1933 Hitler through State Secretary Lammers cabled to the United German Societies of New York in reply to their request to explain the position of the Jews:

"German Jews will be treated like all other nationals in accordance with their attitude to the national government. The defensive action of the National Socialist party was provoked by the attitude of German Jews in foreign countries."

As late as May 20, 1933, Hitler gave an interview to Bernard H. Ridder in the presence of Dr. Hanfstaengl and the newspaper correspondent W. J. Margreve, which appeared on the following day in the *New York Staats Zeitung*, in which he stated:

"Only such Jews have been seized as were identified with the Communist, Marxist or atheistic movements. If the Jews of America associate themselves with these German criminals, I shall make the Jews here, whom I can get hold of, pay for it. The boycott threats are nonsense. The world can not stand a boycott. We have not declared a boycott against America nor England, but the Jews of these countries declare a boycott against Germany."

In the interview, the German Chancellor employed the vilest language concerning the Jews.

2. Press Reports of Terrorism

In order to discredit reports of acts of violence which have appeared in the American press, Nazi propagandists in this country and abroad have charged that many stories of American newspaper correspondents were grossly exaggerated and even contained fabrications.

No better refutation of these statements can be found than an article by Mr. Mark Etheridge which appeared in the *Macon Telegraph* on May 25, 1933. Mr. Etheridge was sent to Europe on a fellowship by the Oberlaender Trust for the express purpose of having American people know the truth about Germany. In presenting his article the editor reminds the readers that Mr. Etheridge before sailing "assumed the obligation to tell the truth, if he told anything, in accepting this fellowship." Mr. Etheridge writes:

" . . . Let me reaffirm what I have said before: it is my conviction that the stories which come to you through . . . (the accredited) . . . agencies, are true. I know the correspondents here in Germany. They are educated, responsible high-type men. Two of them have won the Pulitzer prize for the best foreign correspondence in the past two years. Another framed the code of ethics for journalists which was sanctioned at Geneva. Another was formerly acting managing editor of *The New York Times*. The press corps here is, upon the whole, a body of outstanding journalists who because what they wrote was being watched and criticized, have not only endeavoured to verify the minutest particular of what they wrote, but have leaned backward in reporting the truth. You may bank upon what you have read from them. . . . The head of the Associated Press bureau is Louis Lochner, a Phi Beta Kappa from, I believe, the University of Wisconsin. His wife is a German. Stresemann was his closest friend in Germany and Bruening was another close friend. He loves Germany; he likes the German people enormously. He has lived here 12 years. He knows Germany and Germany's reactions better than he knows the United States, because the states have changed so much since he left. You know how absurd it is for anybody to pretend that a man who enjoys in the newspaper world such a reputation of Lochner's is in the employ of the Communists or Socialists or anybody else except the Associated Press. You know, too, since you know A. P. men, how ridiculous it is for the German government to pretend that what he sends out is distorted. His professional reputation is at stake; his position is at stake; the integrity of the A. P. is at stake. The same thing goes for the United Press. I need only to tell you that the former head of the bureau here, who was a Jew, asked, at the inception of the present trouble, to be relieved so that the government could have no possible ground for saying that the dispatches of the United Press were biased. It strikes me that demonstrates a pretty high sense of honor,

and so, I say, you may rely upon what you read in the American press about isolated instances."

Some foreign travellers in Germany upon their return home have stated that they saw no atrocities. The following stories of evidence clearly indicate that outsiders could not have seen what actually went on.

"On the nights of March 9th and 10th, bands of Nazis throughout Germany carried out wholesale raids to intimidate the opposition, particularly the Jews. As hundreds have sworn in affidavits, men and women were insulted, slapped, punched in the face, hit over the heads with black-jacks, dragged out of their homes in night clothes and otherwise molested. Large numbers of Socialists and Communists were flung into prison including Reichstag Deputies, who were deprived of their parliamentary immunity, to make certain of their non-appearance at the Reichstag session. The arrest of innocent Jews was sanctioned as 'protective jailing.' . . . 'You are taken off to jail and put to work in a concentration camp where you may stay a year without any charge being brought against you.' Never have I seen law-abiding citizens living in such unholy fear."

Edmund Taylor in the *Chicago Tribune*.

"An eye-witness account from Munich tells that 'in all parts of the city, detachments of Nazi Storm troops, armed with rifles and pistols, were marched through the streets and posted as sentries at the doors of shops owned by Jews. Once posted, the Storm Troops stood with feet wide apart, their rifles held horizontally in both hands, barring entrance to the shops."

The New York Times, April 1, 1933.

"The anti-Semitic outrages of the last few weeks are far more horrible than could reasonably have been imagined at first. Nothing like them has been known in Germany for generations. . . .

"They have not arisen out of any hostility the German workman or peasant might feel for the Jews; they are the outcome of anti-Semitic propaganda carried on year after year by the Nazis, who are a party of the middle class and have the support of bankers, industrialists and business men. This party at its meetings and in its newspapers, books, and pamphlets has made the Jew appear loathsome

and sinister in the eyes of its followers. The Nazi agitation has been one continual incitement to pogroms, and the chief inciter is Adolf Hitler, the German Chancellor. It is he and, next to him, Dr. Goebbels, Captain Goering, and the other members of the present German Government who are responsible for the outrages far more than the fanatic Brown Shirts who have done the bludgeoning, stabbing, and looting.

"And while the German Government, its press, and its Ambassadors abroad deny what is known to every inquirer who is not blind to all evidence, they not only refrain from discouraging anti-Semitic emotion but are continually whipping it up afresh by making the Jews appear as though they were engaged in a conspiracy of false rumor against the Nazi Government and by condoning or spreading every report that could stimulate their followers to fresh hatred. At the present moment, for example, Nazis wearing the brown uniform are selling in the streets of Berlin a pamphlet entitled 'The Jews Demand the Murder of Hitler.'

"Hundreds of Jews have been beaten, but not one dare say so publicly or dare complain without the risk of another beating. There is not a word in the press—any newspaper that dared to give even a hint of the truth would share the fate of the hundreds of newspapers that have been totally ruined by the terrorist dictatorship.

"The following facts will give some faint conception of the anti-Semitic outrages that have occurred since Hitler became Chancellor.

"Jewish shops have been closed and raided, Jewish homes have been searched and thrown into disorder, and hundreds of Jews have been beaten and robbed. The following cases selected from a vast number are typical (names and other specific details are in the possession of your correspondent but cannot be revealed because victimization would almost certainly follow—indeed, several Jews have been beaten a second time because they dared lodge a complaint.

"The worst excesses here in Berlin occurred on March 9th, most of the victims living in the Grenadier Strasse. Many Jews were beaten by Brown Shirts until the blood streamed down their heads and faces and their backs and shoulders were bruised. Many fainted and were left lying in the streets, and were picked up by friends or passers-by and taken to hospitals. A man and his wife while walking together were both beaten and robbed.

"The Brown Shirts worked in gangs of five to thirty, the whole gang often assaulting one person. Many had

the brassards worn by Nazis enrolled in the auxiliary police. Mr. ——— was beaten bloody and unconscious and several hundred marks (his name and the precise sum are known to your correspondent) were taken from him.

"Twelve uniformed men broke into the house of Mr. ———, stole several thousand marks, and beat him, his wife, and his son until all three were bruised and bleeding (name, address and precise sum also known).

"On March 10th the home of Mr. ——— was searched by five Brown Shirts. They seized him and took him to their quarters—these quarters are variously known as "S. A. Lokal", Braunes Haus, Braunes Heim, Braune Etappe, Braune Etage—in the Bastianstrasse, where twenty or thirty uniformed men beat him until he was bruised and bloody. Then they took him to a police station, from where he was sent to a hospital. The police told his wife in answer to her inquiries that he had hurt himself by falling down stairs. The police have either not interfered at all or with deliberate ineffectiveness when these outrages have been committed. This alone would prove the complicity of the Government if nothing else did.

"A few Brown Shirts have, so it is officially alleged, been dismissed for stealing, but it does not seem that one has been arrested and tried for robbery or for assault and battery.

"On the evening of the 15th three Jews were arrested by Brown Shirts in the Cafe New York and taken in a car (the number of which is in the possession of your correspondent) to the S. A. Lokal in the Wallnertheater Strasse, where they were robbed of several hundred marks (precise sum also known), beaten bloody with rubber truncheons, and then turned out on the streets in a semi-conscious state.

"On the same day four Jews were taken to a Nazi S. A. Lokal in the Schillinger Strasse, robbed of 400 marks and beaten bloody until they fainted.

"Anti-Semitic violence has diminished but still goes on. A rabbi was mobbed in the Ruhr on Friday and there are sporadic outbursts of ill-feeling, but 'peaceful' anti-Semitic action, which is hardly less inhuman than the violent outrages, has only begun. Jewish doctors and lawyers have not only been assaulted by Brown Shirts, they are also being pushed out of their jobs. What is to become of them no one knows. It is a most frightful comment on German civilization that Jews should be escaping from Germany into Poland. Poland since Hitler has been Chancellor is undoubtedly a country of greater freedom than Germany.

"Jewish doctors whose whole lives have been devoted to science and to the care of their patients—amongst the poor of Berlin there is an immense affection and regard

for a large number of Jewish doctors who have often worked almost without remuneration—are being deprived of their posts in public clinics, hospitals, and nursing homes, to be replaced, no doubt, by German doctors whose main qualification is their nationalist and militarist sentiment. Doctors of world fame, such as Gustav Emanuel and Kurt Wittkowsky, are among the victims.

“Many Jewish women doctors, assistants, and nurses have been dismissed. These dismissals are no secret—they are published in the Berlin ‘Staetischer Nachrichtendienst’ (there is a long list in today’s issue) and elsewhere. These dismissals are called ‘Saeuberungsaktionen—that is to say, ‘clean-up,’—in these same official ‘Nachrichtendienst.’ Thus in Hitlerite Germany men and women whose achievements are amongst the glories of modern science are officially referred to as though they were dirt.

“No wonder that an English observer who passed through Berlin the other day declared that there had been bloodier revolutions, but that the Hitlerite revolution was the meanest ever known in the history of mankind.

“The facts stated in this message are only a minute fraction of the anti-Semitic Terror in Germany and the anti-Semitic Terror is only a fraction of the general ‘Brown Terror.’”

Manchester Guardian, March 27, 1933.

“ . . . For years Nazi newspapers and orators have hammered into the impressionable youth of Germany that the Jews were traitors, were bloodsuckers, were poison. They were taught, literally, that the Jews were disease germs that had to be destroyed to save the Teutonic people from national death.

“Not even in Czarist Russia, with its ‘pale’, have the Jews been subject to a more violent campaign of murderous agitation than in Germany since the rise of National Socialism. Hardly an issue of the Nazi newspapers appeared without more or less open incitement to pogroms.

“An indeterminate number of Jews have been killed. Hundreds of Jews have been beaten or tortured.

“Thousands of Jews have fled.

“Thousands of Jews have been, or will be, deprived of their livelihood.

“All of Germany’s 600,000 Jews are in terror.

“From the masters of Germany’s great banks and the wealthiest men down to the poorest peddler, all the Jews in Germany today are unsure of their safety. Some of them whistle in the dark . . .

“It is impossible to ascertain how many Jews have been killed. The newspapers are suppressed, the opposition is

terrorized and the families of the victims would be the last to utter a protest.

“It is only possible to estimate it in the vague term ‘hundreds’ how many Jews have been beaten, tortured and robbed. The only means of information is through personal knowledge, by word of mouth and in those cases where the Jews are of foreign nationality and have complained to their consulate.

“The foreign Jews whose consulates have protested to the Foreign Office of maltreatment and savage torture number around 150. The Polish Embassy alone had an imposing list of affidavits to submit to Herr Neurath. They comprised more than 100 instances wherein Jews had been attacked in their homes or places of business, robbed at the point of revolvers and taken to torture chambers where ‘men in the uniforms of storm troopers’ have beaten them with leaden balls. Nine American Jews were beaten or otherwise maltreated. Altogether, since the native Jews outnumbered the foreigners by 100 to 1, it is conservative to estimate that during the first day of the terror ‘hundreds’ of Jews were tortured.

“It is unnecessary to catalog more than a few cases to give an idea of what the anti-Semitic terror is like. Names, in some cases, cannot be divulged. All cases cited here are either confirmed by personal investigation by the *Evening Post* correspondent or are citations from affidavits filed with foreign diplomatic representatives. I have seen fifty-seven such affidavits.

“I sat beside the sickbed of a young Jewish matron who told me the following incident:

“On March 14—two days after the Hitler decree against terror—four men dressed in the uniforms of the storm troops broke into her home as she was on her way out. They threw her into a corner and proceeded to demolish the apartment.

“She cried: ‘But I am not a Communist!’ They answered: ‘You’re a Jew.’ Then one sized a knife, grabbed her arm and gashed again and again at her wrist. She screamed, but he kept on cutting. Then they must have become frightened, for suddenly all four fled.

“She reached the telephone and called for help. Luckily he had failed to cut her artery. Afterward they called the police, and a detective exclaimed; ‘Incredible!’ but he believed it when he saw her wrist.

“When this story first became known by word of mouth most people exclaimed: ‘Incredible!’ but the *Evening Post* correspondent is able to testify that he personally saw the wounds.

"One of the popular Nazi songs sings of 'When Jewish blood drips from our long knives.'

"Typical of the honorable intentions of the assailants are the following:

"March 5, about 2 o'clock in the morning, fourteen uniformed men forced their way into a Jewish cafe on the Alte Schoenhauser Strasse, drove out the guests and relieved the proprietor of 250 marks.

"March 9, about 8 o'clock in the evening, twelve uniformed men broke into the dwelling of a Jew in the Grenadier Strasse, beat the Jew and his wife and son until they bled, and left with 3,200 marks, the life savings of the victim.

"March 9, about 5 o'clock in the evening four uniformed men held up a Jewish couple before their house in the Dragoner Strasse, beat the man and wife with blackjacks, cut off the Jew's beard with scissors and robbed him of twenty marks.

"These examples could be extended from documents that I have personally seen to fill several newspaper columns. Did the attacks stop after Hitler's orders against individual terror? Hitler issued the order forbidding 'individual actions' by storm troops on March 12.

"According to an affidavit submitted by a Jewish physician, Dr. Islonsky, to the Soviet Embassy—Dr. Islonsky, though a Soviet citizen, is non-Communist—his apartment in the Muenchener Strasse was visited March 15 by ten men 'in the uniform of storm troops', who took him to a barracks and beat him unmercifully, knocked one tooth out and, bandaging his eyes, put him against a wall and shot next to him to make him think they intended killing him. He was then forced to sign a promise to leave Germany by March 20.

"Instead, Dr. Islonsky appealed to the Embassy. On March 20, he received a telephone call: 'Are you still here? We'll finish you!'

"He asked for police protection and received a guard over night. Nothing happened. On the night of March 25, a few hours after Mr. Goering told the foreign press that not a hair of a Jewish head had been harmed and above all that the terror was over, Dr. Islonsky, according to his affidavit was visited by eight men 'in the uniform of the storm troops', who shot through his door.

"He called the embassy, which called a riot squad. The police arrived and let in the storm troops, one of whom told Dr. Islonsky, that he would never get out alive. A few minutes later an attache of the Embassy arrived and took Dr. Islonsky, his wife and children to a hotel.

"March 15, about 9:30 o'clock in the evening, three uniformed men forced their way into the Cafe New York, forced three Jewish guests into an auto, took them to a storm troop barracks in the Wallnertheater Strasse, where thirty uniformed men beat them with blackjacks and threw them, unconscious, into the street. The victims were robbed of 690 marks.

"March 15, about 10 o'clock in the evening uniformed men took four Jewish guests from the Cafe Englaender in the Schoenhauser Allee to a storm troop barracks in the Schilling Strasse, where 400 marks of theirs were confiscated. Their protocol reads: 'They were beaten by the uniformed men with blackjacks until they were unconscious and when they revived they were forced to lick the blood from one another and from the table.'

"This last item should suffice. The protocols are sworn statements.

"Let there be no mistake about it. If the mass of the German population, including millions of humane and intelligent persons who voted among the 17,500,000 for National Socialism, were informed of these barbarities, the revulsion here would be great. But the German population with no free press is for the most part in utter ignorance of what has occurred.

"Why don't they appeal to the police?

"At least one Jewish lawyer knows the answer. This attorney, in Munich, went to the police in behalf of a Jewish client whose business house had been closed by Nazis and complained.

"He was taken in hand by the 'Auxiliary Police', made up of storm troopers. They ripped the pants of the Jewish attorney, hung a placard around his neck reading, 'I will never appeal to the police again,' and drove him half naked through the streets of Munich. This instructive example was photographed and in this instance, at least, it is impossible to accept the official National Socialist explanation that the outrages are performed by 'Communist provocators dressed in storm troop uniforms.' For in the photograph clearly appears the uniformed 'Auxiliary Police' wearing the official armbands 'Hilfs-Polizei'."

H. R. Knickerbocker, in the *New York Evening Post*,
April 15, 1933.

"The Brown Terror grows worse every day. It has become a war of extermination, waged by the Brown Shirts against the entire 'Left'. All trade unionists, Liberal pacifists, Socialists, Communists, and internationalists who were in any way prominent as organizers, writers, speakers, even if only in some local branch, some village, or some

street, are throughout the greater part of Germany menaced by dismissal, by physical torture, or imprisonment. The persecution of the Jews is a kind of subsidiary campaign in this war—the main weapons against them are dismissal and boycott, although many Jews have been tortured and imprisoned.

“Against the Brown Shirts there is no defence, and for the torture they inflict there is no redress. The victims are altogether helpless. The German Government knows exactly what is going on. It has received abundant evidence in the form of sworn statements, medical certificates, photographs, reports from witnesses it knows to be trustworthy, but it does not take the slightest notice. This, indeed, is not surprising, for the Brown Shirts are the political executive of that Government and override the police and the judiciary with the Government’s full knowledge and consent.

“. . . No policeman dare interfere with the Brown Shirts, even when they torture, kill, and rob.”

Manchester Guardian, April 20, 1933, “Berlin.”

3. Letters from Germany

The American Jewish Committee is in possession of copies of many original letters received by Americans from relatives and friends in Germany. Some of these letters came direct from that country, others from places outside of Germany to which the writers fled as refugees. It has been impartially established that these letters are genuine, and that the writers truthfully described occurrences which came within their personal observation. Following is the translation of extracts from one of the most significant of these letters. It was received by a German woman whose trustworthiness and credibility are established. The events described in this letter took place in a South German locality between March 17 and April 29, that is, long after such acts of violence are supposed to have ceased. For obvious reasons, names of persons and places have been omitted.

“. . . May 1, 1933.

“All the indignities which I am writing down today have happened either to ourselves or to our friends. On Friday, March 17, 1933, at 2:30 P. M., . . . walked along . . . street in order to do some shopping; a civilian grabbed him from behind and threw him violently against the door of the ‘Brown House’, the local Nazi headquarters. When

. . . made an effort to resist, the man punched him in the face with both fists. Fortunately the police station was right across the street and a policeman intervened. Both men were taken to the station house and, of course, the assailant went scot free because he used the excuse that he had mistaken . . . for the . . . manager of the department store . . . The next day the very same brute mistreated other respectable Jewish citizens in the same manner. Everyone knows that these people are under the protection of the Nazis and the more assaults they commit the higher their reputation as ‘patriotic heroes’.

“On Sunday, March 19th, I again accompanied my husband across the street and he owes it only to my presence on that occasion that he is still alive; he would have been beaten to death because the Nazis again ‘mistook’ him for the department store manager. This, of course, is nothing but a cheap pretext, as everybody in town knows that this particular man fled abroad before the Hitler revolution.—The night after this happened I took a shawl and managed to smuggle my husband into his sister’s house. He remained there for a few weeks, but then collapsed completely physically and mentally and thereupon I brought him back to our house. To this day he does not even dare to go outside his store to examine the display in his own window.

“. . . was taken from his bed at 5 o’clock one morning and kept in jail for a week without ever being informed on what grounds he was being detained. After he had been home for a few days someone called on the telephone, instructing him to go immediately to the ‘Brown House’—which he did. After he arrived there, he was, first of all, forced to sign a paper stating that nothing had ever happened to him and then six uniformed Nazis dragged him into the cellar. He was forced to strip completely and then the six beat him up mercilessly with steel bludgeons. The brother of . . . received the same treatment and afterwards both men were locked up in the toilet. After they got out the doctors found forty bloody welts on the body of . . . and both have been in the hospital for the last four weeks; they must lie on their stomachs all the time because their backs are so frightfully lacerated that they simply must remain in this position.

“. . . received a hint a few weeks ago that he should disappear; thereupon he went to Switzerland for four weeks and returned last Sunday. On Monday he went to his office (he is a banker) but around 11 o’clock in the morning the bank and his residence were each occupied by detachments of 30 Nazi storm troopers and a mob of about 300 people in front of the bank kept on yelling: ‘Bring

out Jew . . . ' However, he and his wife managed to escape and both are today in a hospital in . . . suffering from a complete nervous breakdown. It is impossible to enumerate all the people who have been beaten up and physically maltreated because it can not be put down within the scope of one letter. . . .

" . . . All searches were conducted around 3 o'clock in the morning and were carried out in such a rigorous, mean and brutal manner that even now the tears come to my eyes at the mere recollection. The searching parties were organized and conducted by the Nazis, that is, the Party as such, and the police were simply powerless to give the Jews even the slightest protection. . . .

"All the people who have been victims of this Nazi terror are highly respectable and honest citizens and certainly better Germans and more patriotic than these hoodlums. . . .

"At . . . the Nazi terroristic activities were conducted with unspeakable savagery. On Saturday morning, at the time when the Jews were about to go to the synagogue, the Nazis forced their way into their houses and into the synagogue and arrested all of them. They were taken to jail, where they were horribly mistreated. At six o'clock in the evening, the order was given: 'Get out for the Jewish parade.' . . . was forced to head the procession and to carry the Soviet flag. In a public square where almost the entire population was assembled, the Jews were ordered: 'Kneel down; get up;' 'Kneel down; get up;' 'Kneel down; get up;'—Then they were forced to repeat in a chorus: 'We are traitors; we have cheated the people; we must disappear from the face of the earth.' Then the Soviet flag was torn into strips and the strips tied around the necks of some of the Jews. Two others had to stand on each side of these unfortunate men and hold up the ends of the torn flag. The Nazis then set fire to the strips, which the Jews had to hold until their hands were burned. After this had taken place, all the Jews were loaded on open trucks and had to stand up during the four hour drive to the . . . jail. When they arrived, the warden stated that never in his career had even the worst criminals been delivered to him in such a brutal manner. . . . had six holes in his head and fifty bloody welts on his body. The men were photographed in jail and I obtained a picture only under the most tremendous difficulties.

"Here is a sample of how the minds of children are being poisoned: After the gym hour at the . . . school, the children sang the Horst Wessel song (Wessel has been declared a saint by the Nazis) and a thirteen year old boy shouted: 'Let's go after the Jews!' The children

. . . and . . . were so terribly beaten up that they cried and sobbed for hours afterwards not only from physical pains but also because they were mortified that from now on they had to regard themselves as outcasts. When . . . protested to the teacher, the latter said: 'Well, that's the way it goes in life; the ones who are stronger are always right.'

"As to the boycott,—for weeks and weeks uniformed Nazis have been walking through the city with placards reading like this: 'The Jews are the cause of our misery. Don't buy in Jewish stores. Buy only in German stores.'

"In a Jewish-owned restaurant, the Nazis stamped the faces of the guests with a rubber stamp reading: 'I am a scoundrel because I go to a Jew.' A young woman who was 'treated' with a rubber stamp is still in bed suffering from shock.

"But the 'quiet' boycott is much worse than the open boycott. Every single federal, state and municipal official and employee, every policeman and teacher, every postal and railroad employee, every nurse and orderly in the hospitals, had to sign statements that they would never again buy a thing in a Jewish store under penalty of losing their jobs. These people, of course, strictly obey this injunction, because otherwise they would be deprived of their daily bread. You can imagine that this procedure completely ruins almost every Jewish business and the owners and employees will literally be forced to starve. This in addition to the fact that all Jewish government employees, doctors, teachers and lawyers, etc., have been thrown out of their jobs and face utter starvation. Even if a customer should have the courage to approach a Jewish store, he is sure to be reported to local Nazi headquarters by plainclothes observers who watch every business establishment. Naturally, nobody goes into a Jewish store knowing what will happen to him. . . .

"A horde of Nazis, led by an official commissar, attacked . . . 's store. They beat up the two owners, arrested them and they are in jail to this day. The business was closed and remains closed with the official explanation: 'That their books may be examined'"

Following are excerpts from another letter, copy of which is in the files of the American Jewish Committee. This letter was written by an engineer who was ousted from his profession, and forced to flee from Germany.

"Paris, May 10, 1933.

"My letter, written from Paris, will undoubtedly surprise you. The facts contained here are to me a dream—a nightmare of horror.

"I have been here in Paris for two weeks. Despite the peaceful surroundings of my dwellings and the welcome absence of turmoil, my nerves are still on edge—a hangover from days and nights of chaos in Germany.

"One night a Nazi horde, representing themselves to be police, forced their way into my home, seized all my books, insulted my wife in the most despicable ways, and sat with loaded and cocked revolvers until the distraught woman for the sake of the children admitted that I was in N——'s home.

"Immediately the gang cut my telephone wires, leaped into a motorcar, and sped to N——'s home. There they surrounded the house as though they were greyhounds and I a hare. It was a wonder that I had ever wanted to spend the night at the home of N——.

"That night N—— became a hero. Although the brown-shirts flogged him mercilessly with a rubber hose, he refused to tell where I was. They threatened to shoot him. Still, he remained adamant. His Nazi prosecutors accused him of secretly operating a Communist Press—an idiotic idea.

"N——'s little daughter was asleep, a pearl necklace about her shoulders, and on her arm a gold wristwatch hung. The Nazis clawed over this girl on the pretext of examining her jewels.

"What did they really want of me? This question was answered by their subsequent interrogation and ill treatment of Jews, who have had nothing to do with German politics. It is well known to the fifty Jews who were arrested near N——'s house that night and who are still detained. Those who displeased a Nazi—and these constituted a large majority of the Jews apprehended on that night—were not released.

"The Jews retained their dignity despite the fact that they were ruined, their goods appropriated, and themselves suppressed in all ways. Their tormentors with perverted sadism wanted to look upon them as jelly-fish.

"During four weeks of observation, I could go nowhere where there was not intense anxiety and worry among the Jews. It was not the blows of the beasts which plagued me during this period; rather, it was the ceaseless questioning, the third degree, which they plied upon us poor people, that tortured us almost into insanity.

"After weeks of being bull-dozed by these merciless creatures, I came to Paris. 'Certainly,' we refugees thought, 'certainly, we shall find help here.' But nevertheless we

asked ourselves what lay ahead of us. I had left Germany with only fifty marks.

"While the urge to flee from Germany inspired every Jew in the country, only a few of the better circumstanced people were able to travel in comfort or to enjoy a decent livelihood once they had reached the sanctuary of foreign territory.

.....

"German mails no longer enjoy any privacy. Nazi censors attend to that. I am without word, and almost without hope, for the survival of my beloved children and my brave wife. I carefully scan the list of suicides in Germany published daily in the foreign press; and, fully appreciating the starvation and want of Jews in that country, I can well appreciate the urge that causes them to take their own lives. I can not enjoy the few pleasures that are left to me in life, because I know that there are other thousands who are deprived of even those few."

Following are excerpts from a third letter in the files of The American Jewish Committee:

..... April 29th

Dear friends,

.....

.....

In, all Jewish families were maltreated. The older brother, whom you know, was hit over the head with an iron bar by a former employee whom he had dismissed, and he was also beaten with rubber truncheons so that he required medical aid; the younger brother was lucky to get away with a few bloody welts. Thirty or 40 Nazis forcibly entered the homes of Jews and maltreated the occupants. Three of the Nazis wore black masks and those three acted even worse than the others. Mr. was so terribly beaten by that there were 40 serious lacerations on his body; and to this day he lies completely paralyzed in a Frankfurt hospital. Mr. was beaten up by a former farmhand who had become a Nazi, and Mr. was stabbed with a knife several times. These fellows raved from 8 o'clock in the evening until 3 o'clock in the morning, and the local doctor telephoned to the state police post in the middle of the night and told them that if they don't stop the Nazi rampage, he would be unable to attend the many victims and would have to let some of

them bleed to death. The doctor stated the Nazis actions were beyond anything human. The state police answered that they would not interfere. Our friends were lucky that their house was the second one visited by the Nazis that night, because the later it got the more savagely they conducted themselves. in not a single Jew dared return to this day.

In and, the Nazis entered the houses of Jews after the latter had been forced to flee, and demolished the entire contents. In the former village, the Nazis erected a scaffold and affixed the placquards of three Jews, stating that they would hang them the day they returned to their homes. During the "victory night", the house of the family in was burned down, but the family salvaged a few belongings in their automobile which was stored in the barn of Immediately thereafter fire was set to this barn. All these occurrences are not "atrocities stories" but plain facts, but in Germany it is forbidden to report true facts. A girl in Frankfurt who stated that a young man by the name of Frank, about 28 years old, was found dead, hanging from a rope in his cell in the Worms and that the circumstances showed clearly that the man could not have hung himself, was sentenced to a year in the penitentiary by a court martial.

In the villages and towns around Heilbronn in the State of Wurttemberg, these maltreatments were started and organized by a Dr. Sommer and executed by a beast in human form by the name of Dr. Klein. This man with his mob of Nazis marched from village to village. The Jews were dragged into cellars, were forced to disrobe, bound with ropes, and then beaten with steel coils and other implements, until the raw flesh hung down in strips. Dr. Klein supervised the beatings, watch in hand, and gave the commands when to beat and when to stop. One man, 70 years old, died half an hour after this maltreatment, and another,, who was about 45, was unconscious for five days and then died. One of Nazis stole 1000 marks from a woman, but she gathered all her courage and next day went to Heilbronn. Dr. Klein did not believe her, but finally lined up all his men and questioned each one. The woman recognized one man as the thief and sure enough they found 900 marks in his pockets. What would have happened to that woman if they had not found that money on the man?

. . . In the house of in the baby was torn from its crib and the crib searched for hidden arms.

In, the Nazis threw Mr. from the third story of his house down the stairs to the second, and then from the second floor to the ground floor. Then they

dragged him into an automobile. En route, they met a farmer whom they asked whether he knew the Jew, who, in the meantime, the Nazis had beaten half dead. The farmer answered, as far as he could recognize the human wreck, it might be Mr. The Nazis suggested that he participate in the beating before the Jew died altogether, but the farmer refused because, as he stated, "that Jew has never done me any harm". The next day Mr. was found dead near this spot.

According to the latest reliable information, at least 15,000 Jewish judges, lawyers and doctors are deprived of every livelihood. This is not counting the school teachers and government employees and officials.

Of course, they are only too glad to let the Jews go, but they will not permit them to take along their money or other property. I myself have seen the government confiscation seals on two houses, the inhabitants of which had been forced to flee.

. If anybody should have the slightest doubt about the facts stated in this letter, you might ask the American Consul to investigate every detail

4. Incitements to Violence

An example of incitements to violence is the following warning printed in an official government newspaper:

"At the slightest attempt to harm our leader, we shall take bloody revenge on those whom we Nazis must consider to be the cause of our suffering and misery.

"Should a shot be fired at our beloved leader, all Jews in Germany would immediately be put against the wall and bloodshed would result which in its ghastliness will exceed anything the world has ever seen!

"Make a note of that, you criminals among the German people, you, who for years and years have helped to disintegrate and to ruin Germany, you, who still, after thousand of years, have the impudence to celebrate the feast of Purim!"

(*Leipziger Tageszeitung*, March 21, 1933.)

Such incitements to violence are by no means isolated outbreaks. They are constantly uttered by responsible National Socialist party leaders as shown by the following examples:

"When we are in power, and a Frenchman steps over the German frontier, then, on the next day, all the Jews of Germany die."—From speech by Reichstag Deputy Boerger, January 31, 1932, at Cologne.

"Just wait, Comrades of the Storm Battalions, only a few more weeks and you will be able to lock the Jews up in the fire-engine houses where they will be so closely packed that they will stand like herrings. Then, a few tons of salt will be thrown among them. The places will not be opened. And there, let them pickle until the blood and the sweat which they sucked from you will be given back."—From a speech by National Socialist District Commissar Gillgasch of Insterburg, March, 1932, in Saalfeld, East Prussia.

The police could not and would not interfere with the Nazis in their campaign of terror against the Jews. Their superiors emphatically sided with the Brown Shirts.

Minister Goering declared on March 10, 1933 at Essen, "The police are not a defense squad for Jewish stores or there to protect rogues, vagabonds, swindlers, profiteers, and traitors" (*New York Times*, March 11, 1933). The Nazi mob understood a hint, and redoubled its activities. Again Goering declared, "They told me I must call out the police to protect them (the Jews). Certainly, I shall employ the police and without mercy wherever German people are hurt but I refuse to turn the police into a guard for Jewish stores." Similarly, on March 20, 1933, Chief of Police Himmler, of Munich, stated: "As I interpret the spirit of the people of this City, I know that at the first shot, no matter whether it hit its mark [Hitler] or not, such a fury would overcome most of the people that we should witness a massacre and pogrom such as the world has never seen, and no force of police would be able to stop the murdering" (*Voelkischer Beobachter*, Munich, March 21, 1933).

III. THE NAZI ANTI-JEWISH CAMPAIGN

1. Anti-Jewish Propaganda Preceding the Present Regime

Anti-Jewish agitation is an old tune used by German leaders in former generations to strike up the band for a parade of nationalism. Based on "red herring" technique, it worked in the '70's and '80's during the crash following Germany's victory in the war with France. It flourished again in 1905 and 1906. Each time the Jews were blamed for all the German troubles. The masses were stirred up against Jews as in a war. When the crisis passed, Jew-baiting died down, but it never wholly disappeared.

In their efforts to secure a following, the National Socialist Party (Nazis) carried on an increasingly widespread and intensive campaign throughout the land, by means of a far flung net of periodicals which at the height of their development had an aggregate average circulation of over 10,000,000 copies daily, besides millions of pamphlets and broadsides, often containing vile and obscene attacks against Jews. Supplementing this press agitation were innumerable mass meetings in every city, town and hamlet in the land, coupled with street demonstrations, parades and rallies. In 1928 alone, a total of 20,000 mass meetings under the auspices of the National Socialist Party were held in Germany; the number was even greater in succeeding years. In the course of this agitation, leaders of the Party, several of whom hold high places in the present government, in speeches and writings broadcast most shocking accusations against Jews in general and the Jews of Germany in particular, and uttered incendiary threats of physical violence, civil and political degradation, and economic repression which they would inaugurate when the Nazis would come into power.

The inflammatory speeches and newspaper incitations against Jews also led to numerous sporadic street attacks against individual Jews, boycotts against them in many places, especially in towns in which Jews were few in number, in desecration of synagogues, and in profanation of cemeteries. From January, 1923, to September, 1932, no less than fifty synagogues were the object of vandal attacks, and a total of 128 Jewish cemeteries were desecrated. The most sensational street attack against Jews took place

in Berlin on one of the solemn Jewish high holydays, the New Year, in September, 1931, just as worshippers were leaving the synagogues. Many persons, some of them non-Jews, were set upon and beaten, seven being severely hurt, although a number who were also injured did not report.

Hitler himself has absolutely no scruples as to the methods used in promoting this propaganda, as evidenced by the following quotation from one of the official publications distributed in the Nazi organizations: "Hitler . . . knows that the masses will be untiring if they are kept mesmerized uninterruptedly."*

Following are typical quotations from the utterances of Nazi leaders and propagandists:

"I declare here frankly: we were, we are, and we shall remain an anti-Semitic party."—From a speech by Prussian Diet Deputy Kube, Apr. 22, 1932, Berlin.

Der Angriff, Berlin, April 23, 1932.

"We must fight the Jewish influence with knives."
"Der Eisenhammer" No. 10, March 7, 1931.

"We need only act brutally enough. Even though a considerable number of Jews will have already disappeared it will be necessary only for us to seize a few thousand of this kind and make an example of them. If you do not bring back your exported money by this and this time, then we will hang twenty Jews on the gallows! When the first twenty will be hanged, then the others of this great family will not want to see their brothers dangling—they will bring back the money, otherwise we continue with our method."—From a speech by Buerger, November 15, 1931, in Berlin.

Der Angriff, Berlin, November 16, 1931.

"Under all circumstances we must get rid of this Jewish pest. . . . We will put these Jews in the Ghetto and in the jails and some day we'll hang them all up on the gallows."—The Storm Troop leader, von Jagow, in Neustadt an der Haardt.

National Socialist Rheinfront, July 13, 1932.

*"Hitler und Hindenburg zur Fuehrung vereint", by Gerhard Schultze, published by Otto Stolberg, Berlin 1933, page 64.

"On every telegraph pole from Munich to Berlin the head of a prominent Jew must be stuck."

Alfred Rosenberg—"The Myth of the Twentieth Century."

"The natural hostility of the peasant toward the Jews . . . must be whipped into a frenzy."

—Party Instructions, Munich, March 15, 1931.

"The Storm Troops are ready to wage the racial war
Only then shall we be freed when the Jews lie in their gore."

—From "The Song of the Hitler-Guard",
Small Nazi Song Book, Sulzbach, p. 10.

"The Fatherland needs men, it is in a dreadful plight,
It's only when the Jews die that German suffering ends."

—From "The Battle Songs of the S. A.",
Small Nazi Song Book, p. 19.

Hitler himself in his autobiography gives repeated examples of unbridled hatred against the Jews. He writes:*

"If at the beginning of and during the War twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corruptors of the people had been held under poison gas, just as hundreds of thousands of our very best German workmen from all classes and professions had to bear it at the Front, then the sacrifice of millions at the Front would not have been in vain. On the contrary, twelve thousand scoundrels removed at the right time might, perhaps, have saved the lives of a million decent Germans, of value for the future."

"Thus the Jew to-day is the great instigator of the complete destruction of Germany. Wherever in the world we read attacks on Germany, they are manufactured by Jews, just as in peace-time and during the War the Jewish stock exchanges and Marxist press fanned hate against Germany according to plan, until State after State gave up its neutrality" (p. 703).

2. The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews

The degradation of the Jews and their elimination from German life was formally incorporated in the Nazi's official program. The following sections refer to the Jews:**

*"Mein Kampf"—"My Struggle"—written in 1924, 14th edition, Munich, 1932, page 772.

**"Das Programm der N. S. D. A. P. und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken," by Gottfried Feder, Munich, 1932, 401—450th thousand—page 19 and following.

in Berlin on one of the solemn Jewish high holydays, the New Year, in September, 1931, just as worshippers were leaving the synagogues. Many persons, some of them non-Jews, were set upon and beaten, seven being severely hurt, although a number who were also injured did not report.

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"The National Socialist German Workers' Party at a great mass meeting on February 25, 1920, in the Hofbraeuhaus-Festsaal in Munich, announced their program to the world. In Section 2 of the Constitution of our Party this Program is declared to be unalterable. . . .

(4) "None but members of the nation may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. *No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.*

(5) "Anyone who is not a member of the nation may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to laws pertaining to foreigners.

(6) "The right to determine how the State shall be governed and its laws made is to be a prerogative of the members of the nation alone. We demand, therefore, that all public offices, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, in the States, or in the smaller political subdivisions, shall be held by members of the nation alone.

(7) "We demand that the State obligate itself first of all to provide earnings and living possibilities for the members of the nation. If it is not possible to feed the entire population of the State, people who are not members of the nation must be expelled from the Reich.

(8) "All further immigration of non-Germans is to be prohibited. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since August 2, 1914, shall be forced to leave the Reich at once.

(23) "We demand a legislative battle against deliberate political lies and their propagation in the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that:

a) All editors of and contributors to newspapers which appear in the German language must be members of the nation.

b) Non-German newspapers require the specific permission of the State for publication. They may not be printed in the German language.

c) Any financial participation or influence in a German newspaper by a non-German is to be forbidden by law and punished by suppressing the paper as well as by the immediate expulsion from the Reich of the non-German in question."

In explanation of provision No. 17 of its Program, the National Socialist Party issued on March 6, 1930, a statement (same book, page 6) including the following among the principles concerning land ownership:

III. 2. Only German people (Volksgenossen) may be owners of German land.

8. The State has the right to expropriate upon the payment of a reasonable compensation

a) Land which is not in the possession of members of the German people (Volksgenossen).

b)

How serious the Nazis are on these points is shown by the following:

"At the great meeting on August 31st, 1924, Adolf Hitler declared emphatically: 'Questions of Program do not affect the Council of Administration; the Program is fixed and I shall never suffer changes in the principles of the movement, as laid down in its Program. . . . No man who feels that he cannot go the whole way with us in the Jewish question . . . or is inclined to barter the liberty of the German nation through the League of Nations, the Locarno Pact, by compromise or cowardice, need apply to us; his place is outside the N. S. D. A. P.'"

Feder, the spiritual founder of the Nazi movement and author of its program, goes even further in stating: "Anti-Semitism is in a way the foundation of the feeling underlying our whole government. Every National-Socialist is an anti-Semite" and "The German Reich shall be a home for the Germans—not for Jews, . . . who have no Fatherland called Germany, nor for all the foreigners who make a longer or shorter stay on German soil".

Herr Rosenberg is Hitler's Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. Rosenberg says:* . . . "From the foregoing principle a further conception naturally follows that the Jew, in so far as he may be allowed to stay in Germany, has to be regarded as a visitor and accordingly to be placed under alien law just as the subjects of foreign States, nations and races."

*"Wesen, Grundsätze, und Ziele der N. S. D. A. P." ("Nature, Principles and Aims of the National Socialist Party"), Munich, 1932, page 18.

3. Important Facts About the Jews of Germany

The following important facts about the Jews of Germany are constantly misrepresented in Nazi propaganda. Falsification of these facts was the basis of the violent anti-Jewish agitation carried on by the Nazis before their accession to power, and the same facts are at present frequently distorted by those who wish to justify the persecution of the Jews of Germany under the present regime.

Number of Jews

Jews have lived in Germany for over sixteen hundred years; the first authentic document indicating the existence of a Jewish community is dated in the year 321 of the Christian era.

At the present time, the Jews constitute less than 1% of the population of Germany.

The following latest official figures of the Jewish population of Germany show that their number is declining.

“Statistisches Jahrbuch” (Statistical Year Book) 1932

Census Year	Population of Germany.		Percentage of Jews
	Total	Jews	
1910	64,925,993	603,811	.93
1925*	62,410,619	564,379	.90

Eastern European Jews

1. The last official figure as to the number of all foreign-born Jews in Germany, that for 1925, was less than 60,000. However, this decreased constantly as in the meantime many Eastern European Jews migrated to France and South America. Several thousand went back to Poland.

2. Before the war about 40,000 Eastern European Jews lived in Germany.

3. During the war (winter 1914-15) General Ludendorff issued a proclamation “To the Jews in Poland” (in the Yiddish language). It said:

*Last official census.

“We come to you as friends; the barbarian foreign regime has ended. The equal rights of the Jews will be built up on a firm foundation. It is your sacred duty to gather all your strength and to co-operate for your liberation.”

4. When the Russians subjected the Jews to the most terrible tortures on account of this proclamation, many of them fled to their “friends” in Germany.

5. Many were hired as workers on six-months’ contracts, transported to Germany and, after the expiration of their contracts, were *forced* to remain in Germany; most of them were later on sent to the coal mines in the Ruhr district.

6. When the wave of pogroms occurred in the Ukraine, Poland, in Vilna, etc., many Eastern European Jews fled to Germany.

In December, 1930, the German government announced that Eastern European Jews could only acquire citizenship after a residence of ten years in Germany. From 1919 to 1930 only 7,654 of the 107,599 foreigners who acquired German citizenship were Eastern European Jews.

War Service of German Jews

Hitler and his followers maintain that the Jews cannot be regarded as German citizens because they shirked their duty in defending their country during the World War.

Following are the figures of the participation of Jews in the World War:

At the last pre-war census there were about 550,000 *native* German Jews in a total population of about 68,000,000. At least 96,000 German Jews were in the army—that is, 17.3 per cent. of the German Jewish population or every sixth German Jew.

Seventy-eight out of a hundred Jews in the army (that is, almost four-fifths) or about 80,000, were in the front line trenches.

On the basis of a total population of 68,000,000, and twelve and a half million in the war machinery, the percentage for Germany as a whole is calculated at 18.3. This shows that the Jews have relatively participated as much as their Christian compatriots.

Among the 96,000 Jews in the German Army, more than 10,000, or about 11 per cent., were volunteers.

More than 12,000 German Jews died for their country. This is 12.5 per cent. as against 13.5 per cent. for all German soldiers.

A total of 35,000 Jewish soldiers were decorated for bravery, 23,000 were promoted, and over 2,000 received commissions. This is particularly remarkable, as before the war there were no Jewish officers in the German army, with the exception of a very few in Bavaria.

There were over 165 Jewish aviators at the front; 30 Jewish aces were killed in action.

Following are a few expert opinions on the war service of Jews:

General Berthold von Deimling: "As commanding general, I have seen many Jews in the trenches, and I have made the observation that the Jewish soldiers and officers have done their duty to the same extent as their Christian comrades." (*Roland, Zeitschrift fuer Gesellschaft und Kunst*, Number 25, Berlin 1924.)

Defense Minister, Doctor Otto Gessler: "I have the highest respect for the many, many Jewish war dead." (January 17, 1930.)

World War and Germany's Defeat

Among the arguments used by the Nazis in inciting Jew-baiting in Germany are the allegations that the Jews were responsible for the war, that the Jews have deprived the German armies of certain victory by "stabbing them in the back," and that the Jews were responsible for the Treaty of Versailles.

1. Origin of the war:

- (a) Not a single Jew was in the German Diplomatic Service.
- (b) No Jew was in the German General Staff.
- (c) There were no Jews in the Imperial German Government.
- (d) In all the many publications concerning the origin of the World War, there is no mention of a single Jew.

(e) Prominent Jews made strong efforts to preserve World Peace. In a letter of August 1st, 1914, the head of the English House of Rothschild offered his services to the German Kaiser to

mediate for peace. Albert Ballin, head of the largest German shipping company, repeatedly implored the Kaiser to compromise with England. In the United States, Oscar S. Straus endeavored to induce our government to mediate.

2. German defeat:

After Germany had lost the War, the ruling militaristic class which was responsible for the disaster sought a scapegoat. Major General Count von der Schulenburg ("*Freiheit*" Berlin, April 5th, 1919, Number 163) suggested "it will have an excellent effect among our people if we tell them that the Jewish war profiteers and draft dodgers have stabbed them in the back."

When this matter was brought into court (Munich, October-November, 1925), Professor Dr. Hans Delbrueck, the dean of German historians, whose political affiliations are ultra-Nationalistic and who was called as an expert, stated: "The two issues of the '*Süddeutsche Monatshefte*' (in which the 'stab in the back' was supposed to be proven) are a stupendous forgery of history and a poisoning of the public mind."

It should be pointed out here that it was a Jew, Walter Rathenau, who towards the end of the war made a heroic effort to resuscitate the sinking German morale and that it was he who suggested the "levée en masse" of the German people as a last resort to avert defeat.

Jews in Government Offices

It has been repeated over and over again that "thousands of Jews are in government offices."

Ambassador Luther, in a speech at Mount Vernon, N. Y., on May 24, 1933, stated that a reason for the anti-Jewish feeling in Germany was the fact that nearly 50 per cent. of the governmental office-holders were Jewish, while the Jews represented only about 1 per cent. of the population. (*New York Times*, May 25, 1933.)

Mr. Bernard H. Ridder, publisher and president of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, was reported in that paper on June 8, 1933, as stating, in an interview given to the American press representatives, upon his return from a trip to Germany:

"When Hitler came into power, he found sixty-two per cent. of all government offices occupied by Jews. The dismissal of these Jews was merely a partisan political measure, precisely as

most of the Republicans here have to walk the plank when the Democrats come into power, and vice versa."

We cite the German "Statistical Year Book" for 1931, which, on page 21, states the total number of officials in Germany, as follows:

General administration and departments of justice	608,000
Army and Navy	136,000
Church	58,000
Legal Experts	87,000
Physicians and other Health Administration Officials . . .	414,000
TOTAL	1,638,000

The total number of adult males among the 600,000 Jews in Germany cannot be as large as 250,000, and of course most of them are engaged in business. Such claims as those advanced by Messrs. Luther and Ridder are obviously ludicrous exaggerations.

The following facts should be kept in mind in connection with the grossly exaggerated statements about Jews in German government offices, *before* Hitler became Chancellor.

1. The Nazis distributed lists with the names of alleged Jewish office holders. Painstaking examination of these lists by impartial government employees proved that at least 70 per cent. of the names were spurious, because the men enumerated either did not exist at all or were neither Jews nor of Jewish descent.
2. An official census of the 500 highest Federal office holders shows only 15 Jews or descendants of Jews.
3. Neither in the Federal government nor in any of the States has a single Jew held a cabinet post during the past six years.
4. In Prussia there was not a single Jew among the 12 provincial governors, 35 district governors and over 400 county directors.
5. There were no Jews in the administrative offices of the German Federal Railways, the Reichsbank, the Gold Discount Bank, the Prussian State Bank.

6. In the 19 cabinets from the foundation of the republic to March, 1933, there were only five Jews among about 255 cabinet members.

Jews in Reichstag and Diet

The last Reichstag had *one* Jewish member among 608 deputies; 12 others were of Jewish descent.

In the last Prussian Diet there were two Jews and two others of Jewish descent out of a total of 423 members.

Press and Motion Pictures

That the influence of Jews in German press and motion pictures has been greatly exaggerated by Nazi agitators, is indicated by the following facts:

The 1932 edition of the Official German Press Almanach lists 4,703 daily newspapers "with a political tendency." Of these less than a twentieth are Jewish owned.

Among the 85 most important German newspapers listed in the "Almanach of the World Press" (German Edition) only eight have Jewish editors.

From 1930 to 1932 the number of Nazi newspapers increased from 43 to 123.

The influence of the three Jewish enterprises Ullstein, Mosse and *Frankfurter Zeitung* was confined to a small number of large cities.

The nationalistic Hugenberg interests control 27 of the largest German newspapers and over 150 newspapers in the various Federal states. They also own half a dozen of the largest magazines and several news services. To this have to be added the three largest German motion picture companies, UFA, Deulig, EMELKA.

Department Stores

Among certain classes in Germany, as in other countries, there exists a strong antagonism against department stores and other large enterprises. The Nazis cater to this prejudice by stating, "The Jewish Department Stores dominate the retail trade; they oppress the small merchant and the middle classes."

The expansion of department stores is a typical phenomenon in all countries of the general concentration movement in the na-

tional economies. Department store and the small store cater to different needs of the buying public. The official German "Institute for Economic Trend Research" has stated that the turnover of department stores amounts to a mere 3.9 per cent. of the total German retail trade.

Many German department stores are in non-Jewish hands. C. & A. Breeninkmeyer, Theodore Althoff, Rudolf Herzog, Zeek, Oberpollinger and the great Karstadt department store chain. Incidentally, the Karstadt concern was the first large business to dismiss all Jewish employees in one single day.

The chain stores, especially for groceries, which have spread widely in Germany are almost exclusively owned by Gentiles.

Criminality

No German criminal statistics giving data as to religion are available for the years after 1917. However, the figures up to that year speak for themselves. From 1910 to 1917 there was not a single case of murder, homicide, assault, rape, in which a Jew was involved as a defendant or suspect.

Between 1899 and 1917 Jews amounted to 0.2% of the number of defendants in felony cases. Jews constitute 1% of the general population of Germany.

Political Affiliations

As in the United States, voters are not classified by religion or race in Germany. There are, therefore, no statistics regarding the political affiliations of the Jews of Germany. The following facts, however, are established:

1. The majority of the Jews entitled to vote in Germany have voted as they have always done, for the Liberal bourgeois parties. Some German Jewish organizations advised their members and followers to vote for the Catholic Center Party, after the leader of that party had advised them that the Center stood for equal rights for the Jews. One small but very influential group of Jews even supported the Hugenberg Nationalist ticket at the last election.

2. The Jews are engaged chiefly in occupations and callings from which Communists are not recruited. Their economic interests are diametrically opposed to communistic principles.

3. That the participation of Jews in the communist movement in Germany was insignificant, becomes obvious upon consideration of the following facts:

The statistical analyses presented above (page 42) show that there are certainly not more than 600,000 Jews in Germany. Of these, not more than a maximum of 60,000 are so-called "Eastern European Jews", which would leave 540,000 native German Jews.

Taking the total population of Germany at 63,000,000 and the number of voters in the last election at 39,000,000, we arrive at a total of 334,000 native German Jews as potential voters.

Out of a total of about 39,000,000 votes cast, the Communists received 4,900,000. Even if every single German Jew who voted had cast his ballot for the Communists that would account only for 7 per cent. of the total Communist vote! !

In the last two Reichstags there was not a single Jewish Deputy belonging to the Communist Party. If, as has been alleged, Jews played such a large part in the Communist Party, at least some of the Communist deputies would have been Jews.

4. Anti-Jewish Propaganda Material

Following are a few samples of the many forgeries and libels employed by Nazi agitators in order to instigate Jew-baiting:

The Sages of Zion

The book "The Secrets of the Sages of Zion" (Edited by Gottfried zur Beek. Published by Frz. Eher Nachf., 9th edition, Munich 1929) has been excessively used to promote hatred against the Jews in Germany.

1. It was fabricated in Russia shortly before the revolution in 1905 and drew on an assortment of thoroughly discredited sources; it was published in order to further the Czaristic despotism by inflaming hatred against the Jews.

This edition presents all these falsifications as "Protocols of Secret Jewish Meetings in Paris."

2. The second Russian edition, published in 1917 during the second Russian revolution presents the same fabrications as "Protocols of 24 Secret Meetings held for three days (!) during the

first Zionist Congress at Basel in 1897". The book alleges that this congress "had been called by the united Zionists and Free Masons (!!).".

3. When the distributors of this book in Germany were pressed for proofs Count Reventlow admitted in court that he felt himself forced to withdraw his statements and expressed his regret for having spread them and voluntarily paid all costs. (Proceedings before the Schoeffengericht Berlin-Mitte, April 19, 1923.)

4. The book was distributed in enormous numbers, despite the fact that it has been definitely proven to be a bold forgery. Translations have appeared in many languages. "The Sages of Zion" are constantly quoted in innumerable writings and are being used as material against the Jews.

5. Conclusive proof of the falsity of the "Protocols" came from the London *Times* which had at first expressed belief in their possible authenticity.

When they first appeared in England in a volume entitled "The Jewish Peril," *The Times* of London published in the guise of a book review, a long editorial article in which it professed to see in "some features of the would-be Jewish program," an "uncanny resemblance to situations and events now developing under our eyes," and that "some of the passages assume the aspect of fulfilled prophecies unless one is inclined to attribute the prescience of the 'Elders of Zion' to the fact that they really are the hidden instigators of these events."

But it was *The Times* itself, which, in a series of articles contributed by its Constantinople correspondent and published on August 16, 17 and 18, 1921, incontrovertibly demonstrated that "The Protocols" consist in the main of "clumsy plagiarisms" from a French political pamphlet directed against Napoleon III, published in Brussels in 1865 by a French lawyer named Maurice Joly, and entitled "Dialogues in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu." To use the language of a *Times* editorial "the author of the Protocols simply copied a number of passages in which Machiavelli is made to enunciate the doctrines and tactics of despotism as they were at that time practiced by Napoleon and put them into the mouth of an imaginary Jewish Elder."

"Ritual Murder"

Nazi propagandists frequently use an anti-Semitic slogan which has come down from the Middle Ages: "the Jews commit ritual murders in order to drink the blood of their victims."

It is interesting to note that the Romans accused the early Christians of exactly the same crime (Hermann L. Strack, "Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit," 8th edition, published by C. H. Beck, Munich 1911, page 200-202).

In substantiation of these fantastic accusations against Jews, several ritual murder trials are quoted, as the trials at Tisza Eszlar (1882), Xanten (1891), Konitz (1900) and Kiev (1911). But the Nazis failed to state that the Jews were completely vindicated in every case, and that the myth of the slaughter of Christian children was definitely exploded.

General Ludendorff, Quartermaster General of the German Army and associate of Hitler in the famous beer hall Putsch in Munich, November 10, 1923, stated in the now famous proclamation "To the Jews in Poland" during the World War: "Remember the Beilis trial and the endeavors of the barbaric (Russian) government to spread the *terrible lies about Jewish blood sacrifices.*"

In the three "ritual murder" trials at Coburg, Cologne and Nuremberg in 1930 in which Nazi agitators and newspapers were defendants, the courts unanimously established that the stories of ritual murders committed by Jews were infamous fabrications. The court in Nuremberg on November 4, 1929 sentenced the Nazi agitators Streicher and Holz to three and a half months and two months in the penitentiary for spreading these stories.

The German Supreme Court also stated in its verdict that there is not one word of truth in the allegations that Jews commit ritual murders. (D 1323/1929 IX, 6/1930).

Walter Rathenau's "Three Hundred"

In an article entitled "Our Coming Generation" (*Wiener Neue Freie Presse*, December 25, 1909), reprinted in his book "Criticism of Our Time" (S. Fischer, Berlin, 1912, p. 206), Walter Rathenau, famous industrialist, victim of assassins, wrote:

"In the impersonal democratic field of economics . . . three hundred men, who all know each other, direct the economic destiny of Europe and choose their successors from among themselves."

This sentence is repeatedly used by anti-Jewish agitators as proof of the existence of an international Jewish capitalism and of Jewish plans for world domination. The sentence is quoted verbatim by anti-Jewish propagandists except that the word "Jews" is substituted for "men". (Otto Hauser, *History of Judaism*, Duncker, Weimar, 1921, p. 496, and Wilhelm Meister, "Juda's Book of Guilt," *Deutscher Volksverlag*, Munich, 1919, p. 197.)

The murderers of Rathenau declared: "Rathenau was one of the three hundred."

The facts are:

1) In the entire article, Jews are neither mentioned nor referred to.

2) The Hitlerites deliberately distort the meaning of the sentence by substituting "Jews" for "men". Dr. Roesicke of the German Farmers Association changed it to "300 Jewish Bankers," and it has also taken the form of "the 300 Sages of Zion."

3) Rathenau himself stated in a letter of October 3, 1921, that he had intended to show the danger inherent in the fact that a handful of men controlled the entire economic life of Europe.

"... and it is probably the most dastardly occurrence in the history of forgeries that a man is made responsible for a phenomenon which he himself has called to other people's attention. I do not have to mention specifically that in speaking of the 'three hundred' I had in mind the leaders of international business and certainly not Jews."

The Dawes and the Young Plans

Another charge of the Nazis is that the Jews are the sponsors of the Dawes Plan, which, they stated, meant the enslavement of Germany by a ring of international Jewish capitalists. In order to prove this, the Nazis stated that Germany's finances were controlled by the Jewish banking house of J. P. Morgan & Co. and that the Morgan's name was originally Morgenstern.

J. P. Morgan & Co. is not a Jewish firm; all the partners are Gentiles.

The Morgan concern acted merely as a house of issue for the German 7 per cent. external loan and for the German Government 5½ per cent. loan.

Similarly the Nazis stated (for instance, in their Nuremberg newspaper *Der Stuermer*, 6th year, No. 1, January, 1928): "General Dawes. He is not a general. Neither is his name Dawes. His name is Davidsohn. He is a fullblooded Jew." Then follow a number of statements about General Dawes in such vile language and of such outrageously libelous nature that they cannot even be quoted.

The leading men on the Dawes Committee were not Jews. No Jews were employed in an executive capacity in the office of the Agent General for Reparations. None of the German Government offices dealing with the execution of the Dawes Plan employed any Jews.

The Nazis constantly call the Young Plan "a Jewish machination," "a product of the Jewish spirit," and "an instrument of international Jewish capital."

Among the fourteen chief delegates who drafted the Young Plan in Paris, there was not a single Jew.

The first conference at The Hague in August, 1929, was entirely dominated by Philip Snowden, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Henry Ford

For years Henry Ford's book "The International Jew" has been used as a chief weapon by the German Jew-baiters.

To begin with, the German translation is a forgery, as evidenced by a letter from Ford's authorized representative published in Berlin on March 4, 1927.

When Ford convinced himself that his accusations against the Jews were without foundation, he withdrew the book from distribution. In a letter dated November 1, 1927, addressed to Louis Marshall of New York as president of the American Jewish Committee, Ford apologized to the Jewish people and emphatically retracted all the anti-Jewish statements made by him in the book. Ford also repudiated all foreign editions and translations.

In spite of these injunctions, new German editions are still being circulated against Ford's express orders.

Socialism

The National Socialists call socialism "Jewish". At the same time they are trying to win the workers over by calling capitalism and everything capitalistic "a Jewish product".

It is one of the favorite arguments of the Hitlerites that the international tendency of Marxist socialism is "Jewish". On the other hand, they say that "international capitalism is nothing but a union of rich Jews in all the countries of the world." The two accusations are diametrically opposed to each other!

Bolshevism

The Hitlerites describe the Russian revolution as the work of the Jews.

It was the Imperial German government which transported Lenin in 1917 in a private car from Switzerland through Germany to Russia. The German Encyclopedia of Political Science (4th Edition, Jena, 1929, Supplementary volume, p. 200) states:

"Bolshevism is deeply anchored in the Russian's nature and in the politico-economic structure of the former Czarist empire. It would be an utter mistake to regard Bolshevism as a mere variation of the proletarian socialism of Marxian direction; such a conception has no understanding of the nationally conditioned and limited characteristics of bolshevism."

The official statistics of the Communist party showed in 1918 in Petrograd 124,021 members of whom 74.3% were Russians, 10.5% Latvians, 6.3% Poles, 3.7% Esthonians, 2.6% Lithuanians, 2.6% Jews. Lenin was not a Jew. He comes of a family of Russian nobility. Kalinin and Stalin are non-Jews. There is not a single Jew in the G. P. U. The official Catholic newspaper on Germany *Germania* (No. 5, January 5, 1932) stated:

"We wish to state with all possible emphasis that after thorough investigation we have arrived at the conclusion that all stories about a preferential treatment of the Jews in Russia are either the product of abysmal ignorance or of malicious spreading of false information."

Cultural Bolshevism

One of the Nazi's pet slogans is "Jewish cultural bolshevism." This term is used to describe a variety of modern trends, such as pacifism, chewing gum, nudism, Mickey Mouse dolls, experimental schools, jazz, efficiency experts, modernistic architecture, music, and drama, Emil Ludwig's biographies, companionate marriage, opposition to capital punishment, Einstein's Relativity Theory, etc.

Obviously, there is nothing specifically Jewish about these modernisms.

Talmudical Forgeries

The Hitlerites publish garbled translations of extracts from the Talmud to show that the Jews are permitted to practice anti-social acts. These translations can be traced to

1. Justus. His real name was Aron Briman, a Roumanian Jew, baptized, first as a Protestant, later as a Catholic. In 1865, he was sentenced in Vienna to a long term in jail and expulsion from the country for forgery of documents. Professor Franz Delitsch (Leipzig) who was the greatest German Christian expert in the field of Hebrew research calls Justus' work "a concoction of damnable lies."

2. Rohling. Professor Dr. Theodor Noeldeke, a famous Christian authority on Semitic literature calls his translation of the Talmud "an infamy". Professor Dr. Hermann L. Strack, another Christian scholar (Berlin) calls it "a rare mixture of ignorance, bigoted hatred and malice." He further states "this fabrication has been plagiarized from another outright piece of forgery. I herewith publicly accuse Rohling of having committed perjury and the most impudent forgeries."

3. Dr. Ecker (Muenster) who edited the forgeries of Justus as his own book! The dean of German Catholic theology Bickell calls this fabrication "a fraud of a half-educated industrial pirate."

Typical Anti-Jewish Distortions

The number of forgeries used in the National Socialist anti-Jewish propaganda is tremendous. Two typical examples are given below:

1. At a meeting in Berlin on January 29th, 1912, the attorney, Dr. Moritz Loeb, demanded equal rights for the Jewish religion (which were meanwhile granted). This demand was twisted by anti-Jewish propagandists like Ludwig Mueller von Hausen, Count Reventlow, Fritz Bley and others as follows: "Dr. Loeb has demanded that the Christian state be abolished because it does not

conform to the interests of Judaism." The same lie is repeated in all editions of the "Secrets of the Sages of Zion".

2. The socialist Deputy, Leo Bernstein, stated at a meeting in Berlin that in November, 1918, he had come across some anti-Jewish propaganda material accidentally, and said that if that material had been published it would have led to pogroms. The Nazi propagandists substituted "The Zionist Landau" for the Deputy, Leo Bernstein, and twisted the sentence to read: "Landau stated that he has seen documents proving facts against the Jews, which, if published, would have the consequence that the Jews would be killed in the streets."

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

The reaction of America to the barbarism and terror against, and the unwarranted abrogation of the human rights of, the Jews in Germany, is reflected in the following addresses delivered in the United States Senate on June 10, 1933, in extracts from a few of the many thousands of similar editorials which have appeared in the American press, and in the representative resolutions and protests adopted by organizations and groups of distinguished individuals in various walks of life.

1. Addresses in the United States Senate, June 10, 1933

Address of the Hon. Joseph T. Robinson (Ark.)

"One of the unsolved mysteries of history is the recurrence of movements marked by intolerance and persecution. Admittedly forms of physical torture practiced during the middle ages are no longer resorted to, save in rare instances; nevertheless in the larger aspects the manifestations of cruelty differ now only slightly from those of primitive times.

"It is both surprising and disappointing to one familiar with the character and disposition of the German people to take note of the alarming persecution of Jews, which during recent months has occurred in many parts of Germany. Apparently the conditions referred to originate in political policy supported by general public opinion. It is my conception of the German citizen that he is liberal in opinion and not usually disposed to act oppressively.

"Making due allowance for the exaggeration and misrepresentation which inevitably color reports of cruel incidents there appears conclusive evidence that the Nazi Administration has startled and shocked mankind by the severe policies enforced against Jews—even those of only part blood.

"The evidence to which reference is made is found: (1) in addresses delivered by German officials including Chancellor Hitler and his minister of propaganda, Dr. Goebbels; (2) in the editorial policies of many newspapers; (3) in the remarks of speakers to mass meetings of German citizens; (4) in the Nazi songs, and, (5) in the legislative and administrative political program.

"There is no attempt in this address to state in detail or even to summarize comprehensively the material facts, since to do so would require more time than is at my disposal. The most regrettable circumstance is disclosed in what appears to be the attitude of a large majority of the German citizens, which while resulting in cruelty toward individuals of Jewish blood, also appears to support the policy of driving Jews from their occupations and of denying them the opportunity to earn their living.

"As early as 1924 Chancellor Hitler wrote a book entitled 'My Struggle.' The twelfth edition was printed in Munich in 1932, and is alleged to declare, at page 70:

"If the Jew wins, * * * his crown of victory is the death wreath of humanity, and this planet will once again, as it did ages ago, float through the ether bereft of men. * * * When I defend myself against the Jews I fight for the work of the Lord.'

"At page 344 it is asserted:

"If at the beginning of the war twelve or fifteen thousand of these corruptors of the people had been held under poison gas, just as hundreds of thousands of our very best German workmen * * * had to bear it in the field, then the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain. On the contrary, 12,000 scoundrels removed at the right time might perhaps have saved the lives of a million proper Germans of value for the future.'

"At page 279 of his book it is charged:

"Thus the Jew today is the great instigator of the complete destruction of Germany. Wherever in the world we read attacks on Germany they are manufactured by Jews, just as in peace time and during the war the Jewish stock exchange, the Marxist press fanned hate against Germany according to plan until state after state gave up its neutrality.'

"Feder, declaring himself commissioned by Hitler to issue official literature of the Nazi Party, wrote:

"Anti-Semitism is in a way the foundation of the feeling underlying our whole movement. * * * The German Reich shall be a home for the Germans, not for Jews, Russians (Communists) Social Democrats, who have no Fatherland called Germany, nor for all foreigners who make a longer or shorter stay on German soil.'

"The Nazi Minister of Propaganda, in the Nazi-Socialist published at Munich in 1929, at page 8, declared:

"Certainly the Jew is also a human being, * * * but the flea is also an animal * * *. As the flea is not a pleasant animal, we do not feel any duty to ourselves and our conscience to guard and protect it and to let it thrive, so that it may bite, sting, and torture us, but to render it innocuous. So it is with the Jews.'

"The Nazi program provides that only persons of German blood may be citizens and that those who are not citizens shall be governed by laws regulating foreigners; that only citizens may decide on leaders and laws of the state; that Jews may not hold office or own, manage, or control any newspaper, or practice law or sit as jurors or commercial judges.

"Jews whose ancestors have lived in Germany for hundreds of years are thus deprived of the primary rights of citizenship. Six hundred thousand Jews lived in Germany

at the outbreak of the World War in 1914, and 12,000 of them died in battle during that conflict.

"By a statute passed April 17, 1933, the right to practice law is denied all Jews. They are also denied the right to perform jury duty or to sit on the bench.

"Jewish doctors and dentists are outlawed by the cancellation of all contracts with them. Boycotts of Jewish druggists, clinics, opticians, dentists, and X-ray institutes are prompted and encouraged.

"Universities are closed to Jewish scientists and students. The right of Jewish children to attend primary school is limited or denied.

"Almost every profession and vocation is closed against persons of Jewish blood. This astounding and oppressive policy is rendered the more intolerable by decrees forbidding Jews to leave Germany.

"Nazi songs sung at parades and mass meetings stimulate and crystalize the spirit of anti-Semitism.

"It is sufficient to quote two stanzas:

"The Fatherland needs men;
It is in dreadful plight.
It is only when Jews die
That German suffering ends.
Thus do the storm columns
Stand ready for the battle of the races.
It is only when Jews bleed
That we are liberated.'

"Quite naturally this organized propaganda, carried on by writers and speakers prominent in political authority, embraced in the platform of the political party in control, and its songs of hatred have stimulated and quickened public sentiment against the Jews in Germany to the extent that they have become discouraged and their defenders have been intimidated. Numerous incidents are reported by correspondents to local and foreign newspapers indicating that the Brown Shirts have committed robberies and assaults with immunity from punishment. It is asserted upon what appears to be reliable authority that Jewish barristers and doctors have been beaten and driven through the streets of villages until they have fainted from exhaustion; that thousands of Jews have attempted to flee the country, but that frontiers are closed by new passport regulations and escape has become difficult—almost impossible.

"As late as March 31, 1933, the London Times published reports that Jewish businesses and offices of Jewish lawyers and doctors were being picketed.

"It is sickening and terrifying to realize that a great people whose advance during thousands of years has been marked by notable achievements in the arts and sciences, should respond to impulses of cruelty and inhumanity, which when they have spent their force, will have lowered German civilization in the opinion of all peoples with whom Germany must have social and commercial relations throughout the future. It is not suggested that the United States intervene or attempt to determine the domestic policies of the German people.

"Such cruel policies as are referred to will bring their own penalties. They will result in loss of international prestige, in moral reaction among the German people of far-reaching effect, in loss of trade and commerce.

"It has sometimes been said that the Israelites are a people without a country. In a sense that is true; but in a broader sense is it not known that Jews have made their home in every land? That the characteristic of the Jew is peacefulness and respect for public authority? His contribution to religion is recognized throughout the world. His racial integrity has continued in spite of contracts with gentiles for thousands of years in every land.

"It must be recognized that intolerance and persecution take many forms and from time to time their serpentlike heads appear to poison and terrify the tolerant and the just in every land. It is deplorable that education and enlightenment have not crushed and destroyed these foes of liberty and happiness.

"May we not with propriety express the hope that wholesome world opinion may influence sentiment in Germany so that in time—a short time—the iron grip of racial hatred may be relaxed and the Jews again be permitted to enjoy fair freedom."

Address of the Hon. Jesse H. Metcalf (R. I.)

"Mr. President, I am very much interested in what the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Robinson] has just said. I have myself put a few thoughts on paper and shall take only a few moments of the time of the Senate.

"The friendship which exists between nations depends not so much upon the brilliance or sagacity of diplomats and economists as upon the attitude of the people of the nations they represent. Peace and mutual understanding in the world must necessarily come from the people.

"There is no nation on earth which can afford to lose the faith or respect of other nations. Granted that peace and progress are dependent upon tolerance and understanding among the peoples of the world, we as a nation can only declare the existence of racial and religious prejudice

to be untenable with the international ideal. Aggressive action based upon religious or racial prejudice on the part of any government must necessarily become a matter of world concern.

"Such is the case in Germany. Racial and religious persecution has apparently been inflamed by the success of a new nationalistic philosophy. It has grown more out of the fanfare of politics and the propaganda of selfish and misguided leaders than from the native characteristics of the German people. But regardless of the origin of this racial persecution, it has become a disquieting factor to the peace and economic welfare of the whole world.

"There are many who condemn the actions of the government in Germany. This country was founded on a doctrine of religious freedom and sought to establish the principle of the right of men to freely engage in competitive industry. A violation of the doctrine of religious freedom in any part of the world is a blow at the ideal that all Americans have sought to perpetuate. Likewise the interference with the rights of men to engage in industrial or professional competition with their countrymen because of a prejudice against their racial origin must constitute a persecution which will in some measure disrupt world commerce.

"As a consequence of these things the United States should view with grave concern the racial persecutions apparent in Germany and should raise its voice in protest. Only with universal tolerance and understanding among all people of the world can civilization hope to establish and perpetuate a universal community of peace and good will."

Address of the Hon. Royal S. Copeland (N. Y.)

"Mr. President, I desire to thank the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Robinson] for his calm, temperate, and wise utterance on this subject, which is uppermost in the minds of many American citizens.

"For myself, I have been greatly distressed over the situation. I desire to say a few words regarding it.

"I did much of my graduate medical work in Germany. I feel a great debt of gratitude to Germany and to the Germans for what I have personally received from them. I have found them always a kindly, considerate, splendid people. I do not believe for one moment that the excesses and disturbances which have taken place in Germany are the fault of the German people at large. I regard the political regime now in charge of affairs there as largely responsible for what has taken place.

"One of the old-time political tricks to consolidate the position that a sovereign has assumed is to start a war and have trouble. In that way he gathers together the forces that are influenced by motives back of that particular war. The followers of the war-like motive forget the sovereign in their enthusiasms over his temporary policy.

"One of the things I have been distressed about in connection with this persecution in Germany is what has happened to the scientists of Germany. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], in his many debates upon Muscle Shoals, has referred time and time again to Dr. Haber, the great German chemist who found the method of extracting nitrogen from the atmosphere. That discovery of Dr. Haber has revolutionized the manufacture of fertilizer throughout the world. We in America are indebted to Dr. Haber for his scientific research and the results of his investigations. German agriculture has benefited beyond words by his achievements. If I am correctly advised, Dr. Haber was thrown out of the university because he belonged to a Jewish family.

"Mr. President, science ought not to know any distinctions of race or religion; and society, as I view it, ought not to, either.

"We have in my city 2,000,000 Jews. We have three times as many Jews in New York City as there are in Germany. We have found them in New York to be a loyal, devoted, faithful, intelligent, honest portion of our citizenship.

"I venture to mention one name—that of Mr. Nathan Straus. In my opinion, Nathan Straus, during his lifetime, did more for the cause of child life than all the doctors and teachers and all the rest of the students of that subject.

"In front of the City Hall in New York is a statue described by one of our mayors as "a ruffian armed with a club standing on two mermaids"—not a bad description, perhaps, of that particular piece of statuary. This monument is dedicated to civic virtue. If I had my way, I would erect a statue of a man holding aloft a sweet, smiling baby, with his feet upon disease and death; and I would have the face of that man the face of Mr. Nathan Straus. That is my idea of civic virtue.

"We have had so many distinguished members of the Jewish race in New York, in all the professions, in the business life, and in the social life of our city, that naturally all of us resent the attacks which have been made upon Jews. We have no conflict with those of German extraction within our gates, nor with the Germans in Germany. Our complaint relates to the failure of those in authority over there to restrain and control the part of the populace responsible for the troubles.

"All through this disturbance I have been in touch with our State Department, I desire to compliment the Department upon the wise way in which it has handled a very delicate international situation. I am glad the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] has seen fit to enlighten us as he has, and to make the statement that he did. I know that what he has said this morning will put hope and cheer and joy into many, many hearts in the State of New York and throughout our country.

"It was because of my earnestness in this particular matter that I desired, in connection with the statements which have been made by the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from Rhode Island, to say just this word in tribute to the Jewish population of our country.

"I thank the Senator from West Virginia for his courtesy."

Address of the Hon. David I. Walsh (Mass.)

"The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] has interpreted concisely and eloquently my own sentiments, and, I believe, the sentiments of all Senators, in his plea for the liberation from persecution of the Jewish people of Germany.

"It is difficult to understand the spirit of intolerance to which the people of Jewish blood in Germany have been subjected in recent months. What has been happening in Germany is contrary to the liberal and tolerant spirit that has heretofore characterized the German people, and, particularly, Americans of German extraction who are among our most loyal citizens.

"Let it be known far and wide that the Jewish people who are the victims of the present wave of intolerance in Germany have the unmistakable support and sympathy of all Americans. The men and women of Jewish faith in America have, with commendable unanimity, been deeply stirred by the startling reports that have come to them from their brethren across the Atlantic, and their plea for freedom is supported by every class and group of our citizens.

"There is no need for reiterating the facts that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] and others have presented. The record is one of cruelty, shocking to all lovers of racial and religious freedom. Let us hope that the sentiments of sympathy and support, so unanimously entertained here in the Senate and throughout America, and the promulgation of these views through diplomatic channels, will result in the awakening of the present German Government to the necessity and importance of restoring equality of opportunity and political freedom to the Jews of Germany."

Address of the Hon. Henry D. Hatfield (W. Va.)

"I desire to join the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. METCALF], the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND], and the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] in paying a tribute to the Jewish people. The Jew has always been a patriot to the land that gave him birth.

"Wherever the Jew is found, Mr. President, he is devoted to the people of that country. He quickly adapts himself to the country that gives him food and shelter. Though removed from his Asiatic origin 2,000 years ago, he is a creature old and new. He has one foot on the soil of antiquity and the other rests on the foreground of today. In Asia he is still an Asiatic. In Russia his features are of the Russian. In America he plays a citizen's part, wherever he is he observes the dietary and religious laws of his forefathers. He quickly adjusts himself to the environment and surroundings of any land. He makes no effort to establish a government of his own, but he is content and abides peacefully and adjusts himself to the government of his birth or adoption.

"The Jew has a record in the United States that is enviable. The Jew furnished a greater percentage of soldiers who served in the World War than any other group under the American flag. The Jew, therefore, by his conduct has made himself a most desirable citizen in the United States, and I cannot understand why the same cordial consideration should not be granted to him wherever he may be found. Especially is this true when his blood, his kith and kin, have been the greatest scientific investigators in the Fatherland along the River Rhine, where the great chemical industry developed and became so vital and indispensable to mankind.

"I wish to repeat that, of all the lands that should accord him the greatest acclaim, it certainly is the German Republic, and I join whole-heartedly in the sentiment which has been expressed here regarding the treatment which has been accorded the Jews in Germany."

Address of the Hon. Robert F. Wagner (N. Y.)

"Mr. President, the majority leader of the Senate has again given evidence of his splendid judgment in raising today upon the floor of the Senate the question of religious intolerance and discrimination against the Jewish people in Germany. True enough, these are the closing hours of an emergency session of Congress, but I am in full accord with the Senator from Arkansas in his judgment that the establishment of tolerance and religious liberty is a matter

of the utmost emergency and deserves thorough consideration by this body before it adjourns.

"Mr. President, what I shall say today is spoken in the spirit of deep friendship for the German people. I cherish the memory of the land of my boyhood, and I take pride in the story of Germany's stupendous accomplishments since becoming a nation. Deeper than that is my loyalty and devotion to the ideals of America—which are as well the ideals of all free peoples. Liberty and tolerance are not catch phrases for me; they are objectives to be fought for regardless of danger.

"The World War was the most disastrous calamity in the history of mankind. Not only did it rob every participant of its greatest wealth—men in the prime of life and hope—but it left an aftermath of hatred and discord of almost unquenchable bitterness among the nations of the earth.

"Just when we were beginning to recover from the material disastrous of the war, the depression came upon us. The one hopeful sign during the past 3 years has been the spirit of brotherly help and cooperation which has been developing among the people of this country, and among all the civilized peoples. No one can fail to realize that this spirit is our greatest weapon in the existing disheartening and demoralizing effects of economic dislocation and poverty.

"That is why I am struck with horror at the reports from Germany of manifestations of intolerance, discrimination, and even violence. The emergence of this destructive spirit is of concern not only to the Jewish people; it is a menace not only to the German people but it threatens to blot out every hope of mankind, for the disrupting force of prejudice spreads on the wings of the wind and blights every spot of ground over which it sweeps. If not checked at an early stage, its consequences are too horrible for contemplation.

"Shall we again reap the hellish harvest of human hate? Is the shameful record of man's folly to be lengthened? I cannot believe that the liberty-loving, peace-loving people of the world will tolerate it.

"I appeal to the people of America and to the conscience of mankind. I do not ask anyone to meet force with force, or to meet hatred and prejudice with more hatred and more prejudice. At the same time, we must leave no doubt of our utter disapproval of the policy now being pursued in Germany.

"My primary appeal is to the German people. I do not mean the malicious and irresponsible minority, which thrives upon hatred. I do mean the German people who are proud of their cultural heritage, proud of Kant and Hagel, of Beethoven and Mendelsohn, of Goethe and Heine. How the souls of these great masters must be agonized

in the face of the insidious discord which is drowning out the universal harmony to which they aspired! I appeal to the descendants of the forty-eighters who fought for German liberty and unity, who would have rebelled against cowardly attacks against innocent and defenseless people. I appeal, in good faith, to the millions of patriotic men and women of Germany who will unite with us in condemning and preventing the actions which are threatening the bases of civilization.

"I am not defending a creed or a race. Neither Judaism nor Germanism is the issue; the sacredness of human life and ideals is the issue. The peace of the world is at stake.

"The world cannot recover so long as discord and hatred are poisoning the springs of human activity. Our only hope lies in cementing bonds of friendship, and in building the progress of mankind upon the nobility of man, regardless of race or creed.

Address of the Hon. Millard E. Tydings (Md.)

"Mr. President, for just a moment I should like to say that the speech made by the Democratic leader [Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas] today concerning the treatment of the Jews in Germany was a splendid presentation in a very tolerant and proper way. I heartily endorse every word that he said.

"I recall that when Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party, died he requested that there be placed upon his tombstone three things:

"That he was the author of the Declaration of Independence.

"That he was the father of the statute for religious freedom in the State of Virginia.

"That he was the founder of the University of Virginia.

"He had been President of the United States, Vice President of the United States, and ambassador to France; but he wrote his record in things that would promote human progress.

"As a Democrat, an American citizen, and a Senator from Maryland, I, too, want to join in respectful protest against the treatment of the Jews, and utter a word of sympathy for the Jews at this time when they are the victims of intolerance."

2. Selections from Editorial Comment in the American Press

Editorial

"The preparation in Berlin of instructions to German embassies and consulates abroad regarding their relations to the press in the countries to which they are accredited shows clear foresight.

"After March 5, German representatives are to deny any 'unfavorable' news items emanating from Germany. If certain occurrences cannot be denied or foreign protests are voiced—for instance, in case of antisemitic activities—a stereotyped statement is to be made to the effect that 'the German government regrets exceedingly the unfortunate occurrences and disapproves of it thoroughly. The perpetrators will be severely punished.' And that will be that.

"These instructions are to be put in the hands of German officials in the United States within the next few days."
—*News*, Los Angeles, Calif.—Feb. 24, 1933.

Hitler Foe of the Jews

"Adolph Hitler, the new chancellor of Germany, has declared openly that he is the inveterate foe of the Jews, in that country.

"During the World War the Jews of Germany poured out their blood for the fatherland, no less than 100,000 of them having served in that struggle. Fully 12,000 of this number fell on the battlefield, and other thousands returned home disabled for life.

"The premier who would treat this particular class of citizens with cruelty and threatened expulsion cannot last long in Germany.

"Public opinion of the world will emphatically condemn any such persecution on racial or religious lines in this era of alleged enlightenment and freedom."

—*Lowell Sun*, Mass.—Feb. 25, 1933.

A Proper Protest

"As though there is not enough trouble in this old world of ours at the present time, it has become necessary for a group of eminent Americans to protect the persecution of Jews in Germany under the Hitler regime.

"With all the troubles we have in the United States at the present time, a group of distinguished statesmen, clergymen, jurists and laymen, all of the Christian faith, have made a strong appeal to the German people against the persecutions.

"Among the signers of the communication are the following:

"Bishops William T. Manning and Francis J. McConnell, former Governor Alfred E. Smith and John W. Davis, two former nominees of the Democratic party for president; United States Senators Robert F. Wagner and Royal S. Copeland; Judge Martin T. Manton, presiding judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals; Martin Conboy, former president of the Catholic Club; Newton D. Baker, secretary of war under President Wilson; Bainbridge Colby, secretary of state during the Wilson regime, and George W. Wickersham, former attorney-general of the United States.

"From all Christian pulpits in New York city, the sentiments set forth in the letter to the German people will be echoed next Sunday. Persecution of the Jews as practiced in Russia was a familiar story for many years but it is disheartening to this world which has made such a tremendous endeavor to climb up from the dark ages to see a nation made up of such people as the Germans take a step backward. The action of these distinguished men should be backed by every level-headed citizen in this country."—*Review*, Greensburg, Pa., March 24, 1933.

Hitler's Mistaken Policies

"Adolf Hitler, Germany's imitation Mussolini, has achieved his desire to be a dictator. For the next four years at least, unless the people revolt, Germany will be ruled by decree under the old Prussian system, by this tin dictator with the iron fist and the heart of stone.

"Perhaps that is none of our business.

"Hitler will seek a political union with Austria under Nazi rule. He has warned other political parties that any opposition to his rule will be construed as a declaration of war. He has opened the old prison camps for political opponents and has declared a campaign of 'barbaric severity' against all traitors. By traitors he means all who do not bow to his will and support his policies.

"Perhaps that is none of our business.

"But his systematic, cruel and unprovoked persecution of the Jews in Germany, the racial and religious oppression of helpless people, the bigotry and intolerance which recognizes no human rights to life, liberty, property, worship, and the pursuit of happiness, is the business and the

concern of every nation in the world which lays claim to being civilized. . . .

"Bigotry and religious intolerance have no place in civilization. Nothing will arouse the indignation and wrath of thinking people quicker than religious persecution and racial oppression. If Hitler cares anything for this opinion of this country and other freedom-loving nations he will stop all anti-Semitic demonstrations and accede these fine people the rights and the safety to which they are entitled."—*Tribune*, Duluth, Minn., March 5, 1933.

Anti-Semitism in Germany

"Hitlerism is beginning to reveal itself in one of its most brutal aspects in the indignities that its adherents have been heaping upon the Jews since the victory of the Nazis in the Reichstag elections last Sunday.

"While apparently the full extent of the results of anti-semitic agitation has not become known, the instances that have found their way into cable dispatches indicate that Jewish merchants have been harried, boycotts urged against them, and threats or bodily violence made.

"It is regrettable that Hitlerism has been based to so large an extent as it has on the elements of prejudice and hate, and that its triumph finds even its responsible leaders not only willing but eager to incite the gentile populace to violence.

"Other countries probably will be able to do little directly to stem the tide of Nazi fury, but it may be hoped that their people will express their horror and disapproval in no uncertain terms. . . ."—*News*, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., March 11, 1933.

Nazi Violence

"Chancellor HITLER has addressed a public appeal to his Nazi followers, urging them to refrain from acts of individual terrorism. The further progress of the 'national uprising' must be guided from above. He was obviously brought to that step by the protest of his own allies, the Hugenberg Nationalists. They remind him that the national revival can only be worked out within the limits of discipline and legality. It remains to see how soon the authority of HITLER will make itself felt against the ruffianly incitements of men like his own Minister of the Interior. If the new regime is to be conducted in the spirit of Captain HERMANN GOERING, a sad epoch will have opened for the German people and for European peace.

"Foremost among the victorious Nazi and Nationalist slogans has been the call to repudiate the 'shame' of the

last fifteen years, to return to the Germany that was before 1918. But the invocation of race hate and jealousy suggests a return to much further back than the year 1918. It is going back sheer to the Dark Ages and an ugly complex of ignorance, superstition, fear and hate. The present outbreak of evil passions among a large section of the German people cannot be expected to endure, but the memory of it will remain for a long time a blot on the record of a nation so proud of its high culture.

"Until that stain is removed Germans will be in no position to speak, as they are accustomed to do, of the 'backward peoples' of Eastern Europe. Race hatred in Roumania and in Poland has been fomented by minorities and discouraged by the governments. For a parallel to the doctrine preached in high places in Germany since the Hitler victory one must turn to Czarist Russia."—*Times*, New York City, March 12, 1933.

Exploiters of Prejudice

". . . Every country that permits the exploitation of prejudice and unreason for the benefit of its ruling politicians lives to sup sorrow and feel the chill of humiliation.

"Hitler is the beneficiary of a number of base emotions such as avarice and class and religious prejudice. His countrymen will live to regret the day that they surrendered their destiny to such a fraud."—*Adventurer*, Montgomery, Ala., March 16, 1933.

Editorial

". . . A strong leader must be capable of keeping the reins firmly in his hands. He must not tolerate the occurrence of brutal acts of violence, the victims of which are members of a different religious faith, who love and honor their homeland as much as their 'racially pure' compatriots. He must not hesitate to prevent mean, mercenary envy from employing rowdyism for its base purposes. He must prevent attacks on foreign visitors whose noses displease the German one-hundred percenters because such attacks must necessarily bring Germany into conflict with other nations."—*New York Staats-Zeitung*, March 14, 1933.

The Commentator

"In Germany there are approximately 100,000 Jewish voters as against the 39 million of persons qualified to go to the polls. The Jews are less than one per cent. of the population. They cannot be a menace at the ballot box even if united in one political party. Their persecution by Hitler, therefore, comes from racial hatred. That cannot

survive in civilization, hence the exit door for Hitler cannot be far way."—*Rhode Islander*, Providence, R. I., March 17, 1933.

Hitler Persecutions

"We of New England, where the American concept of liberty and toleration was established, learn with distress of the latest persecutions by the Hitler regime in Germany.

"Anti-Jewish fanaticism seems to know no bounds.

"The Jews are assailed and abused, and forbidden to hold civil or military office.

"Jewish physicians and attendants are driven out of the Berlin municipal hospitals.

"Those physicians are among the foremost medical specialists of the world. Blind fury deprives even the German people of the medical skill which these distinguished physicians and surgeons could afford them.

"We are a long way from Germany and we have much trouble of our own with which to contend, but at least we can raise our voices in protest lest our silence be regarded as tacit approval of these infamies.

"We welcomed Kossuth and De Valera here, we forced our government to act against the Jewish pogroms in Russia and we have been outspoken against tyranny wherever it existed."—*American*, Boston, Mass., March 20, 1933.

Anti-Semitism Gone Mad

"Nazi Anti-Semitism has lost its head—if there ever was any thinking in its mad fury against the Jews of Germany. The Nazi attack on Jewish physicians is madness. It could hardly have picked upon another group so strongly placed in the good opinion of the world.

"The roll of medicine is full of notable Jewish names. It must be the ancient benevolence of the Semitic race that has drawn them so largely to the healing art. The researches of Jews in this field have contributed mightily to the lessening of human suffering. Civilization owes them an incomparable debt for their work in medicine.

"Surely sober, enlightened German opinion must look upon the events of the last two weeks with infinite shame. And sooner or later Hitler will feel the force of this resentment. The Nazi leader has yet to learn the lesson of history. No nation that has persecuted the Jew has prospered."—*Chronicle*, San Francisco, Cal., March 20, 1933.

German Persecution of Jews

"The attitude of the Hitler government in Germany in persecuting Jews will gain no favorable reaction or sym-

pathy from other civilized nations. One example of this unwarranted prejudice is the forbidding of Bruno Walter, who recently returned to Berlin from the United States, from conducting a concert in the German capital. Nazi lawyers also have adopted a resolution favoring the barring of Jewish lawyers in German courts, as well as removing judges in the same category.

"The pogrom against Jews in Germany since the rise of Hitlerism has been of a most vicious nature. On every hand citizens of Semitic descent, although natives of Germany, have been persecuted relentlessly.

"The Jews are an ancient race. For centuries they have thrived on persecution and the treatment they are being accorded in Germany will in no manner prevent them from emerging triumphant as usual. Germany will see no prosperity or progress as long as any class, creed or race is subjected to unwarranted indignities.

"Why this should be part of any plan of better government is hard to understand."—*Gazette*, Burlington, Ia., March 21, 1933.

Hitler and the Jews

"CHANCELLOR HITLER'S unreasonable and astounding attitude toward the Jews of Germany is nauseating and shocking. He startles the world with his audacity and takes a stride backward that cannot at this time be measured.

"Denying the Jews the privileges of the simplest freedom he creates a condition in Germany that for dastardly duplicates in some respects the practices of the Middle Ages. The chancellor's yoke, affecting the Jews principally, will later fall heavily upon the necks of his own countrymen, for the tyrant who oppresses the one today will oppress the other tomorrow. The Hitler highway of usurpation will ultimately lead to destruction. It will end at the foot of the precipice. With a single swing of his mighty ax of state he puts thousands of Jews and others of his citizens adrift in the currents of serfdom.

"'Educate your children my way,' he demands, 'educate them along Fascist lines. They shall not come out into the light of reason as others see the light—they must remain in the dark.' And that is Chancellor Hitler's ultimatum. Also it is his doom.

"In taxing Jews to pay his armed forces to strike Jews down the chancellor loads the gun for his own extermination.

"His mandate retards Germany. She will again find it necessary to stagger to her feet."

—*Post*, Louisville, Ky., March 22, 1933.

Protesting Persecution

"In 1848 German liberals trooped to America as a haven from European oppression.

"Later Germany itself became a haven for human liberty. Now the new masters are grinding under the heel representatives of a race that has contributed much to German happiness and world fame—the Jewish race. The house of Albert Einstein was searched for arms and ammunition, and none were found. Bruno Walter was barred from conducting an orchestra. Many Jewish physicians are being fired from Berlin hospitals. Jews in the public service are being transferred. Irresponsible bands are committing outrages.

"A dictator in full swing of new power may be too close to prejudices and unsound racial theories to see it, but the zeal for human liberty has become deeply entrenched in the consciousness of the world's people. The high-handed and cruel persecution of the Jews is going to cost Herr Hitler's regime widespread reproach unless stopped at once."

—*Evening Telegram*, New York City, March 22, 1933.

The Jews in Germany

"Having sowed the wind, Hitler is now reaping the whirlwind. When he came into power, he told his Nazis he would make it a crime for a Jew to exist in Germany. Now they are taking him at his word. If half the stories of persecution told by Americans escaping to Paris are true, our State Department should forward a vigorous protest to Berlin as quickly as possible.

"Such action should prove a help to Hitler himself. Always in matters of this kind a demagogue's followers take him too literally and get out of hand. It may be assumed that he knows that atrocities cannot continue if Germany is to have any dealings with the outside world. Americans, for example, have been anxious to right the injustices of the peace treaty and help restore Germany to her proper place among the nations, but if Hitler's government gives them the idea that it has gone back to the practices of darkest Russia it will get little sympathy here.

"This is the most tragic side of the whole affair. It is bad enough that persecution should be countenanced, but that it should be not only countenanced, but that it should be encouraged in a country which has been accepted as a leader in the cause of enlightenment will be such a shock that further assistance or co-operation on our part will be impossible. The State Department should be able to make

it clear to Hitler that persistence in his present court will cost Germany her best friend."

—*Vindicator*, Youngstown, O., March 22, 1933.

Hitler

"The arrogance and racial bigotry of the Hitler government in Germany is astounding. Its encouragement of physical assaults on the Jewish population, the exile of brilliant and prominent professional men has resulted in the contempt of the world. No such gang of ruffians can hope to build up a nation."

—*Post*, Boston, Mass., March 23, 1933.

A Bad Beginning

"From the start, hostility toward the Jews was one of the preachments of the Nazi movement in Germany and constituted one of its most unpleasant aspects. Persecution of any people because they happen to be members of a certain race is unsportsmanlike, and is offensive to modern ideas of fair play and decency. It is stupid.

... What is crudely known as Jew-baiting seems to be going on without restraint if not by actual command of the high authorities. In some cases it is taking on a form suggestive of sporadic relapse into barbarism.

"If Chancellor Hitler has authorized nothing of this sort, the sooner he intervenes the better for the reputation of his regime and the better for its relations with other nations, including the United States. If Hitler is winking at wanton plunderings, persecutions and outrages, then he is planting the first seeds of failure. Among a people normally as self-restrained, decent and fair as the Germans, that sort of thing will not be tolerated forever."

—*Free Press*, Detroit, Mich., March 23, 1933.

Jew-Baiting in Germany

"... So far as the Jews are concerned, some of the greatest intellects in Germany are being harried and persecuted. The raiding of Einstein's house during his absence in this country is a foretaste of what philosophers, authors and scientists of Jewish blood may expect from the new regime. In other words Germany is relapsing into a sort of barbarism fatal to her national prosperity and to her standing among the civilized nations of the world."

—*Enquirer*, Philadelphia, Pa., March 23, 1933.

The German Terror

"So effective is the ironclad censorship clamped on German news sources by the Nazis' dictatorship that the world must rely on reports brought by refugees for information about events beyond the Rhine.

"Although the stories which have trickled through cannot be checked and officially verified, they bear the stamp of authenticity, for they are consistent. Detail added to detail, obtained in this fashion, like pieces fitted into a jigsaw puzzle, constructs a recognizable picture of abuse of power, of unrestrained cruelty, of suppression of individual rights, of violent racial and religious prejudices.

"When Adolph Hitler was given a popular mandate at the polls on March 5, it was assumed that his firebrand attacks against the Jews would be checked. It was felt that, having won the chancellorship, he would be restrained by responsibility.

"The heady sense of mastery that has come with the actuality of dictatorship, however, appears to have had precisely the opposite effect. In his effort to consolidate his strength and to achieve a national solidarity behind his regime, the chancellor has given unlimited authority to his lieutenants to molest the Jews. This racial group is now made the butt of the venomous, insensate fury of a people long goaded by economic insecurity. In its abandonment of reason and in its intensity of vitriolic, unleashed fury, the Nazi campaign is paralleled in history only by the Spanish inquisition and the star chamber proceedings of the Stuarts."—*Times*, Toledo, O., March 23, 1933.

Jews in Germany

"During the Administrations of Presidents Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, Theodore Roosevelt and Taft, the United States made representations against persecutions of Jews in Russia. There is, accordingly, ample precedent for any official action which may be taken in protest against the attitude of the Hitler Government toward Jews in Germany.

"But even if precedents were lacking, it would be impossible for this or any other civilized country to view calmly a series of acts prompted by bitter hostility toward a group that has produced so many world figures. The excuse of diverting civil and private enterprises to 'real' Germans is largely fictitious, since the Jews have been represented in Germany longer than several of its other racial groups, and most of them are German to the core. The Hitler Government has reverted to tactics that smack of medievalism."

—*Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Pa., March 23, 1933.

Hitler Strains American Friendship for Germany

"THE NAZI LEADERS may say it is none of the world's business what Germany does with its own Jews. German leaders, however, ought to have known better than to make TWICE the mistake of flouting the world's opinion. Surely they have not forgotten the consequences during the World War when their military chiefs, with Belgium and 'Schrecklichkeit' and 'Spurlos versenkt,' turned the whole world, including the United States, against Germany.

"Of all the major countries in the world the United States, without question, has felt the most disinterested sympathy with Germany's struggles for national recovery. The American people have been genuinely friendly toward Germany, a country and a people for which they have always felt strong admiration.

"Herr Hitler, by his insane attack on Jews, has come dangerously close to alienating American sympathy and breaking down American friendly feeling. If he is open to any reason at all it should give him pause to observe how Americans of all creeds have joined in protest against the blind anti-Jewish fury of his followers. In this case Americans are not Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, but indignant men and women.

"Whether or not Chancellor Hitler considers American friendship worth anything to Germany we do not know. Slight consideration of the strong American reaction to the pogroms of Czarist Russia should have warned him that pogroms in Nazi Germany would arouse American indignation to like degree. In this country where we see amongst us with so much respect and high regard so many citizens of Jewish origin, the persecutions in Germany come home to us very closely indeed.

"We can only say, as President Wilson said during war time, that our quarrel is not with the German people but with their rulers. We believe that these Nazi terrorists do not represent the real German nation we know. Nevertheless, Herr Hitler is putting a severe strain on American friendship for Germany. The havoc falls on Germany."
—*Chronicle*, San Francisco, Cal., March 24, 1933.

Terrorism in Germany

"The Tyranny and Cruelty of the Hitler Regime Horrify the World.

"The world is horrified at the reports which are coming out of Germany.

"Rigid as the recently imposed censorship upon all news agencies has been, it has not proved rigid enough to cloak the designs or hide the conduct of the Hitlerite party which

by a slender majority holds political ascendancy in the Reich.

"It is apparent that all its opponents are on the proscribed list.

"Their voices are silenced. Their civil rights are struck down. The courts have ceased their normal functions. The judges are intimidated and even the police are subservient to the new and headstrong power which has Germany under its heel.

"But worse—far worse—than the political violence which has been done to civil order and individual security, is the unbelievable welling up of racial hate and persecution—the dreg passions of a people gone mad.

"The tales on this score which reach us are difficult to credit. They mark a sad relapse—a fearsome falling away from humane standards—which no one would have thought the German people capable of.

"Acts of revolting cruelty have been committed with the connivance of the authorities and the apparent approval of the high governing power.

"The vaunted culture of Germany seems to have been cast away as if it had been only an affectation—a virtue put on as a garment, and never a sincere expression of the German spirit.

"The end is not in sight, but it is certain to be a tragic and a painful end.

"An evil day, in truth, has descended upon Germany.

"Every nation must learn—and Germany is no exception—that it cannot renounce the respect of mankind, without certain and grievous penalties. No nation can trample upon human rights and not atone for its offending in anguish and bitter sorrow.

"If Hitlerism means pillage, cruelty and oppression, as well as tyranny, it is doomed, and Germany perhaps with it."

—*Sun*, Pittsburgh, Pa., March 24, 1933.

Hitler's Anti-Semitism

"No race has suffered as have the Jews and lived through it. Nor will Dictator Hitler be able to hurt the Jews as a race, disagreeable, disconcerting and severe as some of the reported Nazi indignities against individuals may be.

"It is natural that Hitler should be somewhat intoxicated with his newly-acquired power and that some of his overzealous followers may be even more so. It is well for

them to bear in mind, however, the sage observation of Seneca, who said:

“Power exercised with violence has seldom been of long duration, but temper and moderation generally produce permanence in all things.”

“No doubt some of the reports about the destruction of property, beating and blacklisting, which have come out of Germany, are exaggerated, just as were the stories the allies told about German atrocities during the war, but the fact remains where there is so much smoke there must be some fire.

“Anti-Semitism was one of the many planks in the platform on which Hitler rose to power. As a mere political campaign cry it is understandable in America, which only 10 years ago experienced its own Ku Klux Klan movement, but as a governmental policy pursued to the extent of economic blacklisting, home invasion and physical violence it surpasses the American concept.

“It is difficult to believe that Hitler is countenancing the anti-racial activities. The abuses must be unauthorized sallies of irresponsible mobs of youthful Nazis. The world will soon know.”

—“*The Journal*”, Columbus, Ohio, March 24, 1933.

Throw These Enemy Aliens Out!

“Revelations that at least a thousand of Adolph Hitler’s Nazis who have immigrated to America in recent years have organized for the spread of Hitler propaganda here should be followed by swift deportation.

“America has no place for these proponents of alien doctrine that is utterly opposed to American ideals of democracy.

“With the blatant arrogance that has marked every step of the rise of fascism as it has developed in Germany, the leaders of the Hitler agents from overseas, who enjoy the hospitality of America while scheming against her Government, openly flaunt their purpose.

“While civilized people of the world, regardless of race or creed, voice their horrified protest against the incredible atrocities practised against the Jews in Germany, the New York commander of Hitler’s brown shirts in this country openly boasts of the ‘purging’.

“Throw him out. Throw all of them out. Making their living in America, they admit allegiance only to Hitler. None of them are citizens. All of them are enemies.

“It’s a job for quick action by the Department of Justice, the police and the immigration authorities. Round them up and kick them out.

“This is a free country of the Twentieth Century. It has no room for bestial throwbacks to the Middle Ages.”

—*Mirror*, New York City, March 24, 1933.

Germany’s Anti-Semitic Terror

“Hitler’s right hand carefully avoids knowing what his left hand is doing, in the matter of Germany’s Jewish population. The dictator’s master of propaganda, Capt. Goering, has issued assurance that Jews are not being mistreated. His Foreign Office repudiates as ‘most absurd rumors’ the accounts of cruel treatment. Yet the outpouring of Jewish refugees from Germany, the stories they relate, and even press dispatches directly from Germany, contradict these bland assurances. It is possible that the reports by refugees are somewhat exaggerated, but they command attention because the stringent Nazi censorship permits the sending of only scanty news from Germany.

“From Germany itself come such dispatches as these: All Jewish attendants in Berlin municipal hospitals were discharged. The home of Lion Feuchtwanger, the novelist, was looted, and that of Prof. Einstein was searched for arms. Prof. Hermann Zondek, internationally renowned specialist, was arrested, and fled the country after his release. Others equally distinguished are in hiding. Jewish department stores at Worms were closed, and those elsewhere boycotted. Bruno Walter, called by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* ‘a man whom the outside world envied Germany for having,’ was forbidden to conduct a symphony concert at Frankfort. Jewish Judges and prosecutors in the Prussian courts were removed.

“The accounts by refugees tell of beatings, torture, murder, the looting of homes and stores. Their stories are so uniform in tenor that the world is convinced that an era of medieval oppression has begun in Germany. Protest meetings are scheduled in all parts of this country, and our Government has called on its Consuls in Germany to make a full report. Formal protest by the Government has been requested by groups of various political and religious beliefs. Such action has numerous precedents, for messages have been addressed by our Government to several countries where the dictates of humanity were forgotten when anti-Semitic forces gained control. President Taft, in fact, abrogated the treaty with Russia in 1911 as a protest against anti-Jewish atrocities.

“Germany is losing the respect of the world by this reversion to barbarism under her fanatical leader and his

brutalized followers. Her domestic loss is described by a New York Times correspondent, cabling from Paris, as 'some of the best brains in her financial world and many of the best in commerce, medicine, the law and arts.'—*"Times Dispatch,"* St. Louis, Mo., March 24, 1933.

Jews in Germany

"The tragically threatening situation in Germany, where in full sight is flickering the spark alongside the powder magazine that warns of peril of another worldwide explosion, is overshadowed by the multitude of rushing events in America. At any other time the European crisis would be commanding the attention of the people of the country as completely as did that of the summer of 1914.

"Only one group of Americans can be said to be displaying an interest in German affairs in any degree commensurate with their importance—those of the Jewish persuasion. They, naturally, are keenly alive to these dire perils to their race in Germany that are inherent in Hitler's anti-semitism; and they are deeply agitated.

"There is no unreason in the fear of a pogrom in Germany, though there are a thousand reasons why the institution of such a horror would react to destroy those who might instigate it. Hitlerism is a variety of madness in itself—and capable of any insane act. It is not to be wondered at, then, that there is rapidly coming into force in this country a movement for the letting down of the immigration bars in the interest of refugee Israelites driven from Germany in peril of life, limb and liberty.

"Nor would it be at all surprising if, in a sudden revulsion of feeling against the outrageous policy of Nazi Germany toward the Jews, the generous heart of America should be led toward the opening of this nation's arms to the persecuted victims. . . ."—*Herald*, Manchester, N. H., March 24, 1933.

Persecution in Germany

"The world in general did not get a pleasant impression of certain qualities of German 'Kultur' during the World War. Probably these impressions were not altogether just, but the light to which the kultur is now being exposed goes quite a way toward confirming the war-time impression.

"It becomes apparent that there is a majority yet in that country preferring to 'goose-step' in obedience to orders than to attempt to go their own way. The Republican government has not been supported. An autocracy has been substituted for it and for the moment Hitler is the dictator of that autocracy.

"Many of the cruelties charged against Germany in war propaganda were later proved not to have existed, nevertheless there appear to be few in the world that really believe the present reports of abuse of the Jews in that country are utterly lacking in foundation. Moreover there seems to be evidence to support the charges in the main. Race persecution condemns any variety of culture in the opinion of the civilized world.

"Hostility to the Jews was undoubtedly cultivated by Hitler for political purposes, when he was climbing to power. He had no scruples about fanning persecution into a flame. He cannot, whatever denial he may make, escape a measure of responsibility. The German censorship over the news suggests that he is not unaware of that. He may yet learn that the truth will be known, that the public opinion prevailing among civilized peoples will have more or less of influence."—*Journal*, Augusta, Maine, March 25, 1933.

Hitler Terror

"HITLER ATROCITIES against Jews and political opponents in Germany have provoked great waves of protest in virtually all civilized countries.

"There is nothing much our government or any foreign government can do, except to insist on the protection of its own citizens unlucky enough to be caught in Germany at such a time. . . .

"But this does not mean that effective action is impossible. The kind of mass protest now arising against the terror is apt to be more effective in the long run than foreign governmental action. When Americans cancel their sailings on German ships, when the English boycott German goods, as they are now doing, the pressure becomes very acute on the mad Hitler. Even those German business interests which have helped to raise him to power may realize their folly.

"Our profound sympathy goes to all the racial and political victims of Hitler barbarism. . . ."—*Post*, Cincinnati, O., March 25, 1933.

Keeping Watch on Hitler

"As to the actual facts of anti-Semitism in Hitler's Germany, we now have before us two 'pretty good' bits of evidence. We cannot rank them as quite conclusive. The first is the assurance from our State Department that the phase of 'physical mistreatment of Jews may be considered virtually terminated.' The statement admits that there have been 'picketings of Jewish merchandising stores, and

instances of professional discrimination.' But it is hopeful that the situation will 'soon revert to normal.' We half way accept these assurances, but we cannot give them quite the same credence that we might have given to the actual embassy dispatches from Berlin, had Secretary Hull seen fit to make them public. Nor are we entirely convinced by the indignant, if confused, denials given to the press correspondents Saturday by Minister Goering and yesterday by Foreign Minister von Neurath. It is patently absurd to accept such denials at their face value. On the other hand, the fact that they were made at all shows that the revolt of world opinion has had its effect even upon the reckless Nazis. We believe that, for the moment, further protest meetings in America are superfluous. We think that the wise position is that adopted by the American Jewish Congress in its reply to Secretary Hull: 'Until the status of the Jewish citizens of Germany is safeguarded and the position of the non-national Jews is secure, the enlightened opinion of America must watch with profoundest anxiety the development of events in Germany'."

—*Evening Post*, New York City, March 27, 1933.

Editorial

" . . . The Hitler Regime in Germany, Hostile to Jews and Catholics, remove all Jews from official life, Jewish judges, prosecuting attorneys, representatives in children's courts, lawyers, all officials of Jewish birth, are to be deprived of their positions.

"Mr. Hitler seems to have forgotten one important result of eliminating Jews from official positions. Before the big war, the Kaiser would permit no Jew to occupy an important position in Germany's diplomatic service, and, as a result, he and Germany made practically every diplomatic mistake that was possible.

"THEY BELIEVED THINGS WOULD HAPPEN THAT DID NOT happen, and were credibly informed by carefully chosen diplomats that things that did happen would NOT happen.

German diplomacy believed that Italy would stick to Germany and Austria. Italy did not. Any one of a dozen intelligent German Jews could have foreseen that.

"Germany believed that England would not come into the big war on the side of France. England did come in, with the whole fleet, and starved Germany into defeat. Any number of intelligent German Jews could have predicted that, for commerce as well as diplomacy made it necessary."

—*Evening Journal*, New York City, March 27, 1933.

Excuses That Accuse

" . . . Germany became conscious of world opinion, and sensitive to it. Her official spokesman, however mixed their motives may have been, set about the work of proving to foreigners that the German people had not gone berserk and barbarous.

"But what admissions have gone with these attempts at justification! The chief speaker for the German Government has been Minister GOERING. On Saturday he made a long speech, full of resentment at the charges brought against the new regime. However, he acknowledged that there had been 'individual acts of lawlessness and violence.' Under the circumstances they were inevitable. They were not the result of anti-Semitic prejudice, although it was true that 'from lack of understanding,' Jewish shops had been looted or closed, and there was a general feeling that the time had come to settle an account with 'persons who, rightly or wrongly, the New Germany thinks misled and cheated the people.' This is tacit endorsement of all the furious outcries against the Jews with which HITLER has been filling the air for years, and is, moreover, an implied condonation of crimes committed in the name of anti-Semitism. Herr GOERING tries to slip away by asserting that the assaults and robberies and imprisonments had been not of Jews but of Socialists or Communists. This gives a sufficient hint to what Dr. KÜHLMANN calls the 'young stalwarts of radical groups.' Let them identify as a Communist a Jew whom they hate, and they can do what they like with him.

"With extraordinary ineptitude, Minister GOERING referred to 'these queer demonstrations that will take place in America on Monday.' He had heard of the great gatherings planned for tonight in which representatives of all religions and of all races in this country are preparing to record their protest against what has been going on in Germany, with the connivance, if not at the inspiration of the Hitler Government. To call such expressions of civilized sentiment 'queer' is a sufficient disclosure of the mentality of official Germany today. But fortunately the obtuseness is not going so far—so disastrously far—as it did in 1914. Germany today cannot shut her ears to the voices of humane men and women crying out against class hatred and race injustice wherever they are manifested. The efforts which the Hitler Government has been making to clear its skirts have been clumsy and unsatisfying. But in the very fact that they have been made is ground for encouragement to believe that the great mass of the German people do not desire to affront the sentiments of the civilized world. They must, on the contrary, make haste to bow

to that unorganized but powerful public opinion—that moral judgment and appeal—which passes a secure verdict upon all that happens anywhere on this rounded earth.”

—*Times*, New York City, March 27, 1933.

Now: Jew-Baiting by Law

“An organized Hitlerite propaganda, designed to assure the world that persecution of Jews in Germany has ceased, is being disseminated.

“According to some of the more absurd statements coming from German officials, there never has been, and never will be, violence against any class of Germans.

“This posturing will deceive no one. The situation at present seems to be that after many days of brutal attacks on individual Jews, on Jewish stores, and on Jewish places of worship, a halt will be called to physical violence, and a campaign of legal violence begun.

“Jewish beatings may stop. But the ‘law’ will be used to deprive Jews of personal and political rights, to prevent them from practicing any of the learned professions, to divorce them from German economic life, to expel them, where possible from the country, to seize their bank deposits and property.

“This is just as dangerous and uncivilized as the campaign of physical violence, and merits just as much protest from the cycle of enlightened nations.

“Hitler does not deny that anti-Semitism is one of the larger patches in his motley political banner, and that the rise of hoodlumery stems from his inspiration. It will take more than words from Berlin to reassure the world.

—*Record*, Philadelphia, Pa., March 28, 1933.

The Nazis and the Jews

“How deeply the ruling clique in Germany has been impressed by the spontaneous outcry in the rest of the world against the persecution of the Jews in the Reich is apparent in the statements that its spokesmen have felt obliged to issue recently. Their explanations have not always explained, nor have their excuses always excused, but underlying all of them can be discerned an unmistakable alarm over the loss of sympathy that Germany has incurred during the past month. While the government cannot go too far in apologizing for the outbreaks without losing face among its followers at home, it does perceive that something must be done to retrieve its lost good will abroad. As never before, Germany needs all the friendship that it can muster abroad, and the government apparently is determined to regain it as speedily as may be.

“To repair the harm done abroad by the excesses of its fanatical adherents is now the chief task before the government of the Reich, and it ought to be tactful in the manner that it undertakes it. Nothing will be gained by a campaign of propaganda such as Dr. Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, is said to contemplate. Nor can much be achieved by such addresses as Captain Goering, Minister without portfolio, lately delivered, which cynically evaded the real issue. A more promising line is the one taken in Breslau, where persecutions have been numerous. There the admission has been freely made that many undesirable persons have gained their way into the ranks of the Nazis who must now be sternly weeded out. If the party will zealously purge itself of individuals who have used its uniform to satisfy personal grudges, it will give wanted evidence of its seriousness in opposing racial intolerance. . . .”—*Courant*, Hartford, Conn., March 28, 1933.

Denial Is Not Enough

“It is not enough for the Hitler Government to deny indignantly that there has been any persecution of the Jews in Germany. Neither is it enough to hurl threats at newspaper writers and others who have had the temerity to reveal the facts of the situation. The accounts of outrages perpetrated by the Hitlerites upon a defenseless Jewry are too circumstantial for the blanket denial to find acceptance with the rest of the world.

“Hitler and his followers, having become masters of Germany, seem to have thought, in the first flush of victory, that they owed no respect to the opinion of mankind. They have found out that they cannot govern in a vacuum. The only way for them to vindicate themselves is complete and effective repudiation of the policy of persecution. They have put a stain on their country. They will find more trouble than they bargain for if they do not bring forthwith to a halt their outrageous excursion into medievalism.”—*Ledger*, Philadelphia, Pa., March 28, 1933.

Hitler Goes Wild

“Because Jews outside Germany are protesting the Hitler government’s persecution of Jews inside Germany, Hitler threatens that the persecution inside Germany will grow more severe. That may quiet some Jews outside Germany. But it will arouse Gentiles outside Germany, everywhere.

“This will cancel the new respect the world has been feeling for the German people in the last year or two.

"We don't know of a more pitiable spectacle than that of a great nation ruled by a fool."—*News*, New York City, March 30, 1933.

The Larger Question

"The German Nationalists are forcing the world to see something more than a 'Jewish question' in the Reich. By their methods and manifestos they are taking the matter out of the realm of narrow race hatred and making it appear one of humanity and civilization itself. The proposal is not to deprive 600,000 people in Germany of their lives, but only of their livelihood. 'You take away my life who takes away the means by which I live.' There is to be, moreover, a sweeping condemnation of children to ignorance as well as to starvation; the doors of opportunity are to be slammed in the faces of ambitious and talented youth; a whole series of medieval restrictions and oppressions are to be revived. To crown all, if humane citizens of other countries venture to raise their voices against what seem to them barbarous measures, striking down the innocent along with the guilty, the victims are to be held as 'hostages' until foreign governments take steps to silence the expression of generous and liberal sentiments. The whole program, which the Nazis announce will be put into execution next Saturday, is marked by such extremes not only of cruelty but unreason that it seems incredible. It is hard to believe that the moderate men in the new German Government can sanction it. They must be inclined to repudiate it. So must be the mass of the educated German people. Until forced to admit the contrary, we shall hope that the 'ultimate approval' which the Nazis confess has not yet been given to them will never be forthcoming.

"The thing has already gone far beyond an attack upon a single race or religion. No appeal to age-long prejudice will suffice in a case like the present. Fundamental issues of humane and civilized government have pushed into the background the claims and charges with which the ferocious agitation in Germany started. Feelings have been roused which transcend political boundaries or definitions of race. No matter what people are called, or what religion they profess, the modern world cannot sit by in silence when they are singled out for exceptional punishment in the mass. Germans ought not to forget the outcry of the modern world over the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria years ago. Sympathy and aid for Armenian sufferers and outlaws had nothing to do with their descent or language or religious beliefs. They were thought of as helpless human beings

in the habitations of cruelty, and that was enough. It is enough today.

"One thing the German Government may set down for certain. It cannot compel citizens of other nations to be dumb in the presence of what they consider an outrage upon the finer professions and ideals of modern States. If they kept silent, the very stones would cry out. Chancellor Hitler may think it possible to suppress the deep and humane instincts of civilized men and women. They may hold one view or another of the political activities of Jews in Germany, but they are bound to protest against the proscription of an entire element of the German population, confounding peaceful and industrious citizens with possible Communists, and condemning women and children in a kind of ruthless denial of human rights and liberties which spares neither age nor sex.

"The Nazi scheme of wholesale oppression is unbelievable. If attempted it will prove to be unworkable. It will do more harm to those who set about executing it than it possibly can to those whom they would drive to exile or death. Sensible Germans must see that their rulers are proposing to make an enlightened people lurch back into the Dark Ages. The thing seems such a frightful anachronism that every friend of the German people, every admirer of the high qualities which they have often shown, must cling to the hope that some way out of the horrible mess into which the Hitler regime seems bent on plunging the Reich may be discovered."

—*Times*, New York City, March 30, 1933.

Bench and Bar in Germany

"Men owe something to their profession. They cannot stand dumb when it is injured at home or degraded abroad. It is for this reason that a group of eminent American lawyers have united in a strong protest to the German Government because of procedures against judges and members of the bar in Germany which have shocked the professional instinct as well as the humane spirit all over the world. These leaders of the American bar, including two former Secretaries of State, affirm that the first reports of outrages upon German courts and lawyers have been 'confirmed authentically.' The lawyers who protest do not omit expressions of sympathy for the individual victims of the ruthless measures of the Hitler regime. But what most stirs their indignation is the thought of judges violently dragged from the bench and lawyers forced out of practice for no reason except hatred of their race or religion.

"Emphasizing the 'violation of the elementary principles of justice' which is involved, the American lawyers point out that thereby the German Government is also breaking the pledges which it gave to the Allies in 1919. When the Treaty of Versailles was being framed, the German delegates demanded protection of the 'German minorities' which were about to pass into an alien sovereignty. But they added that 'Germany on her part is resolved to treat minorities of alien origin in her territories according to the same principles.' To this the Allies agreed, taking note of the written assurances of the German delegates. But among those principles, which were put into the Polish minority treaty, is the following:

"All the nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion. Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any national in matters relating to enjoyment of civil or religious rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries."

"It is thus in the name of law and treaty, as well as individual right and humanity, that these American lawyers address their solemn remonstrance to the German Government."

—*New York Times* of Tuesday, May 30, 1933.

Ambassador Luther Now in Charge

"Dr. Hans Luther, . . . took up his duties yesterday at Washington as Ambassador, . . .

"Doubtless among the first of his activities, . . . will be to ascertain and report to the foreign office at Berlin what he finds to be the reaction of American opinion to the recent policy of the Hitler Government towards the large Jewish element in the financial, commercial, professional and official life of present-day Germany.

"Ambassador Luther cannot go astray as to the facts in this matter. American sentiment and judgment is just what it would logically be expected to be, in view of our national origin, our constitution and the traditions which have guided the United States in its development.

"Individually, we criticize one another's religious beliefs and political opinions, . . . but the vast majority of us still believe, as the framers of our constitution believed, that no law should discriminate against the right of any citizen to own property, to engage in legitimate business, to hold any office to which the voters of his community, state or nation may choose to elect him, or any executive may choose to

appoint him; and all this without any regard to his religious beliefs or affiliations, so long as he is willing to keep within the laws passed for all alike.

"Any law or official order abrogating or abridging these rights with regard to any class of citizens would be annulled by our courts, and from the very nature of our institutions and traditions we cannot sympathize with denial of rights and privileges on such grounds in other lands."

Columbus Dispatch, April 16, 1933.

3. RESOLUTIONS

Resolution of Protest Signed by 1200 Christian Clergymen

"We, a group of Christian ministers, are profoundly disturbed by the plight of our Jewish brethren in Germany. That no doubt may exist anywhere concerning our Christian conscience in the matter, we are constrained, alike with sorrow and indignation, to voice our protests against the present ruthless persecution of the Jews under Herr Hitler's regime.

"We acknowledge the grievous provocations which have led to the German revolution: Especially the condemnation of unborn generations of German children to economic servitude by the terms of the peace. Our nation shares part of the blame for this situation. We understand the accumulated resentment which has led German youth to undertake at all costs the reconstruction of the nation and its re-establishment in unity and power. We claim no right to censor the methods by which this shall be accomplished simply because they are not our own.

"We acknowledge, also, the existence of racial and religious prejudice in America, against which we have repeatedly taken our stand, but all the more on that account do we deplore a retreat from gains once made in Germany while we continue to struggle for human rights in the United States.

"For weeks we waited patiently, refusing to believe stories of a State policy against the Jews. Now, however, having in our possession testimony to the facts, which seems to us unimpeachable, we cannot forbear speaking. Herr Hitler for years has preached relentless hatred against Jews. One of the fundamental doctrines of the Nazis, explicitly acknowledged by them, is that the Jews are poisonous bacilli in the blood of Germany to be stamped out like a plague. What the followers of Herr Hitler have proclaimed they now practice. Systematically they are prosecuting a 'cold pogrom' of inconceivable cruelty against our Jewish brethren, driving them from positions of trust and leadership, depriving them of civil and economic rights, deliberately condemning them, if they survive at all, to survive as an outlawed and excommunicated people, and threatening Jews with massacre if they so much as protest. It is our considered judgment that the endeavor of the German Nazis to humiliate a whole section of the human family threatens the civilized world with the return of medieval barbarity.

"We deplore the consequences that must fall upon the Jews, upon Christendom, which permits this ruthless persecution, and in particular upon Germany itself. For, protesting thus against Herr Hitler's anti-Semitism, we conceive ourselves to be speaking as the sincere friends of Germany."

NOTE—The foregoing resolution was written by the Reverend Doctor Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York City, and was edited and signed by a commission of twenty-four clergymen, after which copies were issued to other clergymen for their signatures. A total of 1200 clergymen, in 406 cities in 41 states and Canada, had signed the resolution up to the time of its publication on May 26, 1933.

Protest Signed by Members of the New York Bar

Following is text of a protest signed by 51 members of the New York Bar, which was sent, toward the end of May 1933, to Secretary of State Hull, with the request that it be transmitted to the German Government:

"As members of the New York Bar, we have been shocked by the reports of the action of the German Government toward the bench and bar of Germany in depriving judges duly appointed for life or during good behavior of their seats on the bench, and prohibiting lawyers from practicing their profession, because of their race or religion. We had hoped that these reports were exaggerated and that later information would show that reason and justice had not been overthrown. The first reports have, however, been confirmed authentically. We deeply sympathize with the Jewish judges and lawyers thus deprived of their means of livelihood. We protest against the action of the German Government as without precedent in modern times and as not only a reproach to the juristic system of Germany, which has hitherto been rightly regarded as representing as high standards of learning and honor as any in the world, but as a violation of the elementary principles of justice.

"We respectfully direct your attention to the fact that at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Germany made express pledges to the United States and the Allies, guaranteeing protection of her own religious and racial minorities equal to that established for Poland's minorities by express treaty. May we remind you that Germany successfully invoked the jurisdiction of the World Court to enforce the articles of the Polish Minority Treaty as against Poland (Advisory Opinion No. 7 of Sept. 15, 1923.)

"We respectfully request that, if it is consistent with diplomatic usage and precedents, you transmit this protest to the German Government."

LIST OF SIGNERS

John W. Davis	Lewis L. Delafield
Chas. C. Burlingham	Joseph H. Choate, Jr.
Samuel Seabury	Ogden L. Mills
James Byrne	Elihu Root
Bainbridge Colby	Albert Rathbone
G. W. Wickersham	Eldon Bisbee
Henry W. Taft	Frank L. Polk
Wilson M. Powell	Walter E. Hope
Charles H. Strong	Albert G. Milbank
Kenneth M. Spence	Edwin de T. Bechtel
John Godfrey Saxe	Raymond B. Fosdick
Victor J. Dowling	Paul D. Cravath
Amos J. Peaslee	Carl Taulor
George W. Alger	Bronson Winthrop
Otto C. Wierum	Charles S. Whitman
Morgan J. O'Brien	Nathan L. Miller
Henry de F. Baldwin	Robert T. Swaine
William J. Donovan	Boykin Wright
James A. O'Gorman	George S. Franklin
C. E. Hughes, Jr.	Grenville Clark
W. A. W. Stewart	William T. Jerome
Walker D. Hines	George G. Battle
Samuel H. Ordway	Roscoe H. Hupper
John A. Garver	Charles R. Hickox
James W. Gerard	T. Catesby Jones
J. G. Schurman, Jr.	

**Resolutions of the Federal Bar Association of New York,
Connecticut, and New Jersey, Adopted on April 17, 1933**

"WHEREAS it has come to our attention that many of our brother lawyers in Germany are being grievously persecuted and driven, without pretense of any process of law and with ruthless and unconscionable violence, insult, and humiliation, not only from the bench to which they were constitutionally elevated but from employment and the practice of their profession, without trial or any judicial procedure whatever. That at the same time their money is impounded and they are penalized for not keeping up their law establishments and continuing to employ their clerks and assistants, and are prevented from leaving the country and kept imprisoned in the confines of Germany, facing distress, slow starvation, and their children driven from the schools and universities, without which to many of them life is worth nothing, and in other ways treated with a cruelty and in a manner which for ruthlessness was un-

equaled even in medieval times and paralleled only among barbarians, on account of their race and faith; and

"WHEREAS that race and faith (the Jewish race) has furnished many of the greatest lawyers, law givers, and judges of the human race, since Moses on Mount Sinai became the first great law-giver until this day, when in our own country, among many other great offices, two of them now adorn the Supreme Court of the United States, and many of whom grace the Supreme Court in New York and New Jersey, and one of them now upholds the law as chief magistrate, the Governor of the State of New York, with great distinction, and recently others have been chief justices of England; and

"WHEREAS it cannot, in the light of all recorded history, be claimed even as an excuse that they are dealing with a backward race: Be it

RESOLVED, That on account of those to a large extent officially admitted or otherwise established persecutions the Federal Bar Association of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, regardless of any physical atrocities (and even assuming none such has been perpetuated) extends in the name of law, culture, and science, which knows no national boundaries, to our fellow lawyers so persecuted in Germany our deepest fraternal sympathy.

"Tyranny and oppression of the soul and spirit, deprivation of 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness', to our profession anywhere in the world is atrocious, and has always been as important to the American lawyer as the deprivation of life. Any government or party flaunting that principle, in the judgment of American lawyers, offends the conscience of mankind and must meet with speedy and outspoken condemnation from the bar.

"That our association desires to go on record as not only viewing such uncivilized and boasted conduct toward these members of our profession, whether physical or mental, with the deepest horror and condemnation but hereby express our public sympathy to them; and further that we hereby call upon all believers in human justice throughout the world to publicly condemn the indefensible course that has so far been taken toward those members of our profession, and other professions, by the present administration of the Government of Germany.

"We assert that our position is the same as expressed by the British Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons on April 13 (the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the statute for Virginia for religious liberty, on which those clauses in our Federal and State Constitutions are modeled) that:

"This is not a Jewish outlook, or the outlook of a section or party. It is an Anglo-Saxon outlook.

"It would be a profound mistake for anyone to imagine the feeling in this country is limited to members of the Jewish community.

"It is a spontaneous expression of the principle of racial toleration."

"RESOLVED, That we tender our assurance to Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, a leader of the English bar, that in those sentiments Anglo-Saxon lawyers, at any rate, stand on common ground.

"We aver that this protest and appeal to what we believe to be a real German culture in the name of humanity and elementary justice, as practiced in all ages by civilized peoples, will be heeded when inflamed passions subside. That we are not concerned with the form of the German Government, and hereby affirm that our concern in this connection is merely that ordered justice may again be established by this great nation.

"Knowing, nevertheless, that the present party of Hitler came into power on a platform declaring an intention to carry out such a persecution, we will not, and cannot in the name of humanity remain silent, while it is being thus put into effect, regardless of any camouflage for foreign consumption.

"RESOLVED FURTHER, That there can be no true and actual feelings of fraternity or fraternal intercourse between the members of the Federal bar of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, and the bar of any nation so long as they permit or encourage the persecution of our brothers because of race or religion. That to be silent in the face of such continued, calculated, and premeditated horrors against our brothers as have shocked the world would be a betrayal of our position as upholders and ministers of justice, and make us unworthy of the heritage of our fathers; that any fraternal invitations from the bar of the United States to the bar of Germany in connection with the coming Chicago Exposition, or any other invitation to the bar of Germany which calls for fraternal intercourse, be at once recalled unless the German Government at once orders a stop to these persecutions; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President and Secretary of State of the United States, that it be called to the attention of both Houses of Congress, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to that great brother lawyer the British Foreign Secretary and the House of Commons with our compliments. We

ask all professional and scientific bodies in America to follow suit."

Resolution of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia County Medical Society, Adopted May 9, 1933

"That this body of American physicians indignantly protests against the injustice visited upon members of the medical profession in Germany, who, because of their race or faith or descent, have been thrust out of their positions in dispensaries, hospitals and universities and greatly hampered in their private practice.

"Among them are many whose contributions to medical science and art have been invaluable and have brought great credit to Germany; but our protest is not because of the wrong done to the eminent only, it is for the humblest as well.

"The honor of our profession has been attacked, and we look to our colleagues in Germany, irrespective of birth or descent, to vindicate that honor by bringing about the abolition of a discrimination so repugnant to the spirit of science and of humanity.

"Be it further resolved that these resolutions be forwarded to the Pennsylvania State Medical Society and from them to the Board of Trustees of the American Medical Association with their recommendation for adoption.

"Be it also further resolved that a copy of these resolutions or others, when finally adopted by the American Medical Association, be sent to President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, and Dr. Royal S. Copeland, United States Senator from New York, with a request that they be spread upon the Congressional Record."

Resolution of the American Association of University Professors, May 23, 1933

"The American Association of University Professors is deeply concerned with the maintenance of those fundamental principles of academic freedom and tenure, without which university work of the highest quality cannot be permanently sustained.

"The Council of the Association has become reluctantly convinced that in certain European countries and notably in Germany, so long and so honorably distinguished for its particular emphasis on *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*, these high principles have been sacrificed and subordinated to

political and other considerations ulterior, if not irrelevant, to true scientific research and scholarship.

"The Council has no wish to express any opinion on the political life or ideals of any nation, but science and scholarship have long since become international, and the conditions of intellectual life in every important country are a matter of legitimate concern to every other. It is, therefore, resolved that this expression of the conviction of the Council and of its profound sympathy for members of the profession, who have been subjected to intolerant treatment in these difficult times, be published in the Bulletin of the Association and communicated to the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations."

**Resolution of the Philadelphia Bar Association,
Adopted June 6, 1933**

"WHEREAS, fair-minded lawyers, individually and collectively, are opposed to religious bigotry and racial prejudice at all times;

"AND WHEREAS, it has come to our attention that many lawyers and Judges in Germany are being persecuted and driven from the bar and bench and from the enjoyment and practice of their profession without any basis for such action other than their being of the Jewish faith and race;

"AND WHEREAS, tyranny and oppression of the soul and spirit are just as reprehensible as the deprivation of life and injury to property and are equally offensive to the conscience of mankind;

"THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the Philadelphia Bar Association publicly condemn the treatment now being accorded the Jewish members of our profession by the present administrators of the Government of Germany, and that we appeal to those there in authority to withdraw all measures calculated to deprive such members of the bench and bar in Germany of the right to practice their profession and to hold public office;

"AND be it further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President and Secretary of State of the United States and to the German Ambassador."

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