

Anti-Semitism Exposed!

**PLOTTING
AMERICA'S
POGROMS**

BY JOHN L. SPIVAK

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW MASSES

25c

**PLOTTING AMERICA'S
POGROMS**

The material in this pamphlet appeared as a series of articles in The New Masses from October 2 to December 4, 1934

PLOTTING AMERICA'S POGROMS

*A Documented Exposé of
Organized Anti-Semitism
in the United States, by*

JOHN L. SPIVAK



PUBLISHED BY THE NEW MASSES

1934

COPYRIGHT 1984 BY THE NEW MASSES, INC.
Printed in U. S. A.

CONTENTS

THE ORGANIZATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM	7
"THE JEWS MUST BE DESTROYED!"	18
RICH JEWS WHO FINANCE ANTI-SEMITISM	29
McFADDEN, JEW-BAITER AND CROOK	41
ANTI-SEMITIC DUET: EASLEY AND VIERECK	52
WHO PAID VIOLA ILMA'S WAY TO NAZI GERMANY?	63
"HATE THE JEW" CAMPAIGN IN THE COLLEGES	73
SELLING ANTI-SEMITISM TO THE FARMERS	84
WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT	92
<i>(An Editorial in The New Masses)</i>	



Several hundred pounds of this single sheet were smuggled in on German ships docking in New York and consigned to the "Friends of the New Germany" which secretly distributed it throughout the United States of America.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM

A WEB of anti-Jewish hatred has been woven around the country within the past two years and the effects upon our national life have been profound and far-reaching. In the business, professional and cultural worlds anti-semitism has been whipped up until the Jew now feels a sense of isolation which he thought he had lost with the ghetto days of the eighteenth century. It is no unusual thing to find handbills littering New York subway cars, preaching hatred of the Jew. In the Yorkville section of New York, where Germans have congregated, Jews are made to feel that they are pariahs. Jews coming to the 85th Street synagogue find a black Swastika marked on it. Windows of Jewish-owned department stores have Swastikas scratched upon them. A "liberal" priest invites Nazis to come and preach hatred of the Jew from his pulpit on Second Avenue.

A mob of German Nazis raid a hosiery shop at 86th Street and Lexington Avenue and demand that they be shown German-made goods. In Boston a crowd of young American hoodlums rush through the streets crying "Kill the Jews!" From coast to coast a spirit of anti-semitism is steadily nurtured. On the West Coast the Swedish newspaper the *Vest Kusten*, published in San Francisco, tells its readers that the Swede is a superior type of immigrant to the Jew. It writes:

Other people, however, believe that the Jews are nothing but weeds, which should be uprooted; that their property should be confiscated, and that they should be driven out of the country. Of course it is not right to hate any race . . . but the Jews try to dominate all the inhabitants and therefore should not be allowed in.

There has been latent anti-semitism in this country but today it is open, and growing rapidly as the Fascist forces become more bold.

Generally this hate is vaguely attributed to Nazi agents for only since Hitler came into power has it developed here. But even the vast majority of those spreading the "hate-the-Jew" creed have no exact idea of where it is coming from. Normally sensible Americans, completely bewildered by the increasing economic crisis in this country, dazed by events they cannot understand, have lent their ears to the cry that the Jew is responsible for the world's ills.

I shall show the astounding activities behind this far-flung anti-semitic propaganda. I shall show that it reaches into and emanates from high offices in the United States Government, business houses, universities, city and state governments. The country is swept with anti-semitic and Fascist propaganda and behind this deluge stalk almost fiction-like mysterious characters, secret foreign and American agents, spies, diplomatic officers, terrorists, gun-women,—an almost incredible array of men and women plotting, smuggling, spying, to weave the web of hate against the Jew and prepare the country for Fascism. I shall prove:

1. That Americans, acting as Nazi agents, some of them in high Government positions, are among the secret directors of anti-semitic propaganda.

2. That American "patriotic" organizations to which rich Jews contribute, are secretly using this money for anti-semitic propaganda.

3. That much of this anti-semitic and Fascist propaganda is smuggled into this country; how it is smuggled and secretly distributed, and by whom.

4. That Nazi uniforms are smuggled into this country; how this is done and by whom. That Nazis in full uniform drill in preparation for "the day" when there will be pogroms against the Jews.

5. That Ralph M. Easley, head of the National Civic Federation, of which Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, is vice-president, distributed anti-semitic propaganda imported into this country by George Sylvester Viereck, paid Nazi agent.

6. That despite the American Federation of Labor's stand in favor of the German boycott, Easley secretly tried to get it stopped.

7. That Easley, head of the National Civic Federation, of which Matthew Woll is vice-president, secretly reported on these efforts to Viereck.

8. That a Pennsylvania Congressman, who attacked the Jews in Congress, took a bribe of \$25,000 and is consequently just a plain crook.

9. That the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American lines, in violation of their agreements with other shipping companies, often gave free passages, many to anti-semitic propagandists.

10. That German exchange students in this country are organizing Nazi cells in the universities and carrying on anti-semitic propaganda.

11. That the effect of this propaganda has already reached into big business and that at least one insurance company has started to refuse insurance to Jews.

The threads of the web of anti-semitism reach out in many directions. One starting point is Col. Edwin Emerson, soldier of fortune,

Der Stürmer

Deutsches Wochenblatt zum Kampfe um die Wahrheit
HERAUSGEBER: JULIUS STREICHER

Schriftleitung und Verlag: Nürnberg-A, Pfannen Schmiedegasse 19 • Schriftleitung: Telefon 21472 • Verlag: Telefon 21830
Sprechstunden: Jeden Dienstag und Donnerstag vormittags 11—12 Uhr • Postfachkonto Nürnberg Nummer 105

Schriftleitung

W./Schm.

Nürnberg-A, 14. Juni
Pfannen Schmiedegasse 19

103

Dear Sir,

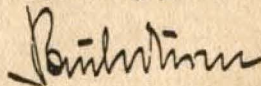
Your letter of the 24th ult. to hand and contents of same duly noted.- It is always healthy to hear criticism, but yours is of such a nature as to convince us that you are quite ignorant of the true state of affairs in our country.

Our object is to open the eyes of our countrymen to the real character of the Jews and their terrible, bloodthirsty ritualism and if our revelations are not quite palatable to your countrymen, then it is a sure sign that you and your countrymen do not yet realise what a danger the Jewish race is to human civilization.-

We do not seek you forgiveness but your understanding and whether it suits you or not, we will not abate one jot in our ruthless fight against Jewish criminals and lust for power.- It is my firm determination and highest ambition to cleanse not only my own country but every civilized nation of the Jewish pest. We have no fear that retribution will ultimately take its price in the right quarter.-

I extend you a hearty invitation to come over to Germany, where a warm welcome always awaits you and I have the sincere desire of explaining you the real motives of my action.- Awaiting the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance and assuring you of a safe conducts wherever you may go in Germany, I am, dear Sir,

Respectfully yours



Ohne Lösung der Judenfrage keine Erlösung des Deutschen Volkes!

The letter which accompanied each copy of the magazine Der Stürmer, thousands of which were smuggled in on German ships and secretly disseminated throughout the country by Hitler agents and Americans working secretly under their direction.

mediocre author and fairly competent war correspondent. Until a few months ago, Emerson lived at 215 East 15th Street, New York City and had an office in Room 1923 at 17 Battery Place, the address of the German Consulate General. Room 1923 was rented by a representative of the German Consul General. The rent paid was nominal and at least in one instance was paid in cash by Hitler's official. For six weeks prior to the renting of this room Emerson had desk space with the German Consulate General.

The May 15, 1933, issue of the *Amerika's Deutsche Post*, a Nazi paper published in this country, which contains vitriolic attacks on Jews, carried an advertisement stating that the editor of this paper made his headquarters in Emerson's room. This was the first indication, after Hitler came to power, that Emerson had arrived in this country to handle anti-semitic and Fascist propaganda for the Nazis.

For many years Emerson had wandered about the globe covering assignments for newspapers and magazines and always bragging about his Americanism and "patriotism." One of his great boasts was that he was with Roosevelt's Rough Riders during the Spanish-American War; what he never told was that Roosevelt brought him back from Cuba in irons! Lincoln Steffens tells about it in his autobiography.

From his room, for which the German Consul General paid, Emerson launched his "Friends of Germany" most members of which are now in the "Friends of the New Germany." This organization is among the chief distributors of anti-semitic propaganda in the United States. Col. Emerson, when he first started, needed the names of prominent persons to back his propaganda venture so he placed the names of William J. Donovan, former Republican candidate for Governor, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, an editor of the *New Republic*, and the former Mayor of New York, George B. McClellan, on his letterhead. Only he forgot to get their approval. These men publicly repudiated any connection with the soldier of fortune when it became known that the "Friends of the New Germany" was an anti-semitic propaganda center.

Col. Emerson carried on his propaganda somewhat stupidly. The "Friends of Germany" held meetings with "storm troops" in full uniform; bitter attacks were made against the Jews at large mass meetings. Visiting officers and sailors from German ships docked in New York appeared at these meetings to preach the song of hate until Jewish and non-Jewish press protested with equal vigor. The keynote of these talks was sounded by Edward L. Sullivan, of Boston. At a meeting held at Turnhalle, Lexington Avenue and 85th Street, on June 5, 1934, Sullivan repeatedly referred to Jews as "dirty, stinking, kikes."

Propaganda Minister Goebbels in Berlin became annoyed and the entire German foreign propaganda service was reorganized. Emerson was ordered back to Germany but before he returned for explicit instructions on how to carry on anti-semitic propaganda he had vented his hatred of the Jew at meetings throughout the country and placed the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda on an organized basis.

In October, 1933, Royal Scott Gulden (who has no connection with the mustard business, but is a distant relative of the head of it) who had been in close touch with Emerson, tried to organize an espionage system to watch Communists. Emerson had taught him that all Jews were Communists and all Communists Jews. Gulden heard that the then Candidate for Mayor LaGuardia's mother was a Jewess and consequently concluded that he must be a Communist. He decided to put spies on LaGuardia's trail in the hope of turning up enough "evidence" to have him impeached should he be elected. In this effort Gulden enlisted the aid of Fred R. Marvin, a notorious professional patriot. On October 17, 1933, Marvin sent in his report on LaGuardia; but it soon became evident New York was not yet ready to impeach a man because his mother happened to be Jewish.

By this time Gulden had made connections with other patriots who were determined to stamp out the Communist and Jewish peril. At three o'clock on the afternoon of March 10, 1934, a very secret meeting was called by Gulden at 139 East 57th Street. Present were Gulden, J. Schmidt, Richard Rollins and William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts.

At this meeting a plan was worked out to attack Communist groups wherever they met on street corners for "in this way state and city governments will be aroused to suppress the Jew in the Communist movement." The patriots decided that at all times the cry was to be "Kill the nearest Jew." Several riots which occurred at New York street corner meetings recently were started by Gulden's provocateurs.

The meeting also decided to disseminate anti-semitic propaganda, especially among the military, naval, and police forces. Gulden, with the aid of a few of his followers prepared a card reading:

CHRISTIAN AMERICANS WATCH!

- I AGREE TO OPPOSE Non-Christian candidates for public office.
- I AGREE TO PATRONIZE Christian-American Firms and Shops.
- I AGREE TO COMBAT AND PROTEST against All Un-American forms of Government in the United States.

Notices of Meetings will be sent.

Name

Address

Sent by

Block Sentinel

The cards were distributed wholesale around Wall Street as well as the German area in Yorkville by the Order of '76. Bundles were mailed to Chicago, Toledo, St. Louis and Los Angeles.

Large batches of the thoroughly discredited "Protocols of Zion" were ordered by this patriotic group and distributed on board naval vessels and military camps to rouse soldiers and sailors to the "menace of the Jew." Gulden and his cohorts were overlooking no bets.

Gulden's connections with influential persons were extensive. His associates knew one James True who ran an "Industrial Control Report" under the name of The James True Associates, from the National Press Building in Washington. The anti-semitic propaganda sank into True and to the many business men (including Jews) who were subscribers to his reports, he mailed doses of propaganda in the guise of unbiased reports. For instance, on June 30, 1934, his report states:

More than 500 men and women have been placed in important positions who are opposed to the Christian religion. Many men and women who are known Communistic radicals, acknowledged atheists, have been placed in positions of power and have written laws which a bought Congress has passed without question. . . .

A large number of intelligent Jews see the writing on the wall, protest against the opportunity offered Nazi organizations, and say the large number of Jews in the government set-up should be reduced. . . . Gentile radicals and Communists whisper that if the New Deal plan should fail, if Americanism is strong enough to block their plans, for sovietization, they will make the Jews the goat. The way looks dark for several million American Jews who have contributed much to the social and industrial development of the country.

Gulden's work spread. Pelley's interest had been aroused and at three o'clock on the afternoon of March 31, 1934, another group of men met at the 57th Street address. Guards were placed at the doors. This group consisted of Commander Charles E. Gilpin, Col. C. W. Throckmorton, Gulden, Col. E. N. Sanctuary, Capt. Moriarity, J. H. Roys and Walter Johnson.

The country was in the fifth year of a crisis. The Communist Party was growing. To these men it seemed that the revolution would be imported in a rowboat any hour and the Jews, as Jews, were held responsible for Moscow, the Third International, and the Mississippi flood. It sounds insane of course but—so were Hitler's ravings before he got into power. This very secret group decided to organize an espionage and propaganda system among the Jews and the Communists. Members were to be taken from the upper strata of the military, business and social life of the nation, with each member, before he was accepted, carefully investigated. By six o'clock, when the meeting adjourned, the organization was founded. It was

called the "Order of '76" and Royal Scott Gulden was appointed secretary to direct espionage and propaganda.

Almost immediately United States Naval and Military intelligence officers, members of the Union League Club, New York City detectives, bankers and business men joined. Gulden himself knew little about spying and was at a loss how to direct them. But he remembered a man Col. Emerson had suggested, and in the latter part of spring, 1934, Gulden was closeted with this man in a secret conference for two hours. At the end of that time the mysterious person emerged ready to direct the organization's spy system. Every effort was made to keep the man's identity secret. To this day the identity of this man has been withheld from most of the members. They may know now. He is Col. Fritz Duquesne, war time German spy who claimed to have sunk the battleship Hampshire with Lord Kitchener on board. Duquesne, alias Frank de Trofford Craven, is in New York under another alias.

The discussions of this espionage order invariably turned around the Jew. I shall quote a sample from the minutes of one of their secret meetings, held at the Colonial Room, at the Hotel Weylin in New York:

The Chairman: I would like to ask this group. A columnist on one of our papers has now come out as a Communist. He was formerly a left wing Socialist. I refer to Heywood Broun. You may have noticed the doctrine he is preaching, how he begins to talk about apples and pears and before he is through, he is talking about good old Communism. In his last article he virtually predicted revolution. It remains to be seen what America would do in the future, whether America would take the whole ground or the middle ground or something like that. I call your attention to this column and ask you to watch it. The owners of that paper are more than friendly to Soviet Russia.

Question: What paper is it?

The Chairman: The World-Telegram which is one of the Scripps-Howard chain of papers. I am going to ask Col. Sanctuary for another word before we are dismissed.

Col. Sanctuary: I will be very brief. Of course what is going on in this room is confidential, but knowing the importance of getting to Congressman McFadden certain information, I had the printer run off two galleys of the Chapter of my book entitled "The Termite Litvinoff." I am sending him this to use with certain key men in Washington. If we can't play this game together, I am going to drop out of it. I just want to read you now the Contents of my book: *Conspiring Termites*. I suppose you want to know what termites are. Well, they are white ants that dig into wood and undermine the structure. "Termites of the

Date _____ Zone _____ State _____ Co. _____ Post _____ No. _____

Print full name SIDNEY BROOKS Age 40 Yrs.

Residence No. _____ City or Village Highlands

County Monmouth State N.J. Tel. No. _____

Former Res. 117 Bank St. New York

Business add. _____ Occ. _____ Tel. No. _____

Former Bus. Add. International Tel. & Tel. Corp. 67 Grand St. N.Y.C. Occupation Information Manager

Date of Birth Dec. 20 1892 Where Born New York State N.Y. County or City N.Y.

If Married, Wife's Maiden Name Johanna S. Stapelkant Where Born Hague, Netherlands

Father's Name Edwin Emerson Where Born Germany of Amer. Parents

Mother's Maiden Name Anna Ellen Mich. Where Born Ann Arbor, Mich.

School Private High School Educated Degrees _____

Military Record 1st Lieut. Engineers 29 months during war.

G.I., G.H.Q., A.F.F.

Have you been convicted of any criminal offense no What _____ When _____

Member of Club, Organization, etc. _____

Remarks understands Russian - was with Am. Relief Admin. Russia

I hereby certify that the above answers are true to the best of my knowledge _____

The membership application form to the secret espionage Order of '76 made out by Sidney Brooks of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee, proving that he is really the son of Col. Edwin Emerson, notorious Hitler agent in this country who first organized anti-semitism here on a national scale.

Y. M. C. A.'s and Churches," "Peace Treaty Termites," "International Termites," "Social and Community Termites," "The Termite at Work," "Termite Litvinoff, Bullitt, etc.," "Germany and the Jew," "Sidelights on the Protocols," etc., etc.

Question: May I ask about the protocols? Are they still in force?

Col. Sanctuary: The protocols are absolutely true. It is authentic. It is going on today.

Mr. Athey: Do you know why the mystery of Lindbergh's son was not solved? Did you know that Senator Morrow attended a Jewish dinner and died of poisoning? Lindbergh's son was killed by a ritual murder.

It sounds insane and incredible yet this order has in its membership influential men and women in close contact with the military, business and political world. This is the sort of stuff that is disseminated and at one of the Order's secret meetings Gulden announced that he had completed preparations to distribute the "Protocols of Zion" on American battleships and among American soldiers.

There was in Washington, D. C., a member of this secret order who met with Gulden frequently, and that leads us to another of the Nazi-spun threads of anti-semitic hate.

On February 22, 1934, a merger of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees to conduct the party's Congressional campaign independent of the Republican National Committee was announced in a joint statement by Senator Daniel O. Hastings, of Delaware and Representative Chester C. Bolton, of Ohio, chairmen, respectively of the two committees on Capitol Hill.

Several weeks before this announcement the two committees had already employed Sidney Brooks, for years head of the research bureau of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, for them. Brooks, due to his position, is close in the confidences of Republican Senators and Congressmen. State secrets are confided to him. He has his fingers on the pulse of political matters.

Shortly after he took charge of this bureau for the Senators and Congressmen, Brooks made a hurried visit to New York. On March 4, 1934, he drove to the Hotel Edison and went directly to Room 830 where a man registered as "William D. Goodales of Los Angeles," was awaiting him. Mr. "Goodales" was William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, who had come to New York secretly to confer with Brooks and Gulden! After this conference the two went to Gulden's office where they had a confidential talk that lasted over an hour, during which an agreement was made to merge the Order of '76 with the Silver Shirts so as to carry on their anti-semitic propaganda more effectively.

When the Congressional Committee investigating Nazi activities

in this country got wind of the Order of '76 and questioned Gulden about the rumored merger with the Silver Shirts, Gulden denied that there was a merger. Perhaps the Congressional Committee will be interested in the letter Paul A. Toal, foreign adjutant of the Silver Shirts, wrote to Gulden on March 6, 1934, two days after the secret meeting Gulden, Pelley and Brooks had in Gulden's office. The letter follows:

Dear Friend Gulden:

Today the Chief [William D. Pelley] gave me the good news that your organization has definitely consolidated its membership with the Silver Legion.

Needless to say, it makes me very happy to know that you are now one of us, not only in spirit, as you always were, but also in "action and emblem." Let's do fine work together.

This Letter Service, which was suspended for a few weeks, will now go on with new pep and vigor.

Please get in touch with my friend, General E. S. Imnadze, 51 East 129th Street, New York City. He is one of our members. A former Imperial Russian General, he is doing "little jobs" and is financially rather incapacitated. But he is the Head of the Second North American Section of the All Russian Combatants, consisting of former Imperial Russian Officers, and is able to be of real help to us in our work. He is supplying me with valuable information from Paris about Soviet developments.

As you know, friend Melnikoff is now Editor of the "Russkaja Gazetta" and very anxious to print an English Edition in his Russian plant. Maybe it would be advisable to consider his propositions with your men in New York.

Brooks himself, on his mysterious visits to New York, always went to 17 Battery Place, which, the reader will remember, houses the German Consul General's office. At that address he visited one John E. Kelly. In a letter to Kelly dated as far back as December 27, 1933, he wrote: "I will be in New York Friday to Monday and can be reached in the usual manner—Gramercy 5-9193 (care Emerson)."

We now find that this man close to high officials of the United States Government is meeting people to merge anti-semitic organizations, calling on persons in the German Consulate Building and having a telephone number care of one Emerson. Let us see if this Emerson is the same one who organized the anti-semitic propaganda in this country.

Sidney Brooks also is a member of the secret Order of '76. Before anyone can join he must, in his own handwriting, and sealed with his own fingerprints, give certain details of his life. Brooks' application to this espionage society appears with this article and shows that he uses his mother's maiden name. *His father is Col. Edwin Emerson, Hitler agent!*

I should like to offer another of the many documents which will be published in this pamphlet concerning the activities of one hundred percent American "patriotic" organizations in the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda:

On March 3, 1934, while the negotiations for the merging of the espionage order and the Silver Shirts were going on, Edward H. Hunter, executive secretary of the Industrial Defense Association, Inc., 7 Water Street, Boston, wrote to the "Friends of Germany." In this letter the patriotic Mr. Hunter writes:

Under separate cover we are sending you twenty-five copies of our *Swan Song of Hate* as requested and you may have as many as you wish.

Several times I have conferred with Dr. Tippelskirch and at one time suggested that if he could secure the financial backing from Germany, I could start a real campaign along lines that would be very effective.

All that is necessary to return America to Americans is to organize the many thousands of persons who are victims of Judaism and I am ready to do that at any time.

Dr. Tippelskirch, with whom Hunter discussed getting money from Germany for anti-semitic work, is the German consul in Boston!

This pleading for financial backing from Germany by one hundred percent American patriots is quite common as I shall show. In the meantime, let us see just what sort of propaganda against the Jew is disseminated by these Nazi agents.

The German government itself through its propaganda bureau is mailing propaganda material direct to the Congress of the United States, some of it coming from Budapest purporting to be material issued by Americans abroad. Other propaganda material is openly imported in the form of books, leaflets and pamphlets for distribution. These publications ostensibly deal with subjects other than the Jew, such as the Communist, but within the text are some of the most vicious attacks against the Jew ever published. Still other material is smuggled into this country on German ships.

Such material as *Judas Macht Deutschland Tod* was smuggled off the North German Lloyd ship *Europa* and consigned to Guenther Orgell, head of the "Friends of Germany" through whom it was distributed to various branches of the organization throughout the country.

“THE JEWS MUST BE DESTROYED”

THERE is an air of mystery on the seventh floor of 139 East 57th Street, New York City. Well dressed men and women enter and leave Room 703. Sometimes they carry brief cases and look intent and serious. To the observer who wanders onto this floor, Room 703, the entrance to a suite, is just another office in an office building, possibly a private office because there is no firm's or individual's name on the glass door. Those running this office do not want any names on their doors, they do not want too many people to know that this is the headquarters of the secret society for spying on "Jews and Communists," the Order of '76.

There are a wooden bench and several desks in Room 703. To the right as you enter are two more rooms, each with desks at which serious looking men sit studying papers; and to the left, Room 704, is another office, the one where the files are kept and where Royal Scott Gulden, of the mustard king family, acts as secretary of the espionage society and as director of spreading the "hate the Jew" creed. It is an exclusive organization, this one on the seventh floor of the building. It takes into its membership only men and women in the "higher strata" of the military, business and political "worlds of the country." They want to "save America from falling into the hands of the Jews and the Communists."

Gulden himself is a neatly dressed, middle-aged man with graying temples, thinning hair and washed-out gray eyes. He was at his desk, heaped high with letters and clippings when I walked in. The two men with whom he was talking turned around quickly while all of them looked at me with a startled air. Strangers do not wander into these offices by accident. Gulden raised his eyes interrogatively, a pleasant smile spreading over his pale face.

"My name is Spivak—John L. Spivak of THE NEW MASSES—"

The two men with Gulden closed in on me almost automatically.

"THE NEW MASSES!" Gulden exclaimed. "THE NEW MASSES! He's from THE NEW MASSES!"

He was addressing no one in particular. It was just the exclamations of a startled man who automatically keeps on talking until he can gather his wits.

"We're running a series of articles on the growth of anti-

semitism in this country. I find that your organization has established an espionage system among Jews and Communists and carries on anti-semitic propaganda—"

"Well?" said Gulden coldly.

"I should like to interview you."

One of the men beside me started to laugh.

"You seem to know all about it," returned Gulden suavely. "You don't have to interview me." He turned to his desk.

"But I'd like to very much," I assured him sweetly.

He raised his head and looked at me steadily for a moment.

"All right," he said curtly. "What do you want?"

"These gentlemen?" I nodded to the two men still standing beside me.

"You want to know everything, don't you?"

"I know one of them. This man is Eugene Daniels who is supposed to have thrown the stink bomb in the stock exchange, isn't he?"

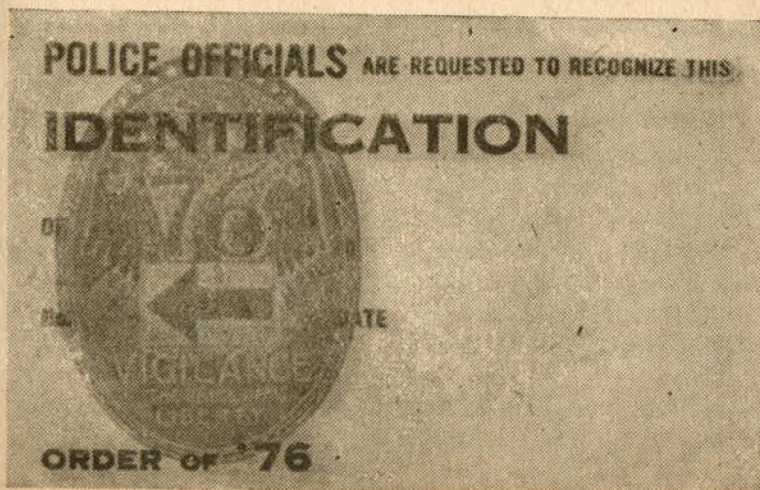
Daniels smiled embarrassedly. The head of the secret espionage order bowed gracefully.

"Pardon me. Mr. Daniels—Mr. Spivak. This gentleman is Mr. Hemple—Jonas Hemple. Now let's get down to business. I'm very busy. What do you want?"

"I just want to know why you believe in anti-semitism."

"I don't believe in anti-semitism," Gulden smiled. "I don't believe in measles either, but we have them. I don't believe in poison, but you get it. It's the same with the Jews. We've got them. Our main work is patriotic, chiefly against Communism. And when we find that Communism and Judaism are one, then we fight Judaism."

The other men nodded. Mr. Daniels launched on a long disser-



Identification card issued to members of the Order of '76

tation to assure me that he did not mind the Jews. I finally had to explain that it was Mr. Gulden's views I was interested in. Mr. Daniels left.

"How did you discover that Communism and Judaism are one?" I asked.

"Oh, we got a barrel of clippings. . . ."

He rose to get a folder out of a file. I noticed a slight bulge on his right hip. I got up and patted it gently.

"What's this—a gat?"

Gulden turned upon me with a startled air. The mysterious and heavy set Mr. Hemple stepped quickly to my side. Gulden returned to his desk without the folder.

"Yes, a gun," he smiled, his washed-out gray eyes boring into me.

"What calibre?"

"Thirty-two, Smith and Wesson—"

He drew the revolver from its holster and placed it on his desk.

"You needn't be afraid," he smiled assuringly. "We don't hurt people—unless they hurt us," he added significantly.

"Maybe I'd better hold it then," I laughed.

Gulden smiled grimly. "I think maybe we'd better put it in my desk." He opened a drawer and deposited the pistol.

"Got a permit?"

He turned upon me irritably.

"Who the hell—"

"Got a permit?" I repeated.

"What the hell—"

"Let's see your permit!"

Gulden looked startled. Without further word he fished a bill-fold from his coat pocket and handed me his pistol permit: C 23609.

I don't know why this head of the espionage society should have obeyed my sharp tone unless men with guilty consciences always try to avoid trouble. The man seemed bewildered after he handed me his permit and for a space eyed me narrowly as though trying to decide whether he should answer questions or throw me bodily out of his office. Hemple broke the silence.

"Before we go on with this interview," he said quietly, "I'd like to ask you some questions about THE NEW MASSES. Where does it get the money to carry on and pay you?"

I leaned over secretively. "Are we talking confidentially now?"

Both of them nodded quickly.

"Moscow gold," I whispered. "There's a special consignment of one million dollars a month for THE NEW MASSES to pay its large staff. I get one hundred thousand dollars a week for my work—"

"Come on! Cut the comedy!" Gulden interrupted. "I don't

know why I should answer questions, but I said I would, so let's get it over with. I want you to get this straight. We're not opposed to the Jews as Jews, but every Jew is a potential Communist, and both are breaking down the laws of the land."

"How do you know Jews are breaking the law any more than the Gentiles?"

"The Protocols of Zion prove it."

"I thought they were discredited."

"I don't care whether they're discredited or not. I don't care whether they're authentic or not. All I know is that they outline a program for the Jews to capture the world and that program is working out accurately and rapidly. If the protocols are forgeries, how did they guess what was going to happen today? I believe the protocols are genuine and events are proving their authority!"

"You think there's a conspiracy by the Jews to capture the world?"

"I absolutely do!"

"And that these Jews are financing the Communists?"

"Certainly. They are financing the Third International and the Soviets. And as evidence I give the statement of Mr. Schiff—"

"What Mr. Schiff?"

"The financier," said Gulden vaguely. "This Mr. Schiff loaned two or four million dollars to the Bolsheviks. I don't know the exact amount, but it was up in the millions. He bragged about it, I understand."

"Didn't Germany, whose government hates the Jews and the Communists as enthusiastically as you, also loan millions to the Bolsheviks—in the form of trade credits?"

"Yes, but they did it as a war measure—"

"They have extended credits since Hitler got into power."

Gulden turned irritably from me.

"I don't care what the Germans do! That's their business! I'm interested in America."

"We'll get to that—" I started to assure him, when Mr. Hemple interrupted:

"The Jews must be destroyed. Even the Old Testament says the Jews must be destroyed. Jeremiah: 34: 'Behold, I will command, saith the Lord, and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation without an inhabitant.'"

"That seems to settle it," I agreed. "But what do you do for a living?"

"I smoke cigarettes and hang around here," he returned, with obvious distaste.

I turned again to Gulden.

"It's dawning on me that you don't like the Jews. However,

there are millions of them. What does your organization think should be done with them?"

"They ought to be made to stop spreading their semitism in our faces. It's just a question of how long our patience will hold out." He hesitated, shrugged his shoulders and added, "I suppose history will repeat itself."

"What do you mean by that?"

"I mean the good old fashioned pogroms!"

"Your organization is in favor of pogroms against the Jews?"

"If I say that, I'll be liable to arrest, I assume," he said slowly.

"But I will say this: we're trying to prevent pogroms by preventing the Jews from driving people to start pogroms against them. We must defend ourselves. If the Jews keep sweeping on, then we will defend ourselves. You can depend upon one thing: if pogroms are forced on us, we will not run away!"

"Forced on you!" I looked at him with amazement. "Are the Jews making pogroms against you?"

"Yes," he said heatedly. "The Jews are making economic pogroms against us. They are taking our business, our professions away—and if that continues pogroms will start. And when they do you can bet the Order of '76 will be there!"

He paused and added, "And I don't care if you do say that in your Communist NEW MASSES."

"I'll quote you exactly. But tell me, don't you realize that when this story comes out Jews will eat their hot dogs without Gulden's mustard?"

Gulden looked grave for a moment.

"In times like these," he said very seriously, "we must all make sacrifices."

Whereupon the interview continued:

"Are you connected in any way with the Nazi-distributed anti-semitic propaganda in this country? The Nazis, as you know, would like to take it out on the American Jews for their boycotts and protests against the way the Jews are treated in Germany."

"We have no connection with the Nazis or the Germans in any way!" he exclaimed. "We are purely an American organization—"

At that moment, with the perfect timing of a dramatic stage entrance, a well dressed man of about thirty, with a Teutonic face, opened the entrance door, stepped to the doorway of the private office where we sat, threw his shoulders back, brought his feet together with a click and raised his hand in the Nazi salute!

Gulden and Hemple looked at me. Both of them smiled embarrassedly. I couldn't help letting out a loud laugh. My two hosts did not stir, so I raised my hand in an answering salute!

"Heil Hitler!" I said dryly.

"He's from THE NEW MASSES," Gulden explained quickly.

A flush spread over the newcomer's face. Without a word he turned and walked out. I looked at Gulden and started to laugh again.

"Tell me," I said, "isn't Col. Edwin Emerson, the Nazi agent in this country who first organized anti-semitism here on a national scale, a member of your secret order?"

Gulden hesitated a moment and then nodded.

"And you have a member by the name of Sidney Brooks, who is with the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee—"

"I've scarcely met him since he joined," he interrupted quickly.

"And you know that as a member of this organization he made mysterious trips to 17 Battery Place, where the German Consul General has his offices?"

"I don't know anything about that!"

Mr. Gulden was on the defensive, his face a little paler than its normal hue. Mr. Hemple had lost his superior smile and leaned forward, studying me with a puzzled air.

"And you knew that this Brooks is really the son of Col. Emerson, and this Brooks brought Pelley of the Silver Shirts to you to merge—"

"We never merged with the Silver Shirts!" Gulden exclaimed. "I can prove it to you! I'm even willing to let you see our correspondence with them. There is no such letter or document—"

"The letter regarding that isn't in your file," I assured him. "I have it."

Gulden's washed-out eyes seemed to water. Hemple sighed audibly.

"You don't know anything about organizing an espionage system, do you?"

"I was with the Department of Justice—"

"That's fine—but you don't really know anything about organizing an espionage system, do you? What I'm driving at is that you got someone to direct this spy system for you, didn't you?"

"I did not!"

"Didn't Emerson send a man named Fritz Duquesne to you?"

Gulden did not answer.

"Did you ever meet Duquesne, the German war time spy?"

"Yes, he came up here one day."

"What for?"

"Oh, I don't know. He just wanted to look me over, I guess."

"Why should he want to look you over?"

"I don't know!" he exclaimed irritably. "Who the hell are you to ask me all these questions!"

"Just an American citizen interested in finding out how much money you are getting from a foreign government to carry on anti-semitic propaganda in this country!"

"I never got a nickel from the Germans! I wish I had!" he exclaimed. Gulden rose and began to pace nervously about the room. It was quite evident that the secrecy in which the society had veiled its movements was not so secret.

"How long did you spend with Duquesne?"

"Oh, maybe ten or fifteen minutes."

"Actually you were with him for two hours, weren't you?"

Gulden looked worried. He did not answer.

"Isn't it rather strange that this hundred percent 'patriotic' organization is so close with German spies and secret service men in this country in the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda?"

"We will cooperate with anyone who will help to drive out the Jewish pest!" he said vigorously.

"Then you are cooperating with the Nazis?"

"I didn't say that!"

"You have been distributing anti-semitic propaganda smuggled off German ships, haven't you?"

"No!"

"When did you see Duquesne last?"

"I haven't seen him since he was here. I haven't any knowledge of him at all!"

Gulden swallowed and scratched the gray hairs on his temple.

"You've been in touch with him at 51 West 46th Street recently—"

"Forty-one—" Gulden said automatically, and caught himself.

"That's right," I laughed.

Gulden's pale face had turned a purplish hue. He was livid with fury.

"If you want to talk to me any more, you'll have to show me authority or take me into court!" he shouted. "I've said all I intend to say. I've said enough!"

"Yes, you've said enough," I agreed and rose.

It is this man Gulden's organization of super-patriots, whose membership includes federal, state and city government officials, which cooperates with paid Hitler agents in the distribution of anti-semitic propaganda.

On February 6, 1934, there was a great deal of publicity about 300 pounds of anti-semitic propaganda which had been discovered on the German freighter Este. The propaganda was in burlap bags, addressed and ready to be mailed as soon as it was smuggled off the ship. It was confiscated, but neither customs officials nor the

federal secret service knew or know who is behind and directing this smuggling nor how widely spread it is.

And at this point in our revelations we come to the head of the German foreign secret service in this country, a man sent to the United States by the USCHLA, the German secret political police. He was one of the best operatives in the German secret service. Not even Col. Edwin Emerson, who was sent here to organize anti-semitism in this country on a national scale, knows this man's full importance. All he knows is that when he commands they are supposed to obey—quickly.

This man is Guenther Orgell of 606 West 115th Street, New York City, ostensibly employed by the Raymond Roth Co., 25 West 45th Street, as an electrical engineer; and his official connection with the German groups in this country is only as secretary of the United German Societies. This head of the Hitler secret service in this country keeps his records and instructions from abroad in a well hidden house at Great Kills, Staten Island. The telephone number, in case federal operatives want to communicate with him, is Honeywood 6-2317.

That Nazi anti-semitic propaganda is being smuggled into the United States has been known for some time. The propaganda enters chiefly through the ports of New York and Baltimore on the East Coast and through San Pedro, Cal., and Portland, Ore., on the West Coast. At the same time these German ships on which propaganda is sent to this country are being used to carry secret reports to and from the propaganda minister and the USCHLA.

Let me take the reader on a trip in which secret reports on the progress of anti-semitic plotting are sent and received.

It is twenty minutes to ten on the evening of March 16, 1934. Germany's Queen of the Seas, the North German Lloyd ship Europa is preparing to sail at midnight. The gaily illuminated boat is filled with men and women, many in evening dress, seeing friends off to Europe. German stewards, all of them members of the ship's Nazi Gruppe, stand about bowing, smiling, but watching every passenger and visitor carefully.

People wander all over the boat. Many visit the library on the main promenade deck, which has a German post office. There is a great deal of laughter and chatter and into this scene, dressed in an ordinary business suit, strolls Guenther Orgell, carrying a folded newspaper in his hands. He catches the post office steward's eye. Not the slightest sign of recognition passes between them or shows on either face. Orgell casually takes four letters from his coat pocket and hands them to the steward, who as casually slips them into his pocket. There are no stamps on the letters.

Still so casual in manner that the average observer would not

even have noticed the passage of the letters, Orgell wanders over to a desk in the library and rapidly writes another letter—so important, apparently, that he dared not carry it with him for fear of a mishap. The letter is sealed and handed to the steward.

The library has a great many visitors. No one seems to be paying any attention to this visitor or passenger talking to the steward. With a quick glance around him, Orgell takes in everyone in the library and seems satisfied. Again he catches the steward's eye. This time he nods. The steward opens a closet in the library, the second one left of the main aisle on the port side of the ship towards the stern of the boat (I give these details, but I imagine that before the federal authorities can examine the Europa on her next visit here, whatever may be in that closet will have been removed). A thin package is taken from its hiding place and quickly slipped to Orgell, who covers it with his newspaper and leaves the ship promptly.

German secret instructions have been sent and received—in violation of the federal laws!

Most German ships entering the Port of New York arrange social evenings on board when anywhere from several hundred to several thousand persons are entertained. At the conclusion of these parties so many people leave that it is impossible to keep track of them and in that crowd much of the propaganda is smuggled off by specially chosen Nazi agents. At other times, the propaganda comes consigned to "respectable" addresses. Each ship has a specific address or collection of addresses to which material is sent. The S.S. St. Louis, which docks at Pier 86, for instance, has its anti-semitic propaganda wrapped up in neat packages and consigned to the German Book Import Co., 27 Park Place, New York City, or to A. Bruderhausen Bookshop, 15 West 45th Street, New York City.

The German Ministry of Propaganda, however, does not always dare to take a chance on being caught by addressing anti-semitic propaganda to respectable book shops. It prefers to have it smuggled in in the dead of night when customs officials are asleep on the job. And this procedure is under the personal direction of the German Foreign Office. Orgell uses men as aids who were German war veterans, have proved their allegiance to Hitler and are active in anti-semitism and pro-Fascism in this country. Orgell himself is in constant communication, via North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American steamships, with Goebbels in Berlin.

Whenever Orgell needs trusted men to take messages to and from the boats as well as to smuggle off material he usually calls upon the American branch of the Stahlhelm, or Steel Helmets, which drills secretly in anticipation of Der Tag in this country. Only when he feels that he may be watched, or only in the event of the most

important messages does he go aboard the ships personally. Orgell's liaison man in the smuggling activities is Frank Mutschinski, a painting contractor of 116 Garland Court, Garritsen Beach, N. Y.

Frank Mutschinski first entered the country on June 16, 1920, from Germany on the S.S. George Washington. He was commander of one of the American branches of the Stahlhelm, which had offices at 174 East 85th Street, New York. While he was in command, he received his orders direct from Franz Seldta, at present minister of labor under Hitler. Seldta at that time was in Madgeburg, Germany. Branches of the German Stahlhelm, all of which are carrying on intensive anti-semitic propaganda, were established by him and Orgell in Rochester, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, N. J., Detroit, Los Angeles and even one in Toronto. The various branches are in constant communication with one another, disseminate the hate-the-Jew propaganda in unison, though each one operates autonomously on direct orders from Germany.

In Orgell's smuggling activities he needs aid and his chief assistant, Carl Brunkhorst, was supplied by Mutschinski. It was Brunkhorst's job to deliver the secret letters. The smuggling in of Nazi uniforms in this country, as well as the job of handling the secret letters, is in the hands of Paul Bante of 186 East 93d Street, New York City. Bante is a member of the 244th Coast Guard as well as the New York National Guard!

The following letter from Herman A. Heydt, an attorney, was published in **THE NEW MASSES**, with the comment appended:

TO THE NEW MASSES:

Having faith in your spirit of fairness, we are justified in calling attention to a misstatement of fact in your edition of October 9, 1934, on page 12 in the article by John L. Spivak *Plotting the American Pogroms*.

If there were a scintilla of truth in respect to Mr. Bruderhausen, the allegations would be passed by—but it isn't true and we feel you do not wish to sponsor misstatements and we are authorized by Mr. Bruderhausen to say that he never received any such propaganda of which you speak. In other words, the statement is harmful to him and makes a characterization which is absolutely untrue to fact. Indeed, Mr. Bruderhausen is not a type to lend himself to any propaganda against the Jewish race for he is proud to claim amongst his friends and customers many of that faith.

Mr. Bruderhausen is too noble-minded to seek retribution simply for a misstatement of fact and deems he has done his duty by calling your attention to it, trusting that you at the proper time and in your manner may correct the error because it has been seen by many of his friends and thus may prove harmful to him if not corrected.

HERMAN A. HEYDT.

[On May 8, 1934, the S.S. St. Louis docked at Pier 86. It had on board anti-semitic pamphlets wrapped and addressed to A. Bruderhausen Bookshop, 15 West 45th Street, New York City. Mr. Bruderhausen is correct in saying he never received the literature. The package was opened by an inspector and confiscated.—J. L. S.]

American Vigilant Intelligence Federation

INCORPORATED—NOT FOR PROFIT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

P. O. BOX 144

CHICAGO, ILL.

December
One
1933

TELEPHONE
SUPERIOR
4618

Ma

C-10247

HFS

Mr. Harry F. Sieber, Treasurer,
Silver Legion of America,
Asheville, N. C.

DEC 1 1933

Dear Mr. Sieber:

(W)

In response to yours
addressed to E. L. Peterson on Novem-
ber 26, we can give you a price of
sixty cents per copy in quantity lots
of the "Protocols".

As for "Halt, Gentile!
and Salute the Jew", same can be had
at ten cents per copy, in quantity
lots or fifteen cents apiece.

Very truly yours,

Harry A. Jung
Harry A. Jung
Honorary General Manager

HAI/EP

435 No. Michigan Ave., R.2212

Evidence that this espionage organization to which wealthy Jews contributed, is engaged in distributing the "Protocols of Zion" and other anti-semitic propaganda.

RICH JEWS WHO FINANCE ANTI-SEMITISM

COMMUNISM is the bug-a-boo of the rich, the employing class, whether they be Jew or gentile, and it was inevitable that some shrewd observers of the American scene would take advantage of this fear in the hearts of employers and capitalize on it. Hence, we find secret organizations ostensibly promising to inform the employing class about the threat of revolution, what time it will occur and who will lead it. For this "secret" information they collect money. Wealthy Jews and gentiles fall for this sort of racket. A great many presumably smart Jews and gentiles, terrified by these "secret" reports, eagerly seek information about the impending expropriation. Such a one, for instance, is Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the influential Chicago Tribune.

If you should ever happen to be in Col. McCormick's bedroom and see him peer cautiously under his bed before retiring, in search of a Communist armed with at least two bombs, four pistols and a knife clenched between his teeth, you can give credit to a gentleman named Harry A. Jung of Chicago. Jung is one of the Colonel's proteges and supplies the Colonel with a great deal of his "inside" information about Communists and Jews.

Jung is the head of a widespread espionage organization, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, Post Office Box 144, Chicago. This organization was originally founded to spy on Communists and Socialists, but Jung found he needed a new terror-inspiring "issue" with which to collect money from suckers. He found it in the "menace of the Jew"; and now he is one of the national leaders in the distribution of anti-semitic propaganda. There are anti-semites who actually believe the stuff in the "Protocols of Zion" but others, active in spreading the seeds of hate against Jews, do so only because it has become a money-raising proposition. Jung is in the latter class.

The location of his office where the spy reports are filed, is never given to his members, lest "Jews and Communists" descend upon him. Secrecy surrounds his headquarters and his work. As a matter of record, the entire suite of offices is in the Chicago Tribune Tower.

To put it baldly, in the course of Jung's racketeering he has collected and still collects countless thousands of dollars by playing Jew and gentile against Communist, and gentile against Jew.

When Hitler came into power this Prince of Racketeers discovered that he could get cash by fanning the smouldering flames of anti-semitism in the United States. With five years of economic crisis for millions of Americans, and failure on the part of most of them to understand the causes, putting the blame on the "International Jew" was easy. This "patriot" promptly made connections with Hitler's anti-semitic propagandists in this country and started disseminating the "Hate the Jew" creed on a large scale. And in the course of this activity he used money collected from Jews to distribute the "Protocols of Zion" as well as other anti-semitic propaganda.

Today Jung is in constant touch with directors of anti-semitic propaganda in Germany, and receives his instructions from Hitler's stronghold in Munich. The man to whom this hundred and twenty percent American "patriot" reports is Frank Schuller, c/o Frederick Deckel, Waskirnerstrasse, 7-13, Munich, Germany.

Jung has been a professional patriot for years. By crying "Americanism" and "patriotism," inveighing against Communists, Socialists or anyone else who favored changing the present economic system, he managed to get support from worried capitalists. He organized a widespread espionage system in the radical movements, collected vast files of "material"—all of it available in *The Daily Worker* and other Communist publications—and armed with this material he sends out agents to call on gullible business men and paint harrowing pictures of the Muscovites now on the high seas on the way to capture the American government. The salesmen are good—they collect; and in turn they get a 40 percent commission of the pickings.

When Harry Jung heard that William Dudley Pelley of Silver Shirts fame was making big money out of anti-semitism and that others like Edward H. Hunter of the Industrial Defense Association in Boston was talking with the German Consul General about getting money from Germany for anti-semitic propaganda, he got busy. He discovered that the Jews were a menace and that they were plotting not only to seize the United States but the whole world, Scandinavia included. "The Protocols of Zion," long discredited as forgeries, were raked up and armed with these Jung's high-pressure salesmen wandered about the country, collecting the shekels from scared Christian business men, and getting their commissions.

But—there are a lot of wealthy Jewish business men. These certainly would not fall for the "Protocols of Zion" and yet—their checks are good too. So Jung's nimble agents sell the Jewish busi-

ness men the idea that the Third International¹ is on its way here to take their business away and nationalize their wives and daughters. The wealthy Jews, half scared out of their wits, contribute to fight Communism. In this way Jung's salesmen collect from anti-Communist Jew and from anti-semitic gentile simultaneously.

Among the contributors to the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation are business houses owned by prominent Jews and other businesses in which Jews are heavy stockholders. Before listing some of the nationally known of these contributors whose money went into the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda, let me explain how Jung operates his spy organization.

The American Vigilant Intelligence Federation was originally used to spy on radical and labor groups. The information collected by Jung was sold to employers for a good sum whenever there was a strike or a threat of a strike. When that didn't work, Jung used to put on "Americanization" campaigns and collect money that way. Only since Hitler got into power has Jung picked on the Jew.

The Federation itself is run with the utmost secrecy. Names are never used by spies. An agent's report is signed only by a number. Even at their secret meetings the spies are known to one another only by numbers and not by names, particularly the "Inner Circle," a group of eight men who advise Jung on the policies to be followed in fighting "the Jewish menace." The name and address of each number is kept in closely guarded files. Beside Jung and his private secretary only "No. 22" has the keys to the office where the spy reports are kept. No. 22's name, if anyone wishes to write to him directly, is Joe Cerny. The spy reports, mail from the director of anti-semitism in Munich and the secret Hitler agents in this country, are collected from Box 144, Chicago post office by Miss Rose Peterson, of 3616 South Street, Chicago, Jung's secretary. Miss Peterson's name and address has also been a secret.

An identification tag is mailed to each agent with his instructions. These "confidential instructions," filling four typewritten pages, go into great detail. I shall quote some of them in part. They read:

These instructions are for your eyes only. They must be preserved and read carefully. . . . In brief the following Instructions cover (A) your conduct; (B) your duties, and (C) your responsibilities; all voluntarily undertaken as a working patriot; tritely but truly stated as—For God (against anti-God)—for Home (against Nationalism of Man, Woman, and Child)—For Country (Americanism not Internationalism).

You are cautioned to:

Sign all communications by your number only, your signature is not necessary.

Address all communications simply to Post Office Box 144, Chicago, Illinois.

Confidential matters of the organization should only be discussed in private and in confidence. Therefore use discretion on street cars, taxi cabs, buses, the streets, restaurants, and anywhere in public where you might be overheard or others might listen in.

Your Identification Tag (please remove from under the seal on last page) is to be carried with you always. It should be displayed only to identify yourself to other members or as a test to find out if another is a member. It is purposely made inconspicuous and meaningless, almost like an ordinary telephone slug, so that if lost, it can mean nothing to the finder and is readily replaceable.

From then on the instructions tell how to cover Jewish and Communist meetings, obtain information, how to combat the "Jewish and Communist menace" secretly and conclude with several private telephone numbers where officials of the Federation can be reached at all hours of the night in the event of an emergency.

Members of this anti-semitic espionage organization rarely meet as a group. Occasionally, however, certain selected ones considered trustworthy by Jung, "No. 1," and his Inner Circle advisors, meet to discuss, not Communism, but "the menace of the Jew," and what steps to take to distribute anti-semitic propaganda. At these meetings the members are addressed only by their numbers, for a good many do not want it known that they are connected with this anti-semitic organization — as, for instance, Police Precinct Captain Wynne of the 48th Ward. Captain Wynne was one of the members especially invited to a secret meeting in Room 103 at the Auditorium Hotel on June 21, 1934.

The moment they were gathered in the room Jung announced that they had to consider "the growing gravity of the Jewish problem."

"For some time," he said, "we have considered and discussed methods of procedure regarding the Jewish menace. Frankly I am at sea regarding what to do, but I am open to suggestions. The Jews, as you know, have a government of their own. This secret government operates in every community. They have a small invisible empire behind every local organized government. When a dispute arises between two Jews it is never taken to the local court of jurisprudence, but it is taken to the Jewish court which is presided over by a Rabbi. In other words, the Jewish faith is a law unto itself and Jews do not recognize any other law made by any other people.

"Pogroms in the past have been blamed by the Jews upon the aristocrats. As a matter of ruth I have evidence that many of these pogroms were started by Jews. You have noticed that in Germany where the Nazis are supposed to have done such terrible things to

the Jews that nothing has happened to the family of Stein, Krupp, Jacobs or any of the rich Jews."

He paused significantly, and added:

"The Roosevelt administration, too, is now run by Jews. The Jews in the administration are deliberately helping the administration build up a gigantic political machine so that by 1936 there will be so many dependent on the government dole that there will be no question of re-electing the Democratic Party—if the people want to eat! The Jews plan to have Roosevelt re-elected President in 1936 and directly after the election the Jews plan to have the government collapse and then set up a Dictator dominated by the Jews."

"That's right!" shouted "No. 37." No. 37 is Gail Carter, former Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan of Illinois.

I offer this as an illustration of the sort of stuff this "patriot" who supplies much of the material to the Chicago Tribune editorial staff and who is in constant touch with anti-semitic directors in Munich, is spreading. The anti-semitic policies, however, are decided upon not only by Jung but by the Inner Circle. This body never meets even with the ordinary run of the organization's spies and propagandists. At the ultra-secret meetings the "Jewish menace" is uppermost in their discussions and plans. Radicalism, ever since Jung began corresponding with Frank Schüller in Munich, is now secondary.

On June 28, 1934, for instance, a special Inner Circle meeting was held, again in Room 103 at the Auditorium. There were only five persons present: Jung, Gail Carter, Charles Wienne, Clemens Studebaker and Lawrence Harper. Studebaker is a member of the automobile family.

(Since I listed those present and what transpired at the secret meetings of the Order of '76, that espionage society has become torn with suspicion. Everybody suspects everybody else. I am afraid the following report of what happened at Jung's ultra-secret Inner Circle meeting will seriously upset them.)

When the door was carefully locked, Jung informed them of a new "Jewish conspiracy" he had discovered, by dramatically spreading the United States Daily before them.

"This is a copy of David Lawrence's paper," he announced. "Lawrence has always espoused the cause of the Jews and also the cause of the present administration. But in this particular edition he seems to take issue with the Brain Trust. Frankly, I have been puzzled by this seeming change of attitude on his part, but after careful thought I have come to the conclusion that the Brain Trusters, the Communists and the Jews have determined that they are going toward the revolution too fast and they have delegated David Lawrence to call a temporary halt. He is to act as a stop-gap so

that they will not be over-confident and cause things to happen before the proper time. I am merely telling you this so that you will not be fooled by any propaganda put out by the Jews through their mouth piece, David Lawrence, and the United States Daily, which is his organ."

At the conclusion of this meeting Jung pulled a letter out of his pocket with several copies which he distributed to the five members of the ultra-secret Inner Circle.

"This is a letter gotten out by the Friends of the New Germany. It is a sort of chain letter. Each of us has to copy it twenty times and send it out to those we know so that they in turn can send it out. In this way we can spread the information about the Jews widely throughout the country. I ask all of you present to see to it that it gets wide circulation."

The chain letter, in part, reads as follows:

DO YOU REALIZE that we are nothing but JEWISH SLAVES?
DO YOU REALIZE THE DANGER, which confronts us by the Jews in the United States is much greater than we anticipate?

DO YOU REALIZE that every nation which accepted the Jews, signed its own doom? The Jewish sharks already own New York City, let us prevent them from conquering our whole United States. The Jews think they are superior to us gentiles, but their religion and business is nothing but an international racketeering, blood sucking gangsterdom, exploiting the poorest of the poor to the last drop of their blood.

Who works for the Jews under the most unsanitary conditions, long hours and for slave wages until the body and mind is a wreck? THE GENTILES. . . .

The Jews are the lowest international race on earth, prospering through thievery without consciousness, they are the biggest enemies and the cause of the destruction of the U. S. A.

HIT THE JEWS WHEREVER YOU CAN.

It is for this sort of propaganda and the distribution of the "Protocols of Zion" that Jung and his high-pressure salesmen collect money from prominent Jews and gentiles in Chicago. Some of those who contribute know that the money is to be used to spread anti-semitic material. Some think that it is to be used only to fight Communism. There is no actual evidence that the Jews who contribute to Jung knew their money has been and is being used to spread anti-semitism.

Among those who contributed heavily are firms on whose boards of directors are Jews, whose stockholders include many wealthy Jews and banks many of whose depositors are Jews. I shall list only some of the most prominent firms whose money has gone into spreading anti-semitic propaganda within the past two years. (All of these sent checks to this anti-semitic organization on other dates besides

those listed here, but it would take too much space to record all contributions):

- June 5, 1934—Edison General Electric Appliance Co.
- June 8, 1934—Corn Products Refining Co.
- June 12, 1934—Mrs. Finley J. Shepard (the former Miss Helen Gould, long a supporter of White Russians and of the National Civic Federation, about which organization much will be told subsequently).
- June 13, 1934—Stewart Warner Co.
- June 16, 1934—A. B. Dick.
- July 11, 1934—Florsheim Shoe Co.
- August 15, 1934—Northern Trust Co.
- June 6, 1933—First National Bank.
- June 9, 1933—Sears Roebuck.
- July 18, 1933—Rockford Bank & Trust.
- August 22, 1933—International Harvester Co.
- August 23, 1933—General American Tank Car Corp.
- December 16, 1933—William Wrigley, Jr.

In this list of nationally known firms are Jewish-controlled firms whose money went into the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda:

The Florsheim Shoe Co., Adams and Clinton Streets, Chicago, is one of the largest shoe companies in the country. Let us see who are the officers and directors who are responsible for giving money which was used to distribute the "Protocols of Zion." The business reference books in the New York Public Library show the following set up:

Chairman of the Board—Milton S. Florsheim	} Jews
President—Irving S. Florsheim	
Vice-President and Sec.—Harold M. Florsheim	
Vice-President and Treas.—Samuel Goodman	

On the board of directors we find the above four Jewish gentlemen and two more:

Director—Felix Florsheim	} Jews
Director—Louis Florsheim	

and a gentile, John M. Hancock of New York City, a partner in the dominantly Jewish banking firm of Lehman Bros. from whose offices came the present Governor of the State of New York.

These Jews contribute to a racketeer to fight Communism and labor organizations. Their money was used to spread anti-semitism.

Let us examine another firm whose money was used to disseminate the "Protocols of Zion":

Sears Roebuck and Company, Arthington Street and Homan Ave., Chicago. This firm, known the world over, was headed by Juliuh Rosenwald, known for his Jewish philanthropies. Since Julius Rosenwald's death, the chairman of the board is Lessing J. Rosenwald, his son, who took over his father's philanthropic work in the Rosenwald Family Association. This company, whose head is known for his Jewish charities, is among those who supported Jung's anti-semitic organization.

Besides Lessing J. Rosenwald we find a number of gentiles among the officers and some Jews, as for instance:

Director: Max Adler, a Jew.

Director: John M. Hancock, a gentile, representing the Jewish banking firm of Lehman Brothers in which he is a partner.

Director: Sidney J. Weinberg, of New York, a Jew, representing Goldman-Sachs, a Jewish firm in which he is a partner.

Let us continue on to more Jews who gave money to fight radicalism only to have it used to spread anti-semitism:

The General-American Transportation Corporation, one of the largest in the world, was recently reorganized. It was known before as the General American Tank Car Corp. The offices are in the Continental Illinois Bank Building, Chicago.

This corporation, too, gave support to Jung's anti-semitic organization, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Let us see who are the officers and directors:

Chairman of the Board—Max Epstein	} Jews
President—Lester N. Selig	
Exec. Asst. to Pres.—Sam Laud	
Vice-President—David Copland	
Vice-President—Le Roy Kramer	
Vice-President—Bennett Epstein	

Directors besides some of those already named include Henry Ollesheimer, a Jew and Lewis L. Strauss of New York, a Jew, who is a partner in the firm of the predominantly Jewish banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Some of these men, important officials of firms which have been giving money to an anti-semitic organization, are prominent in the field of Jewish philanthropies. For instance:

Max Epstein, chairman of the General-American Transportation Corporation, has made donations to various universities and Jewish philanthropies. Lewis L. Strauss is very active in Jewish charities. He is treasurer, for instance, of the Jewish Theological Seminary and is on the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee, which has done a good deal of work in fighting the spread of anti-semitism!

With money collected from Jews, Jung is able to order vast quantities of anti-semitic propoganda which he sells to other anti-semitic organizations. Jung likes a profit even in spreading the "Hate the Jew" creed. Let me give an illustration. On Dec .1, 1933, shortly before he got a sizeable sum from the King of Chewing Gum, William Wrigley, Jr., Jung wrote to Harry F. Sieber, treasurer of the Silver Legion of America:

In response to yours addressed to R. I. Peterson on November 28, we can give you a price of sixty cents per copy in quantity lots of the "Protocols."

As for "Halt, Gentile! and Salute the Jew," same can be had at ten cents per copy, in quantity lots or fifteen cents a piece.

Besides distributing the "Protocols" Jung secured from Hitler's anti-semitic agents both in Chicago and in New York throwaways smuggled in off German ships as well as propoganda imported or printed in this country, particularly material urging a boycott against Jewish stores in retaliation for the boycott of German goods. In this way Jung was making a financial appeal for backing from German-American business men.

There is a great deal more that can be said about Mr. Jung and his associates in their secret organization cooperating with Hitler agents in this country. I shall offer only one more bit of evidence to show the effects of this intensive anti-semitic campaign in Chicago this Spring. It was distributed throughout the 43d Ward. It read:

DANGER!
DO NOT ELECT A JEW FOR REPUBLICAN WARD
COMMITTEEMAN!

EDWIN B. FEDERMAN IS A JEW!

This was signed "Chicago Nazi Society." There was no mark on the sheet to show who had printed it or where the job was done. Efforts were made by the police and the Jewish candidate to trace the source of the printing. Perhaps it is not too late now. The leaflet was printed by the New-Way Printing Company, 739 S. Clark Street.

Sidney Brooks, economic research director of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Committee, denied in a letter in *THE NEW MASSES* that he had been in New York on March 4, 1934, and had met William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts. Brooks submitted two affidavits; one, signed by two names, testified that he had been at work in Washington on March 3 and also on March 5—March 4 was not mentioned. The other, signed by one name, testified that Brooks had been at work at his desk in his office until about 3:30 p.m. on March 4.

March 4 was a Sunday. Even assuming that Brooks and his office force, for some reason, worked on Sunday, a fast train could have brought him to New York in time for his conference, and a late sleeper, leaving the Pennsylvania station at 2:30 a.m., March 5, could have brought him back to his desk early Monday morning.

Brooks, Pelley and Royal Scott Gulden, head of the now notorious Order of '76, met in New York on the evening of March 4.

Brooks said in his letter:

I have never heard the name of William D. Goodales and to my knowledge have never met or corresponded in any way whatever with William Dudley Pelley.

Besides meeting Pelley (Goodales) at the Hotel Edison and taking him to Gulden on the evening of March 4, 1934, Brooks telephoned Gulden's office on Feb. 16, 1934, from the Hotel Edison. He left a message with Gulden to the effect that he was with "the chief" (Pelley, alias Goodales) and for Gulden to get in touch with him at the Hotel Edison. I have the message.

The following letter was received from Mr. Jung, and published in *THE NEW MASSES*, under the heading, "Sue and Be Damned," and with the comment appended.

TO THE NEW MASSES:

I received from your office, a complimentary copy of the October 23 issue of *NEW MASSES*, which contains an article by John L. Spivak, correspondent of the Communist daily language newspaper, the *Daily Worker*.

This article is as mendacious, scurrilous, slanderous and libelous as usually emanate from a bunch of Godless apostate Jew and gentile Communists and is in line with the policy of other Communist publications. It is a garbled account, second hand, of an alleged meeting or series of meetings of an alleged "Inner Circle" of the organization which I have the honor to head since 1919, long before Hitler came into power.

I absolutely refute the imputation that I have ever corresponded with Frank Shüller. I did not and do not know of the gentleman's existence.

I deny ever having solicited aid from any Hitlerites, nor have I spoken before any meetings of the so-called Friends of New Germany or for that matter before any other group that has as its single objective, the decrying of the Jew as a race.

Your filthy Communist rag will make an immediate retraction of the statement in the article that we issued confidential instructions, the details of which were conveniently omitted in the article because they did not exist, but yet alleged that these instructions covered attending "Jew and Communist" meetings, or I shall enter suit for libel, take this case into court and make you prove your allegations.

You Communist swine and character assassins, are directly responsible for promoting race hatred between whites and blacks; between Jew and gentile; between Catholic and Protestant. We know you for what you are, and decent American citizens, having any powers of analysis, pay no attention to your vilification.

One of the principal objectives of the Communists is to attack patriotism and assail patriotic organizations, as anti-something or other, whereas the Communists use the "anti" vehicle to stir up class hatred, race hatred and the overthrow of our Constitutional form of government.

You will also immediately make retraction that I have given circulation to a circular, which you unqualifiedly declare I had broadcast in Chicago, entitled "AMERICANS OF GERMAN DESCENT TO THE FRONT," and, by inference, another poster captioned "DANGER! DO NOT ELECT A JEW FOR REPUBLICAN WARD COMMITTEE-MAN!"

As for distributing that bone of contention—the Protocols—allegedly a world-wide Jewish plot, that document can be purchased in department stores in the City of Chicago, various booksellers, and is printed in a cheap edition at Dallas, Texas.

Ordinarily such a lying scurrilous, libelous article, as is John L. Spivak's, would be beneath the dignity of receiving a reply from this organization, but under the circumstances, the intent of the objectives of you filthy Communists cannot be overlooked.

WHO SAID THERE IS NO COMMUNISM???

A rag, such as *THE NEW MASSES*, that has to make a periodic nationwide appeal for funds to continue its existence, needs something sensational for the neurotics to feed upon and we propose to see to it whether the American people will tolerate the continued existence of such literary miscegenates.

A Communist to me is a Communist whether he is a Jew, a gentile, a Mohammedan, or what have you, and that goes double, if any of you swine want to make an issue of it.

It is unfortunate that you Communists are so adroit in your maneuvering that you imposed upon a Committee of the Congress, whose activities were supported by taxpayers' money.

I have plenty of friends of Jewish extraction—not Communists—who have no sympathy for their co-religionists who profess to the ideals of a purloined, blood-stained, rotten, maggots philosophy such as Communism.

A copy of this letter is going to certain American citizens of both Jewish and gentile extraction, mentioned in your scurrilous article, together with a letter, so that they may know exactly what *THE NEW MASSES* is.

We have a complete record of the revolutionary activities of all of the Communist editors of *NEW MASSES* and its many nitwit revolutionary writers and lascivious-minded cartoonists.

I have written you in the only language that Communists can understand.

HARRY A. JUNG,
Honorary General Manager.

American Vigilant Intelligence Federation.
Chicago, Oct. 23.

[*THE NEW MASSES* has no intention of retracting any of the charges made, for they are all accurate. We have more material about Mr. Jung's

anti-semitic and anti-labor activities than we have published, and would welcome an opportunity to put Mr. Jung on the witness stand.—THE EDITORS.]

Up to the time this pamphlet goes to press, Mr. Jung has not entered suit.

THE following telegram was sent to each of the three Jewish-controlled Chicago firms shown to have contributed to Harry A. Jung's anti-semitic organization:

"We will publish in next week's issue of *The New Masses* a record of contributions made by Jewish-controlled firms to the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation of Chicago. According to our information your firm contributed funds on several dates. This money was used by Harry A. Jung, head of the Federation to disseminate anti-semitic propaganda. We offer you an opportunity to explain what motivated your firm in contributing to this anti-semitic organization. In order for your explanation to appear in the same issue it must reach us by Tuesday noon, October 16. Suggest you wire.

"The New Masses."

No reply was received from the Florsheim Shoe Company.

The secretary to Lessing J. Rosenwald, chairman of the board of Sears Roebuck & Co., reported that Mr. Rosenwald was away on vacation and could not be reached.

The following answer came from the General American Transportation Corp.:

"In response to your telegram very much appreciate it if this company or my name were not mentioned in the article you intend to have appear in your next issue but the information you are now giving will be remembered by me and in future I will act accordingly.

"Max Epstein, chairman

"General American Transportation Corp."

McFADDEN, JEW-BAITER, CROOK

ON MAY 29, 1933, much to the surprise of Republican leaders in the House, Louis T. McFadden, of Pennsylvania, launched a vitriolic attack upon Jews from the floor. It was the first time in American history that the Jewish race was attacked in halls supposedly dedicated to preserving racial and religious freedom.

The country was astounded. No one knew what was behind the amazing action of this man who had been a Congressman for almost twenty years. Efforts were made to expunge his speech from the record but he opposed this move. It was pointed out to him that his remarks were based upon the "Protocols of Zion" published in the Dearborn Independent, that the "Protocols" had been exposed as forgeries and that Henry Ford, publisher of the Dearborn Independent, had publicly apologized for their appearance. McFadden, despite all this, persisted in disseminating his attack far and wide. He became the Congressional voice of "Hate the Jew" propaganda. He, it seemed, was making public addresses from the floor of the House exactly along the line of the anti-semitic propagandists' who were organized nationally by Col. Edwin Emerson, the notorious American Hitler agent. To the public at large it was incredible that a man who talked so much about "Americanism" and "patriotism" could have anything to do with spreading race-hatred in this country.

Before the reader finishes this chapter he will understand the "Honorable" Representative McFadden's connections with organizations working hand in glove with secret German agents, as well as what I meant when I said McFadden is "just a plain crook." I shall present evidence to prove that his whole life has been one of conniving, crookedness and double-crossing.

It is necessary, for the reader to get a clear picture of his relationship with Nazi anti-semitic propagandists, to review for a paragraph or two the facts already established. I have already presented evidence to show that the secret espionage society, the Order of '76, was more than closely connected with German secret agents who are organizing on a national scale the "Hate-the-Jew" creed. One of the members of the Order of '76, I pointed out, was Sidney Brooks of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.

PART OF CONG. RECORD—FREE

**GENTILES HAVE THE PAPER WHILE
JEWS HAVE THE GOLD AND
LAWFUL MONEY**

SPEECH OF

HON. LOUIS T. McFADDEN

of Pennsylvania

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 29, 1933

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1933



(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

In the United States Today, the Gentiles Have Slips
of Paper While the Jews Have the Gold and
Lawful Money

SPEECH

OF

HON. LOUIS T. McFADDEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 29, 1933

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Chairman, this repudiation bill is
in direct opposition to the Democratic Party platform of
'32 upon which Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President.

the child." So with these wreckers and violators of law and
order in office. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be more
orderly and less expensive and that it would tax the patience
of the country less if Roosevelt sent his backers home to
their chosen lairs in Wall Street and himself attended to his
own executive business. If he has a yearning to be a legis-
lator, let him resign his Executive office and get himself
elected to Congress. He will be welcome here if the people
send him to Congress, but he has no business to interfere
with the deliberations of this House while he is acting as
President of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, this repudiation bill was framed and
brought here in the interest of the foreign debtors of the
United States. Its aim is a cancellation of war debts by fraud
and treachery toward the American people. It gives the
foreign nations a way of making entirely worthless pay-

Evidence that Congressman McFadden's anti-semitic speeches marked "Not printed at Government expense" were distributed throughout the country without paying postage.

who is in reality the son of the Hitler agent, Col. Edwin Emerson. The evidence showed that Brooks made secret trips to New York where he went to 17 Battery Place, the offices of the German Consulate General in which his father had an office, that Brooks had made secret arrangements for Royal Scott Gulden, head of the Order of '76, to meet with William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, so that the two organizations could merge. With the evidence already presented, we have a picture of the Silver Shirt leader, working with Gulden, who in turn is closely connected with secret German agents.

Let us now see if this Congressman from Pennsylvania, who took a solemn oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, has any connection with these organizations working so closely with secret German agents.

Hitler came into power in the spring of 1933. Shortly thereafter German secret agents and propagandists started entering this country. Some of them were native Americans. The first mass outbreak of anti-semitic propaganda engineered by Hitler agents came in the spring of 1933—a period in which strangely enough, we find Con-

gressman McFadden rising in the halls of Congress to attack the Jews while ostensibly discussing a gold clause repeal resolution.

First, I offer evidence that Congressman Louis T. McFadden is working very closely with William Dudley Pelley of the Silver Shirts and seems to be taking orders from him. On August 22, 1933, Pelley telegraphed McFadden to the latter's home in Canton, Pa. The telegram happened to deal with an N.R.A. question but the significance lies in the fact that Pelley of Asheville, N. C. did not ask one of his own Congressmen but went to one from Pennsylvania; the tone, too, of the telegram is interesting. There is no mark of courtesy apparent. It is the tone of a commander to a subordinate. "Send word at once," Pelley orders. The telegram follows:

ASHEVILLE, NO. CAR.

HON. LOUIS McFADDEN:
CANTON, PENN.

OUR PEOPLE REPORTING NRA OFFICIALS THREATENING TO CLOSE BUSINESS AND LEVYING FINE OF FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS WITH POSSIBILITY OF JAIL IF NOT COMPLIED WITH. DO YOU UNDERSTAND NRA TO BE A LAW THAT CAN BE THUS ENFORCED OR SHALL WE MAKE TEST CASE. SEND WORD AT ONCE COLLECT BY WESTERN UNION.

(Signed) PELLEY.

On the following day Congressman McFadden, who is supposed to be busy representing the people of his own district, telegraphed Pelley for instructions as to what to do. The telegram follows:

CANTON, PA.

WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY:

CHARLOTTE ST. & SUNSET PARKWAY, ASHEVILLE, NO. CAR.

MAGAZINE AND PERIODICAL INDUSTRY CODE AGREEMENT AUGUST FIFTH ALTHOUGH NRA WASHINGTON STATE THEY ALONE HAVE AUTHORITY MAKE SUCH STATEMENTS INDICATED BY YOU. ULTIMATELY PERSONS NOT COMPLYING MAY BE SUBJECT FINE AND IMPRISONMENT UNDER LAW FOR INTERSTATE BUSINESS. DISPOSITION NOW TO GIVE EVERYONE AMPLE TIME COOPERATE. SHALL YOUR CASE BE MENTIONED.

(Signed) L. T. McFADDEN.

We thus see that Congressman McFadden is close to the Silver Shirts, obeying their orders to "answer at once" and asking Pelley for instructions as to what to do. The Silver Shirts, the reader should bear in mind, have since merged with the Order of '76, the secret espionage society having Hitler agents as members and working closely with secret German propagandists in this country. Let us

now see if Congressman McFadden has any *direct* connection with this espionage order.

On July 7, 1933, McFadden recorded a secret conference in New York which Royal Scott Gulden, head of the espionage Order of '76, arranged. I quote the letter in full:

My dear Mr. Gulden:

I cannot begin to thank you for the opportunity which you gave me to meet with the group in New York which you called together. I shall hope that some good may have come from this meeting to your group. It was an inspiration to me, I can assure you, and I want you to know that I am deeply appreciative.

I am just in Washington for the day and expect to be at my home in Canton for the balance of the month where I am trying to get some very much needed rest. I shall be glad to hear from you any time.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) L. T. McFADDEN.

What this secret meeting which Gulden arranged was about, I do not know. I do know that it was held at the Union League Club where on former occasions Gulden had met secret Nazi agents.

Germany, because of the protests aroused in this country by her slaughtering and torturing of Jews, was very anxious to counteract Jewish as well as gentile protests. The best countermove was to carry the "Hate the Jew" creed to the American Jew so that American Jews would have their hands full with their own worries. It thus became important not only for the secret German agents to organize anti-semitism on a national scale in this country but to disseminate the attack on the Jews made in Congress by McFadden. Let us see how this anti-semitic propaganda was disseminated and whether there was any connection with organizations working hand in glove with secret German agents.

A member of Congress has the right to get copies of his speech printed by the Government to mail to his constituents and others. Congress also gives the Representative the privilege of stamping his name on the envelope to avoid payment of postage. McFadden wanted to flood the United States with his attack on the Jews. The Government apparently would not print as many copies of his speech as he wanted so the speeches were printed at some one else's expense! Who paid for the printing I do not know, but McFadden's whole life, as I shall show, has been such as to cast doubts on any assumption that he did the paying. It has been McFadden's custom to "borrow" money, not to spend it.

This anti-semitic speech, designed to arouse race hatred in the United States, is marked "Not printed at Government Expense" but countless thousands were mailed out at *Government expense!* The reader's attention is called to the illustration on page 42. Nor were these anti-semitic speeches mailed to citizens directly by the

Congressman. His office sent them out by the sack-load to the espionage Order of '76 which in turn mailed them—without paying postage—to carry on anti-semitic propaganda. Sack-loads, too, were shipped to the head of the Crusader White Shirts espionage organization in Muscatine, Iowa. This gentleman always places the Hitler swastika sign after his signature on official letters.

As evidence that Congressman McFadden sent bundles of his race-hatred speeches to organizations working closely with secret Hitler agents, so that they could distribute the material without paying the government postage, I offer the letter dated September 28, 1933, sent to Royal Scott Gulden by Jane C. Bittner, McFadden's private secretary:

Dear Mr. Gulden:

Two mail sacks, one containing four bundles of five hundred speeches each and the other containing two bundles of five hundred speeches each, were sent to you this morning. I shall appreciate it if you will let me know when you receive them.

Also, please turn over to your postman the two mail sacks as they are the property of the U. S. Government.

(Signed) JANE C. BITTNER,
Secretary.

The Order of '76 not only mailed copies to individuals but also shipped them out in bundles. Everyone was having a grand time with the government's postal facilities, since by using McFadden's name on the envelope one did not have to pay postage. It got so that vast quantities of the race-hatred speeches were returned to the Congressman, and he wrote a letter of caution. The letter, dated October 26, 1933, reads:

Dear Mr. Gulden:

Evidently some one is mailing out my speeches from New York un-addressed, as a great number of them are being returned to me here, indicating that they were mailed at Grand Central Station, New York. Possibly some one is tying them up in bundles with one address on the bundle and they get untied. I understand the Post Office is not authorized to accept packages in that manner. Maybe you can give me some light on this.

I am returning to my home and shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) L. T. McFADDEN.

We now see the definite connection between this Congressman and a secret espionage organization which is working closely with Hitler anti-semitic agents in this country. Let us now examine the envelope in which this amazing flood of "hate-the-Jew" propaganda was sent out—*without paying the government for postage.*

The envelope, in order to get the propaganda across as well as possible, carried the following legend:

"Gentiles have the paper while Jews have the gold and lawful money."

This legend, upon which he based his attack on the Jewish people, gives us the right to examine Congressman McFadden's past, to determine whether he has any evidence to support his assertion or whether, like so many dishonest people, he makes an accusation to forestall a charge of exactly the same kind against himself. I shall now present evidence that Congressman McFadden is crooked and that in fact, his whole life has been devoted to getting "the gold and lawful money" while leaving both Jew and gentile holding worthless paper.

There was a man named Pat Marr who had an oil corporation known as the Marr Oil Corporation. McFadden learned that this company was a money-maker. He became a director of the corporation and became Chairman of the Board—a job he held up to August 30, 1923. (I go this far back so as to show that Congressman McFadden's crookedness is not a recent aberration. I can go back still farther but the illustrations I shall offer will be sufficient.)

There was another director on this corporation named Rottenberg. In August, 1923, Pat Marr, in conversation with Rottenberg, said he'd like to sell his corporation and sent Rottenberg to Washington, D. C. (where McFadden lived) to get the Congressman to go to New York and negotiate with a reliable oil company for the sale of the property. Pat Marr trusted McFadden and Rottenberg—after all, McFadden was "an honorable Congressman."

Rottenberg and McFadden tried to make the deal with the Southern States Oil Corporation, through an official of the latter company named Ferris. Ferris told them the Southern States Oil Corporation was not willing to pay cash for the Marr Oil Company but would exchange its stock for the Marr company. Rottenberg objected to the proposition. Ferris thereupon suggested that if the deal were put through in exchanging the stock, the Southern States Oil Corporation would give McFadden and Rottenberg \$100,000 and an additional amount of 10,000 shares of Southern States stock over and above the number of shares they were entitled to.

McFadden, honorable Congressman from Pennsylvania, then went to Pat Marr and gave him a glowing account of Southern States Oil, urging him to take stock for his company, saying that he had known Ferris in Congress and that the man was absolutely honest. Pat Marr was persuaded to sell his company for Southern States Oil stock. When McFadden and Rottenberg appeared for the bribe Ferris double-crossed them a little, saying that he did not have \$100,000 but would give them \$50,000. So the two boys took the \$50,000 and divided it between themselves as well as the shares.

McFadden quietly added the \$25,000 bribe to his income tax

report! Pat Marr eventually was sent to prison for misusing the United States mails. When the former oil man got out he discovered that he had been double-crossed by the Congressman from Pennsylvania and sued for the return of his company. It was then that the whole story of how Congressman Louis T. McFadden was bribed came out. In a decision rendered on this case March 24, 1931, Justice Cardozo, who has since become a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, said:

“At the outset Rottenberg and McFadden, the agents conducting the negotiations, gave notice to Ferris, the representative of Southern States, that they would expect ‘to be taken care of’ for their services in recommending the exchange. To this there was assent. They received a secret gratuity of \$50,000 in cash (\$25,000 each) and 7,039 shares in addition to the number due to them at the ratio of exchange made known to the others . . . Rottenberg and McFadden were parties to a fraudulent conspiracy.”

Let us now go to another business deal or two of the honorable Congressman from Pennsylvania.

In March, 1926, Louis T. McFadden, Congressman from Pennsylvania, applied to the courts of New York for permission to sell \$1,300,000 worth of stocks of a new corporation known as the Federated Radio Corporation. A couple of brokers working with him had lots of nice certificates printed. They looked beautiful. The stock certificates were distributed to banks and brokerage houses.

New York, however, has an act prohibiting the sale of stocks under false and fraudulent representation. Albert Ottinger, then Attorney General of the State of New York, got a look at the sales prospectus, made a little investigation about the company and immediately went into court to stop the people from parting with \$1,300,000 for the “honorable” Louis T. McFadden. I won't bore the reader with great details. It is sufficient to say that the courts, after the Attorney General got through showing how false and fraudulent and misleading were the representations for this company's stock refused to let it be sold.

Now—on March 30, 1926—*less than two weeks after he tried to sell this stock for \$1,300,000* McFadden filed a petition for bankruptcy in Canton, Pa. and in that petition he placed the value of the stock at \$60,000!

This petition of bankruptcy casts a sharp light on how Congressman McFadden got the money and left the suckers with the paper. It is interesting to examine it as a document prepared by the man who was called a crook by the court.

McFadden has spent the major part of his life “borrowing” money. If he could not get it as a bribe he borrowed it from the people in his own home town. Let me illustrate.

SUGGESTIONS.

NOTE THESE REQUIREMENTS.

- N. B.—State specifically these matters as to each creditor, or anything to the contrary:
1. When and where contracted, and
 2. nature and consideration of the debt, and
 3. whether contracted as partner or joint contractor with any other person,
 4. and if so, with whom?

Read all printed matter before commencing to fill blank.
Give the correct names and residences of the creditors; this will save time and costs when application for discharge is made, as the names and addresses should be the same as in the record of claims proved heretofore, also whom and where debt was contracted.

Schedule A. (5).

ACCOMMODATION PAPER.

(N. B. The dates of the notes or bills, and when due, with the names and residences of drawers, makers or acceptors thereof, are to be set forth under the names of the holders; if the bankrupt be liable as drawer, maker, acceptor or endorser thereof, it is to be stated accordingly. If the names of the holders are not known, the name of the last holder known to the debtor should be stated, with his residence. Same particulars as to other commercial paper.)

Reference to ledger or vouchers, names of holders, Bank books, (if unknown that fact must be stated.)—Name and residence of person accommodated.—Place where contracted.—Whether or indorser or partner or joint contractor or with any other person named if so, with whom.		AMOUNT.
	<p>Notes held by First National Bank, Canton, Pennsylvania,, made by L. T. McFadden, accommodation of National Phonograph Manufacturing Company, Canton, Pennsylvania, payable on Demand, for (this claim also listed under "Schedule A.(5))</p>	<p>\$4500 00</p>
	<p>Notes held by Orange National Bank, Troy, Pa., for \$1935.36, made by L. T. McFadden, Canton, Pa., and E. L. Lewis, LeRoy, Pa., given to take up old McMerney Construction Company, Canton, Pa., note, held by that Bank, on which the makers of this note were endorsers, each maker to assume his one-half of note, (this claim also listed under "Schedule A.(5) Unsecured Claims ")</p>	<p>966 67</p>

Evidence from McFadden's petition for bankruptcy that his own company borrowed the depositors' money from his own bank with only his own signature for collateral.

McFadden, way back when he was a youngster and just starting out on his crooked path, was taken out of a store where he worked by a man who was attracted to his pleasant personality, and made cashier of the First National Bank of Canton, Pa. Before long, the cashier was president and biggest stockholder in the bank and his benefactor had advanced many thousands of dollars to him in return for—paper. McFadden, in the course of his striving for wealth, no matter how it was gotten, started a number of businesses. Starting businesses and getting people to invest in them was his specialty, besides posing as a great friend of the people.

We find, for instance, that he borrowed \$8,750 from the First National Bank of Canton, Pa. (his own bank—but the depositors' money). In return he gave as security 750 shares of stock of the Southern States Oil Corporation—the same stock he had been given as a bribe along with the \$25,000! We thus come to the conclusion that 750 shares of this stock is worth \$8,750.

When he went bankrupt, however, he listed among his "personal" property 3,500 shares of the same company's stock as being worth exactly \$1. And another 590 shares of the same stock held by his brokers as being worth exactly \$1.

In other words he had borrowed, of the people's money deposited in his bank, a sum far in excess of the value of the stock he gave as collateral!

It is in this application for bankruptcy that we find that he lists 2,500 shares of Federated Radio Corporation of which 5,000 were issued, as valued at \$30,000—a slight difference between that and the \$1,300,000 he tried to get from the suckers, when he was stopped by the Attorney General of the State of New York.

Let us study this honorable Congressman's business dealing a little more. I do not want to bore the reader, who must by this time be convinced that the Congressman is crooked.

McFadden had a swell racket. He organized a company, took this company's stock and borrowed real cash from his bank—the people's money—and gave in return a piece of paper endorsed by himself.

Let me illustrate. He had the National Phonograph Co. of Canton, Pa. At different periods the National Phonograph Company (his own) borrowed money from the First National Bank of Canton (his bank but the people's money) and the only security the bank got was a note endorsed by McFadden! In this way McFadden got thousands upon thousands of dollars of his depositors' money from his bank and when he entered the petition for bankruptcy the depositors were left holding the McFadden signatures, but the money was gone!

I could go on like this almost indefinitely, but I think I have proved that McFadden had a habit of getting the money and leaving the paper with someone else. As a matter of fact, a study of McFadden's creditors who got stuck with the paper, shows a long list of Jews!

It did not matter at all to McFadden whether it was Jew or gentile who got stuck trusting him. It did not even matter to him that those who got stuck were poor workers in his own home town to whom he owed one and two dollar debts! When he left the people holding the bag, he left them good and proper.

I do not know what the honorable Mr. McFadden's political future will be.* I do know, and by now I hope a great many more people know, what his past and present are. Congressman McFadden is obviously a little nervous, not only about his rather shady past, but his present when he is in such intimate contact with organizations close to Hitler's secret agents in the United States. When I called on Gulden some weeks ago I told him that McFadden had taken a bribe and had been mixed up in other peculiar transactions. Gulden refused to believe it and said that he would write and ask Mr. Mc-

* [Mr. McFadden, after 20 years in Congress, was defeated in the November, 1934, election. Forty-three thousand copies of Mr. Spivak's article were reprinted and placed in the mail boxes of all the voters in McFadden's district in the final days of the campaign. The swing against McFadden developed immediately.—THE EDITORS.]

Fadden about it and inform him that I intended to publish such charges.

When I called McFadden by long distance for an appointment he answered the phone himself.

"Spivak, eh? Well, I don't know where I'll be. I'll be out in the district campaigning so I won't be able to see you."

"But you have an itinerary. Certainly you must know where you'll be during the next few days.

"I don't know where I'll be," he repeated. "What is that you want to see me about?"

"THE NEW MASSES is running a series on anti-semitism in the United States—"

"Yes, yes, I know."

"I'd like to interview you since you are the only one who brought up this subject in Congress—"

"That wouldn't do me any good—wouldn't do any good," he caught himself.

"There are also some very grave charges against you and I think you should have a chance to answer them—"

"Oh!" There was silence at the other end of the wire. Then, "I have nothing to say."

"I'll take a chance on finding you in the district. Suppose we make it Wednesday—"

"I don't know where I'll be. Good night."

The telephone clicked. He had hung up.

Wednesday morning I appeared in the little town of Canton where the Congressman had conducted so many of his borrowings for his own companies from his own bank on his own signature. His wife did not know where he was and had no idea of where he could be. From other sources I learned that he was to be in Athens that night. When I got to Athens he had already spoken and left hastily. Inquiries in the adjoining town of Sayre, where his campaign manager happened to be, met with the information that the Congressman was gone—no one knew where. Right in the midst of a political campaign, a Congressman had vanished! For a while I thought seriously of reporting his disappearance to the police!

Despite all the precautions the Congressman had taken a man walked over to me in the hotel where I was having a late lunch and whispered secretly:

"You looking for Louis McFadden?"

I nodded.

"He's apparently trying to avoid someone," he whispered through the corner of his mouth. "But you'll find him in Wayne county."

With that my mysterious informant vanished.

September 28, 1933.

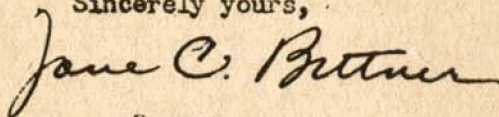
Mr. Royal Scott Gulden,
One Last 53 Street,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Gulden:

Two mail sacks, one containing four bundles of five hundred speeches each and the other containing two bundles of five hundred speeches each, were sent to you this morning. I shall appreciate it if you will let me know when you receive them.

Also, please turn over to your postman the two mail sacks as they are property of the U. S. Government.

Sincerely yours,



Secretary.

McFadden's secretary informs Royal Scott Gulden, head of the secret espionage Order of '76 that bundles of the anti-semitic speeches made by the Congressman are being shipped to be remailed by Gulden, who is working with secret Hitler agents in this country.

Wayne county was something like a hundred miles away—almost at the New York and New Jersey border and the farthest part of his district in that direction. It would take at least four hours driving to get there. I was tempted to leave immediately but wondered why I had been singled out for that bit of information and I telephoned to a man in Wayne county who would know if McFadden was expected that night. No, McFadden was not expected. As a matter of fact he knew that McFadden was to be in Towanda—not an hour's drive from Sayre—at six o'clock that night to see a man.

Why my mysterious informant wanted to get me off to the other end of McFadden's district, I do not know. At any rate I went to Towanda but by the time I got there the Congressman had just vanished again—this time into thin air. It was really funny—this vanishing Congressman who hopped from place to place like a flea, trying to escape answering questions.

ANTI-SEMITIC DUET: EASLEY AND VIERECK

THE long arm of Nazi anti-semitic propaganda in this country works cunningly through hidden hands. I have already uncovered some of these mysterious underground sources for nurturing hatred of the Jew. Now I shall present evidence that the prominent one hundred and twenty percent "patriot," Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York City, has secretly distributed anti-semitic propaganda as well as reported confidentially to George Sylvester Viereck, paid Nazi agent, on the efforts of the patriot to stop the Jewish boycott of German goods—an act which, if successful, would be of incalculable service to Nazi Germany.

The National Civic Federation is the largest and most influential of the "patriotic" organizations, so many of which are flooding the country with the "Hate the Jew" creed. The Federation is close to the federal government. Mr. Easley himself makes frequent and mysterious trips to Washington to confer with Labor and State Department officials, either bringing them "information" or patriotically trying to peddle forged documents for a price—as he tried to peddle the now notorious Whalen forgeries four years ago. When he could not sell them to Robert Kelley, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, he tried to peddle them to a Hearst newspaper correspondent. And failing in that, Easley finally stuck former Police Commissioner Grover Whalen with them, so that the latter rushed into print only to have the documents a little later exposed as forgeries. I mention this so that the reader will understand how the "patriot" Ralph M. Easley works.

On the National Civic Federation executive council we find very influential men. Its ramifications and influence are wide. There is, for instance, the acting president of this organization: Matthew Woll. Woll is vice-president of the American Federation of Labor which went on record as favoring the boycott of German goods. Then there is Archibald E. Stevenson, chairman of the Department of Subversive Movements. Mr. Stevenson achieved a lot of promi-

nence years ago by his activities in whipping up a "Red" hysteria for the notorious Lusk Committee. He succeeded in developing a "Red" scare which resulted in Socialist Assemblymen being kicked out of the New York Legislature just because they were Socialists. Then there is James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, who is in charge of the Commission on Industrial Inquiry. It is former Ambassador Gerard who, after this series of articles began to appear in *THE NEW MASSES*, hysterically warned the Jews that if they did not abhor Communism they would have in the United States pogroms, "the like of which the world had never seen."

Jews and gentiles, scared by the Communist bugaboo raised by these men, contribute heavily to the National Civic Federation's well filled coffers. So far as the world at large knows, Easley's life has been devoted to fighting Communism or any other form of radicalism which appeared in this country. When the Communists were not around, he grew apoplectic about the I.W.W.'s. Then he got choleric over the Socialists—whom he now views with a mild tolerance. Easley always manages to get a "cause" to scare the propertied class. There is a great deal that I could say of this professional patriot's past, but space forbids all but the mention that he was closely connected with Boris Brasol who was largely responsible for the widespread dissemination of the notorious "Protocols of Zion." This fact of his past is little known—especially to the wealthy Jews who give money to his organization. Let me now tell of his present activities, when while offering to help and work with wealthy and prominent Jews interested in counteracting anti-semitism, he was actually distributing anti-semitic propaganda, working to stop the boycott and all the while secretly reporting to George Sylvester Viereck, shrewd high pressure Nazi propagandist.

In my first article in *THE NEW MASSES*, I announced that I would present evidence to this effect in the course of the series and apparently Mr. Easley's patriotic conscience is not altogether at ease, judging by the fear he had of seeing me. I telephoned him for an appointment.

"Who's calling?" his secretary asked.

"Mr. Spivak—of *THE NEW MASSES*. Is Mr. Easley in?"

"Yes, just a minute and I'll get him for you."

The minute stretched out to four by the watch—just long enough, I judged, to trace the call and get several people listening in on extension wires. Then—

"Hello," said a sharp voice.

"Mr. Easley?"

"No, this is Mr. Stevenson—"

"Not Archie Stevenson of the old 'red-baiting' fame?"

"This is Mr. Archibald Stevenson," the voice said with dignity. "What is it you wish to see Mr. Easley about?"

"I should like to see him about his anti-semitic activities. I know, of course, that he does not like Communists, but what I want to know is why he is carrying on anti-semitic work—what that has to do with his hatred of Communism."

"Mr. Easley is not carrying on anti-semitic work—"

"I should like to know why Mr. Easley, representing the ultra-patriotic National Civic Federation, has been reporting secretly to George Sylvester Viereck, Nazi agent."

"Mr. Easley has *not* been reporting to Mr. Viereck," Archie Stevenson exclaimed indignantly.

"I am sorry. I have Mr. Easley's letters to Mr. Viereck," I assured him.

"Well—" there was silence for a moment. "Mr. Easley is not in at the moment. Perhaps you had better see him."

"That's why I called. Could I make an appointment?"

"Please call tomorrow at ten."

At ten the next morning I telephoned. A girl's voice answered when I gave my name.

"Oh, Mr. Spivak," it said. "I have a message for you. Mr. Easley said that on advice of counsel he would rather not see you. He thinks it would be better if you submitted the questions you wish to ask him and he will give them due consideration."

"You mean Mr. Easley is afraid to answer personally propounded questions? That he wants time to think over the answers?"

"Well, it's on advice of counsel," his secretary replied.

"I'll send him the questions this afternoon by registered mail. I hope he and his counsel will enjoy answering them."

The list of questions are appended to this article. I expect that on "advice of counsel" Mr. Easley will not answer them. I am appending them only so that the reader will know what questions Mr. Easley has been advised not to answer.

We thus have an idea of the sort of person this professional "patriot" is. Let us now, since they worked so closely together, see what sort of person George Sylvester Viereck is. Mr. Viereck is an author, journalist and editor. I will not go into his literary history. I will merely say that he is one of the shrewdest propagandists I know. He himself does not commit himself to writing. However, Mr. Easley did enough writing for both of them.

Viereck's past has shown him prominent as a German propagandist. Since Hitler got into power he has been an active Nazi propagandist. His receiving \$1,750 a month—\$1,000 of which was his "cut" for getting a fat contract for Carl Byoir (a Jew) to handle publicity for German railroads, and \$750 a month for "service" he

was to render Byoir—has already come out. I do not think it is necessary to devote more space to proving him a Nazi propagandist. It is much more important to examine his financial condition before Hitler got into power and after Viereck took a trip to Nazi Germany in 1933.

Viereck lost almost his whole fortune in the 1929 crash as a result of large and unwise speculations. In March and April, 1933, after Hitler got into power, his bank accounts show that he suddenly had large sums of money. Early in October he returned from another trip to Germany and he had still larger sums available.

In March, 1933, after Viereck had been advising the German Consul General Kiep on "the general German-American situation," Kiep gave him a retainer of \$500 a month. This arrangement continued for five months—the money being paid to Viereck *in cash*. This retainer was supposed to have been deposited openly to his accounts and recorded in his cash book as money earned for legitimate advice. I saw his cash book—there is no entry for these sums except one \$500 entry on page 114 which *does not disclose the source*.

At this period when Viereck was getting money *in cash* from the German Consul General and when, his financial accounts show, large sums of money were suddenly available to him, the patriotic Ralph M. Easley suddenly got interested in stopping the Jewish boycott of German goods—which by this time was seriously hampering German business and threatening to spread. Besides carrying on anti-semitic propaganda, espionage work and other activities, it was to Hitler's interest that the Jews in this country stop the boycott, for it might eventually become a great factor in wrecking the Nazi regime.

On March 27, 1933, Viereck and Easley got together, with Viereck guiding the professional patriot in moves—to stop the boycott. Three days later, on the evening of March 30, 1933, after Viereck cabled the ex-Crown Prince of Germany, Vice Chancellor von Papen and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. I offer the cable:

The boycott of Germany here is so far only sporadic without central organization. Anti-German agitation is beginning to die down but it will assume incalculable dimensions if the threatened boycott of Saturday actually begins. In spite of the material interest in Germany's financial recovery and in spite of many currents friendly to pacifism, the American is fundamentally emotional and sentimental and if there is a battle between you and the Jews, Germany cannot count upon the support of either the press or the public. Even the German-Americans are unanimous in condemning the boycott [German boycott of Jewish stores in Germany]. The sentiment here is fraught with more peril than at any time during the war. France and Poland are beginning to regain the lost sympathies. The boycott would enhance the communist influence in Jewish organizations and elsewhere and would threaten also German minorities in other countries. If you will at

least postpone the boycott, I believe, according to the requests and assurances which have reached me, that I am in a position to guarantee that the anti-German agitation in all world centers will stop at once.

After this cable was sent, Easley—whose sole interest is supposed to be fighting radicalism, suddenly got busy and arranged for secret conferences in his headquarters. Those who attended were former Supreme Court Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, Max J. Kohler, the attorney, Louis Wiley, business manager of the New York Times, and members of the National Civic Federation. The plea was shrewdly made to the Jews that a boycott would result in a counter-boycott with the inevitable development of race hatred between Jew and gentile in the business field, which would spread. The appeal was made to the Jews that efforts should be made to stop the boycott on "patriotic" grounds. All that the Jews were told about Viereck was that he was "willing to cooperate" with them.

As a result of these conferences a special committee was appointed, at Viereck's suggestion, to arrange for a Good Will Commission to Germany. On May 13, 1933, the group sent a cable to Schacht outlining this proposal. Schacht immediately cabled that this committee would be more than welcome.

The special committee chosen consisted of Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor (which has numerous Jewish members in its affiliated unions *and which went on record as favoring the boycott of German goods*), General John Ross Delafield, George MacDonald, Herbert S. Houston and Easley.

Easley was constantly meeting with and writing reports to Viereck and introducing him to prominent Jews. At private meetings at the homes of his friends, Easley spoke in glowing terms of Viereck. At one meeting he waxed eloquent in claiming that Viereck was "cooperating" through him (Easley) with Cyrus Adler of the American Jewish Committee. At this meeting, filled with anti-semitic propagandists, Easley read a letter he had sent to Morris Waldman, secretary of the American Jewish Committee, outlining the proposed Good Will Commission, to consist of 33 Jews, 33 Germans, 33 Americans who were not to be Jews, and one man, the chairman, to be appointed by President Roosevelt.

While these conferences were going on, Easley convinced Waldman of the American Jewish Committee that one of the things the Jews who are fighting anti-semitism here should do was show that not all Communists were Jews and not all Jews were Communists. The American Jewish Committee, being opposed to Communism generally, continued to keep in touch with Easley, feeling that perhaps in this way they would lessen the growing anti-semitism in the United States.

However, while these conferences were going on with the Nazi agent Viereck in the background, Easley was confidentially reporting to him on the activities and plans of the Jews as well as laying schemes which would enable the Nazis to come out with blasts of publicity for themselves. For instance, I quote the letter dated June 6, 1933, which Easley sent to Viereck. The italics are mine.

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. George Sylvester Viereck,
627 West 113th St.,
New York, N. Y.
Dear Mr. Viereck:

I have just learned from Mr. Waldman that he will place in my hands tomorrow a rough tentative draft of the statement which will be issued in pamphlet form by the American Jewish Committee the first of the week and which will contain the Jews' whole case against the Hitler Government, making definite charges.

The suggestion is that, upon receipt of the pamphlet, Acting President Woll and General Delafield, Chairman of our Foreign Relations Committee, will write the American Jewish Committee that they have referred the charges to our German-American members, Messrs. Herman A. Metz, Bernard and Victor Ridder and George Sylvester Viereck, for reply. The Woll-Delafield letter, which will be given to the press, will describe the various activities of the Federation's Committee in this connection, *thus marking our public entrance into this situation*. So far as I know, ours is the only organization in this or any other country that is undertaking to mediate in this critical controversy, *all the others being propaganda bodies on one side or the other*.

Of course, the answer to the American Jewish Committee's pamphlet will open the way for the National Socialist Party of Germany to give its whole case. It may be that our committee will decide that the situation has again reached a point where it could appeal, on the one hand, to the American Jewish Congress, *to stop the boycott against German goods in this country*, and, on the other hand, to the National Socialist Party to lift or at least modify the more drastic restrictions upon the Jews in Germany.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) RALPH M. EASLEY.

This tricky scheme to stop the boycott and give Nazis a chance to blast their publicity against the Jews and the boycott did not materialize, for the Jews, though they did not know that Easley was reporting to Viereck, became somewhat suspicious of Mr. Easley's sudden interest. It was instinct with them. Perhaps when they read this confidential report they will see that their instincts served them well. Easley is still interested in stopping the boycott. Perhaps the wealthy Jews who are contributing to Easley's and Woll's organization, can explain the activities of the chairman of the executive council of the Civic Federation of which Woll is the acting president,

especially since the A. F. of L. went on record as favoring the boycott. There are a great many Jews in the A. F. of L. as well as a great many gentiles who do not like plotting behind the scenes and reporting to Hitler agents.

I think that this effort to send a Good Will Commission (which Schacht approved of) and stopping the boycott is now finished with the publication of this secret report to Viereck. Let us, then, get on to other of the professional patriot's activities, this time in disseminating anti-semitic propaganda.

I pointed out earlier in this chapter that when Viereck came back from Germany in October he had large sums of money available. At this period the patriotic Mr. Easley became intensely interested in disseminating Adolf Ehart's book, *Communism in Germany*, which though purporting to be an attack on Communists, is actually filled with cunning anti-semitic propaganda—the best kind to get across. Easley, with Viereck maneuvering and advising in the shadowy background of international intrigue, worked desperately to get Jews to endorse the book. What Viereck and Easley wanted was a prominent Jew for this and Easley wrote to Morris Waldman, secretary of the American Jewish Committee, sending him a copy of the book and the suggestion that Waldman get Judge Joseph Proskauer to okay it. The letter, dated October 16, 1933, follows:

Dear Mr. Waldman:

In pursuance of our talk on the telephone, I am sending, for your confidential information, a copy of the book described in the enclosed copy of letter.

At a luncheon today of a committee including General John Ross Delafield and Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., both these gentlemen suggested that we ought to ask Judge Proskauer or some other patriotic Jew of prominence to sign with them and others the Foreword herewith enclosed. They said that, as Judge Proskauer and all the other members of the conservative Jewish group that he represents are as bitterly opposed to Communism as are they, he might be willing to endorse this.

At any rate, look over this and let me have your reaction tomorrow morning as well as your suggestion as to whether it would be wise to try to get a Jewish co-signer.

(Signed) RALPH M. EASLEY.

Waldman read the book. So did Proskauer. Much as they hated Communism, they could not see themselves endorsing a book so obviously anti-semitic, and Proskauer refused. However, the book was here to be distributed and *despite the fact that these Jews called Easley's attention to the anti-semitic nature of the book, and flatly refused to endorse it, Easley proceeded to distribute copies wholesale.* The books were distributed free of charge from the offices of the National Civic Federation. Easley's wife, Gertrude Beeks Easley, who always works with him, handled the distribution, giving

at one time 100 copies to William Dudley Pelley of the Silver Shirts. During the period of distributing this anti-semitic material, the Easleys kept telling everybody that "the National Civic Federation had printed the book" and was distributing it because of the fight against Communism.

What Easley kept to himself is that the anti-semitic book, *Communism in Germany*, had been IMPORTED FROM GERMANY

BY GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK TO BE USED FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. Twenty thousand copies of this book arrived in this country on October 11, 1933, consigned to George Sylvester Viereck, who paid duty on them. Let me quote from a secret report Easley sent to Viereck on July 13, 1934. The italics are mine:

Dear Mr. Viereck:

In thinking over the situation which has grown out of my proposal for you to have your friends in Germany answer the statements contained in the pamphlet, *The Jews in Nazi Germany*, purporting to be "the factual record of their persecution by the National Socialists" and issued by the American Jewish Committee of New York, I am wondering if, instead of answering that Memorandum, it would not be better if the National Socialist Party itself should prepare a statement supported by documentary evidence and showing the entire undermining work which it claims is being done by Communists in Germany.

Perhaps both Jews and gentiles who have been contributing money to the Federation in the belief they were fighting Communism will inquire into the strange connections of this patriot, who last spring personally called on Under Secretary of State Phillips to try to stop the boycott of German goods—precisely what Viereck desired. The following letter was sent to Mr. Easley by registered mail:

October 26, 1934.

My dear Mr. Easley:

Your secretary informed me this morning that on advice of counsel you should not let me interview you on your anti-semitic activities which you carried on under the guise of fighting Communism. She added that counsel advised you to ask me to submit the questions I wish to ask you and that you "would give them due consideration." Herewith are the questions which I hope your legal advisors will permit you to answer:

1. In your fight against Communism you distributed a book, *Communism in Germany*, which contained anti-semitic propaganda: Where did you get this book?

2. Did you know that this book had been imported into this country by George Sylvester Viereck, a Nazi agent?

3. Why did you try to get Judge Proskauer, or other prominent Jews, to sponsor it? And why did Judge Proskauer refuse?

4. Did you ever inquire of George Sylvester Viereck, or any one

else, who was paying the cost of printing and shipping of the anti-semitic *Communism in Germany* which you were distributing?

5. Did you suspect that Nazi propagandists were behind this attack on the Jews and if so, why, as an American "patriot," did you undertake to distribute a book which you knew carried insidious anti-semitic propaganda?

6. How much money did you get from George Sylvester Viereck to help defray the cost of distributing this anti-semitic book?

7. How much did your wife, who is your assistant, get to help defray the expenses of distributing this book?

8. Your wife expressed the hope that before long she would have an office of her own to carry on the distribution of this anti-semitic book. Who proposed to pay for this office of her own, about which she confided to several of her intimate friends?

9. You solicit and receive contributions for anti-Communist propaganda. How much of this came from wealthy Jews and what portion of it was used to disseminate this anti-semitic book?

10. Why did you not inform the public or Judge Proskauer and other prominent Jews whom you tried to get to indorse this book that it had been imported into this country by George Sylvester Viereck?

11. Did you inform your associates, such as General Delafield, when you, they, and prominent Jews who were fighting anti-semitism in this country were meeting secretly, that the meetings had been first suggested to you by George Sylvester Viereck? I am referring to your proposed Committee of 100 which you tried to get formed.

12. Since your fight is against Communism and radicalism what has that to do with your efforts to get the Jewish boycott of German goods in this country stopped?

13. The American Federation of Labor, of which Matthew Woll is vice-president and is also acting president of the National Civic Federation, went on record favoring the boycott of German goods. Did you tell Mr. Woll of your recent activities to get this boycott stopped and what did he say?

14. Why did you go to the State Department and discuss with under-Secretary of State Phillips the stopping of the Jewish boycott of German goods? What has that to do with Communism?

15. Why did you report confidentially to George Sylvester Viereck on the activities of the American Jewish Committee, an organization formed to fight anti-semitism in this country?

16. Why did you plot confidentially to have the American Jewish Committee issue a statement which would give the National Socialist Party of Germany an opportunity for a blast of publicity in defense of anti-semitic activities and confidentially report on this to Viereck, the Nazi agent?

17. You met secretly at the home of Dr. Stein, 375 Park Ave., with Royal Scott Gulden, head of the secret espionage Order of '76, who you knew, was carrying on anti-semitic propaganda. What are your relations with Gulden?

18. Did you meet with Col. Edwin Emerson, the Nazi anti-semitic agent in this country? What was the purpose of your meetings?

19. Did you meet Sidney Brooks of the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee, the son of Col. Edwin Emerson, and what reason did you have to meet with him?

20. Your wife distributed this anti-semitic *Communism in Germany* giving free copies to William Dudley Pelley of the Silver Shirts. Did Viereck suggest giving him these copies?

21. What other propaganda material did Viereck ever give you to distribute which was imported from Germany?

22. What financial contributions did you receive from Nazi agents to carry on the wory of distributing material which they wanted spread throughout this country?

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

The response to this communication, sent by Archibald E. Stevenson, is reproduced in facsimile herewith.

ARCHIBALD EWING STEVENSON
COUNSELOR AT LAW

New York, New York.
October 29, 1934.

Mr. John L. Spivak.
New Messes,
31 East 27th Street.
New York City

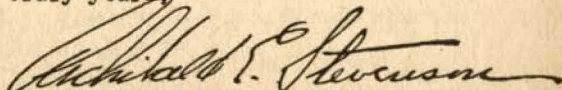
Dear Sir:

Mr. Ralph M. Easley has shown me your letter to him of October 26, which I read with interest, but without surprise.

Your interrogations are so replete with your own characterizations, conclusions and innuendoes that it is quite evident that your letter was not sent with an honest desire to acquire accurate information. Under these circumstances, I have advised Mr. Easley to ignore the letter altogether.

I should neglect my duty, however, if I did not advise you that any assertion or innuendo to the effect that either Mrs. Easley, Mr. Easley or Mr. Matthew Woll have been or are engaged in spreading any anti-Semitic propoganda or are parties to any pro-Nazi movement whatsoever, is libel per se and that any publication on your part of any statements or inferences to that effect will be dealt with as the law allows.

Very truly yours,



(Archibald E. Stevenson)
General Counsel

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

There is no suggestion of innuendo in the charge that Ralph M. Easley consciously engaged in anti-semitic work. The evidence is direct, documentary and conclusive. Here are the letters which former Justice Proskauer wrote—and which THE NEW MASSES published the week after it published the article about Mr. Easley, together with Mr. Easley's lawyer's threat of a libel suit:

Gen. John Ross Delafield,
20 Exchange Place,
New York City.

October 27, 1933.

Dear General Delafield:

Some time ago Mr. Waldman, of the American Jewish Committee, sent me a confidential letter to him from Mr. Easley, in which it was stated that it was suggested by you and Congressman Hamilton Fish that I might be asked to sign the Foreword with respect to the publication in America of Dr. Adolf Ehrt's book on Communism.

I need hardly say to you that I am no Communist, but that the National Civic Federation should be misled into giving the stamp of its approval on this particular work is to me incredible. The book in question is undoubtedly a piece of special propaganda in the present Anti-Semitic movement in Germany. If you have any doubt on this subject, I wish you would ask Mr. Easley to send you a copy of Mr. Waldman's letter to him dated October 18th. No organization can sponsor a book containing such statements as are quoted in Mr. Waldman's letter without becoming responsible for a definite Anti-Semitic propaganda, and that responsibility cannot be evaded by a mere statement that the book has nothing to do with Anti-Semitism.

I very earnestly trust that the National Civic Federation, in which I have a deep interest, will not make any such mis-step.

(Signed) JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER.

Ralph M. Easley, Esq.,
570 Lexington Ave.,
New York City.

November 1, 1933.

Dear Mr. Easley:

The office of the American Jewish Committee has, in the absence of Mr. Waldman, called my attention to your correspondence with him regarding Dr. Ehrt's book.

Any book, which directly and by innuendo, identifies Jews and Communists, is an anti-Semitic book. That is the essence of this situation. The rest of it is embroidery.

In order to fight Communism, in which task I am with you, there is no occasion for exalting Hitlerism and publishing a book which apparently misses no opportunity to emphasize the chance coincidence that a particular Communist happened to be a Jew.

I sincerely trust that this project will be abandoned.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER.

No libel suit had been filed by Mr. Easley at the time this pamphlet goes to press.

WHO PAID VIOLA ILMA'S WAY TO NAZI GERMANY?

THE TRAIL of Hitler agents in this country does not always lead to direct anti-semitic activities. Anti-semitism is only one phase of German Fascism. It was essential to Hitler as an excuse for the disintegration of Germany's economic life against which the people were on the point of rebelling. Hence Fascism, especially in a country where there are millions of Jews, carries within itself the germs of anti-semitism.

In the fight against the persecution of national and racial minorities, of which anti-semitism is one manifestation, it is important to examine any possible Fascist organization and determine, if possible, whether such organizations could possibly be Nazi-inspired. And this leads us to the now nationally known Youth Movement headed by Viola Ilma and the much-publicized Youth Congress held at New York University last summer. An examination of the activities of Miss Ilma, which attracted and still attract national attention, reveals some very startling facts which Miss Ilma kept secret.

The Youth Congress was held last August. It was the first attempt "at national unity on the part of American Youth." The press gave it a great deal of space. There were a great many feature stories about the young and charming founder, Viola Ilma of New York, Washington, London, Geneva, Berlin and other points. What the delegates, the newspapers and her members did not know is that Miss Ilma, born in Germany, is not even sure that she is a citizen, that the Youth Congress was called after she had made a trip to Germany where she saw high Nazi officials and where she got the money for her jaunt abroad. When the reader finishes this chapter, he will know a little more about the activities of the founder of this movement.

The conference Miss Ilma called eventually broke up. Radical and liberal groups smelled Fascism, organized an opposition and took the Congress completely away from Miss Ilma.

Miss Ilma today is moving in the highest political circles of the land—the same Miss Ilma who in an address before a woman's

club in Paris on her way from Berlin stated: "Hitler is bigger than any politician I have ever known," and who in private conversations defended Hitler's treatment of the Jews.

Before we touch on the matters which this young lady has tried to keep secret I think we can accept it as a truism that if her proposed movement were successful—and she has a large following—her organization could function as Hitler's Youth functioned in Germany shortly before he took power. And if, in the course of our examination of this young lady, we find her conferring with Nazi officials, then it would be reasonable to assume that Miss Ilma might be influenced by their suggestions.

Before Miss Ilma organized the Youth Congress she took a trip to Germany. And from then on we come to matters about which the young lady was extremely embarrassed when questioned. Miss Ilma had been broke. She never had much money. Nevertheless on September 7, 1933, she sailed for Germany on the Hamburg-American ship, New York. We will come to the question of who paid her fare and her expenses abroad. At the moment, it is necessary to say only that she carried with her two letters of introduction to bitter anti-semites.

With this in mind, let us call upon her in the modest apartment at 103 W. 88th St., New York, where she lives with her parents.

"You have no money," I said. "Yet you travel and eat. May I ask, from whom do you get your backing to organize this movement?"

Miss Ilma evaded the question, telling me at length about her hopes of solidifying the various youth movements in the country, about the Congress she had called. Finally I asked again:

"Where did you get the money to carry on your work?"

"I got \$500 from Arthur Garfield Hays, Anne Morgan and Christopher Morley," she said finally. "These people had given me money for my magazine, Modern Youth, which finally went under. I raised about \$1,500 for the Congress and there was some \$300 left over."

"That was in August. You have to live. Where did you get money since then?"

"There seems to be a great mystery about where I get money. There isn't any," she said petulantly. "I can get money whenever I need it. From my father or mother." Her parents are music teachers and judging from their very modest apartment, not very well-to-do.

"How much money do you need?"

"Well, one of the things I need is \$150,000 to start another magazine."

"You've been traveling around a great deal recently. Where did you get the money for that?"

Again she was evasive. Then she said: "I told you I had \$300 left from the Congress. I used that."

"All of your activities are actuated by a patriotic desire to do something for American youth?"

"That and only that," she assured me.

"I see. Are you an American citizen?"

"Certainly!" she said with a note of indignation.

"Born here?" I continued.

"No, I was born in Mainz, Germany. I was three years old when I came here."

"Is your father a citizen?"

"No, my father is a Swiss citizen, but my mother is an American. Born in New York. But I am a citizen."

"If your father is a Swiss citizen, then you must have gotten naturalization papers?"

"Why do you ask me that? What has that to do with the movement?" she exclaimed irritably.

"Nothing, except that you said you were actuated by patriotism, yet you are not even a citizen. Didn't Arthur Garfield Hays try to get you naturalization papers?"

"No, he did not!" she said sharply.

"Oh, I'm sorry. He told me he did."

"Arthur said that! Well—yes, he got them for me—in 1931 or '32."

"Hays says that he was unsuccessful in getting them for you," I said quietly.

"Arthur did!" she exclaimed again. "I can't understand that."

"Then you are an alien?"

"The status is still—the whole question is—there is no answer one way or the other at the moment," she floundered. "It's one of those damned situations that's all involved. I was afraid that one day this would come up. That's why I was in Washington. I saw all the papers. Must this come out?"

"I don't see how it can be avoided. You are a public figure, actuated only by patriotism. You are twenty-four years old now and only since you returned from Germany did you suddenly try to get your citizenship status established—"

"It would be God damned lousy for me just now if it came out," she volunteered glumly.

"Why did you tell me you were a citizen?"

"Oh," she moved restlessly in her seat. "Don't you understand? I didn't want it to come out."

"Yes, I guessed as much."

"Look here!" she leaned towards me, her eyes almost welling with tears. "If you publish this you'll just crack up the whole thing

I've been working for. Thank God my father was not born in Germany or the whole thing would look lousier than it already looks. But—I don't see why it is necessary to publish that I am an alien."

"It wouldn't be, normally. I assure you I have no desire to hurt you needlessly. Before I finish asking you these questions, perhaps you will understand why it is necessary to publish the fact that you are an alien, born in Germany and sailing under a Swiss passport. But let us get on with your trip to Germany. What was the object of the trip and who paid your expenses?"

"I went to Geneva. I'll tell you exactly where I went. I went first to London, then I went to Paris, Geneva, Berlin, back to Geneva, Paris, London and home. All in a couple of weeks. I was in Germany all told about eight days. Do you know that Arthur Garfield Hays was there when I was?"

"Yes, I know," I assured her. "But who paid your expenses? You had no money."

"My expenses were paid by the New History Society," she said.

"How much money did they give you?"

"I say they sent me. That's all I have to say."

"Did they give you any money at all?"

"I don't wish to—" she caught herself and concluded swiftly, "They sent me abroad. That's all I have to say on that."

"Now, Miss Ilma, isn't it a fact that your expenses abroad were paid by the Nazi government?"

The founder of the Youth Movement jumped to her feet.

"That's a God damned lie!" she shrieked. "Absolutely no! I don't know anybody in the German government. I once had a few minutes' interview with Hanfstaengl—"

"Yes, I know," I said soothingly.

"Why, if you went to the German Consulate they wouldn't even know my name. Have you gone there?" she asked quickly.

"No, I haven't. It wasn't necessary. Now, when you were in Germany you say you saw Hanfstaengl? Didn't you also meet Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda?"

"I met Goebbels in Geneva."

"How did you get to him!"

"I didn't get to him. I just went in during a press conference like I go into press conferences in Washington."

"You said you met Hanfstaengl once. Didn't you meet him more than once?"

"I met him twice," she said.

"How did you get to Hanfstaengl?"

"I got to Putzy through a friend. He gave me a letter of introduction."

"What was the friend's name?"

"That isn't necessary."

"Why don't you want to give me this friend's name?"

"There's no why—people—there's no answer to it," she floundered again.

"Was the person who gave you the letter of introduction connected with the German government? Is that why you don't want to mention his name?"

"No! Absolutely no!" she exclaimed. She rose to her feet and started pacing the small room. "He has no connection whatever with the German government."

"Has he ever had any connection with the German government?"

"No!" She turned on me fiercely. "His name does not matter—"

"But it does," I assured her. "Especially if he is a man who at one time went to prison when he was generally suspected of being a German agent."

She paused in her restless steps.

"What—what do you mean?"

"I mean that the man who gave you the letter of introduction was Edward Aloysius Rumely who was indicted with two of Arthur Garfield Hays' partners, during the World War in connection with the New York Evening Mail scandal. Certainly you must have heard the talk of his being a German agent. You did, didn't you? He gave you the letter, didn't he?"

"Yes," she admitted slowly.

"And he gave you another letter to Baron von Schmidt-Pauli, one of Propaganda Minister Goebbels' chief associates. Those letters said that you should be shown every consideration and that interviews should be arranged for you with Hitler, Goering and Goebbels—that you were an important American journalist who, upon your return would be of great help in acquainting the United States with the true character of Germany. Now, why did you try to keep Rumely's name out of this?"

"I didn't want to get him involved because he is connected with the Committee for the Nation."

"You know, of course, that Rumely is secretary of the Committee for the Nation. Nevertheless, his name does not appear on the letterheads. You know, too, that Rumely's organization has been advocating devaluation of the American dollar, carrying on tremendous propaganda for it, and that the chief gainer of this devaluation is the German government, which has the largest floating debt in this country?"

Miss Ilma shook her head.

"Why did you try to keep his name out as the one who gave you the letters of introduction?"

"Did Arthur tell you that?" she demanded angrily. "Well, if you want the whole story why don't you say that. I met Arthur Garfield Hays through Rumely. Put that in!"

"No, Arthur did not tell me that. Arthur, as a matter of fact, defended you. But I do want the whole story."

"Well, when I started my magazine Rumely said, 'You ought to meet Arthur Garfield Hays'."

"Mr. Hays was in Berlin at the Reichstag fire trial. You saw him in Berlin at that time?"

"I am a friend of his daughter. We were all together. I spent most of my time with him."

"Did you ever talk to him about the Reichstag fire trial?"

"Why—what difference could that make?"

"Let us assume—mind you, I am not saying you have anything to do with it—but let us assume that Arthur Garfield Hays, as one of the attorneys for the defendants, naturally would know the plans of the defense. If a charming woman, a friend of his daughter, let us say, whom he had no reason to distrust asked questions, she could learn a lot, couldn't she?"

"Yes, but——"

"Did you discuss the Reichstag fire trial with him?"

"Yes, but——"

"I understand. He said no more to you than he would discussing it with anyone else. He explained all that to me. Now regarding Mr. Rumely. How did you meet him?"

"Oh——" she rose from her chair with a quick motion.

"All right. Did Mr. Rumely ever okay a printer's bill for you when you went into bankruptcy?"

"He never did!"

"Very well, you are broke. You have no income. When you went to Washington last week you went direct to the Hays Adams House?"

"Yes."

"That's an expensive place. Why did you go there?"

"Because it's a nice place."

"That's a good reason," I laughed. "You stayed with some friends after that—Miss Margery Watson at the La Salle Apartments, 1928 Connecticut Avenue—is that right?"

"Yes."

"You had meetings at her apartment. Did you ever meet Kurt G. Sell there?"

"Who is he?" she asked blankly. "I never heard the name."

"Kurt G. Sell is the Washington correspondent for the German News Bureau. He is the man who vouched for Kurt G. W. Luedecke, who was in the United States as a correspondent for the

Deutsche Volkischer Beobachter, a vicious anti-semitic Nazi paper. Luedecke, as a result of Sell's vouching for him, gained admittance to the press gallery and the President's press conferences where the President frequently says things off the record. Luedecke has already confessed to being a Nazi propagandist."

"I never heard the name Kurt G. Sell," she repeated.

"Very well, let me read you the notes I took of a conversation I had with your hostess Miss Margery Watson on Oct. 24, 1934, the evening you had a meeting at her apartment. There were two people listening in on extension wires."

Miss Ilma stared at me as I read:

"Miss Watson?"

"Yes?"

"Is Miss Ilma in?"

"No, but I expect her about eight o'clock. There's to be a meeting here then. I assume she is out to dinner."

"She's doing nice work, isn't she?"

"Oh, marvelous! I am so happy with what she is doing."

"Has Ambassador Luther's secretary called yet?"

"No, but Kurt Sell has called a number of times and you know he is quite close to the German Embassy."

"Yes, I know. Do you expect him tonight?"

"Well, I don't know but he said he would drop in almost any time."

Miss Ilma jumped from her seat.

"Margery couldn't have said that! I don't know the man."

"I'm sorry. I am only reading you the notes of the conversation I had with her—with two people listening in. Now on Nov. 3, 1934, I telephoned her again in Washington. Two people listened in on this, too. I'll omit the introduction and establishing of the voice as Miss Watson's."

"Viola's visit was so fascinating," Miss Watson said. "She and Mrs. Roosevelt had quite a nice talk."

"Is that so?"

"Yes, and she's to see Mrs. Roosevelt in Hyde Park, too."

"Did Kurt Sell get in touch with her?"

"I don't know just what they discussed but I know she got in touch with him and they had so many plans. It's marvelous what a girl she is."

"Yes, she's sure marvelous."

"Is this Mr. Becker?" the voice suddenly asked.

"No, it isn't. I'm sorry."

"Oh," the voice grew a trifle cold. "I'm sorry I talked so personal. I'm sorry. Good night."

Miss Ilma rubbed an ivory hand across her eyes.

"I can't understand Margery saying this."

"You did see Mrs. Roosevelt, didn't you?"

"Yes," she said slowly.

"And a lot of high officials—like Secretary Wallace, for instance?"

"Yes," she said again in a low tone.

"What did you discuss with them?"

Miss Ilma walked over to me.

"I know what's on your mind. You think I am a Nazi agent. I am not! I am interested only in the Youth Movement. If you can't keep out the fact that I am an alien, can't you at least keep out that I saw Mrs. Roosevelt? Mrs. Roosevelt saw me only on condition that there be no publicity and if this thing comes out in **THE NEW MASSES** why, it will just break up all that I have been doing—all my plans—my whole career."

She started pacing again.

"Poppa!" she suddenly called.

Poppa came in from another room, a strapping man well over six feet, with a chest like a barrel.

Miss Ilma briefly explained the situation. There was nothing to be done about her being an alien; there was nothing to be done about her letters of introduction from Rumely but—Mrs. Roosevelt!

"Why must you use it?" her father asked. "Mrs. Roosevelt wouldn't like it."

"Well, my job is to write what I learn. Miss Ilma could communicate with Mrs. Roosevelt and the President's wife could ask **THE NEW MASSES** editors not to publish it," I suggested hopefully.

"Oh," Viola exclaimed, "they wouldn't do that for her."

"Well, I don't know what I could do about it," I said helplessly.

"What is the purpose of all these questions?" her father demanded. "Whom do you represent besides **THE NEW MASSES**?"

"Just **THE NEW MASSES**," I assured him. "We are running a series of articles on the growth of anti-semitism in the United States, the propaganda carried on by Nazi secret agents."

"My daughter is no Nazi agent!" he shouted. "If she were a Nazi agent I would break her neck myself right here while you look on."

"She is under no obligation to answer anything. I explained that to her. This is not a court. But she is a public figure, organizing a movement that has all the earmarks of a Fascist organization. She has made some anti-semitic statements——"

"How could I," Miss Ilma exclaimed. "Why, Arthur Garfield Hays is my lawyer and he is a Jew."

"Your daughter is moving in the highest political circles of the land. She organized the Youth Congress after she returned from a trip to Germany. She had letters of introduction from a man who was suspected of being a German agent during the war. The letters

were to Nazi officials. And she will not tell who paid for her trip to Germany and her expenses abroad."

"Why should she tell who paid her expenses?"

"There is no reason why she should tell me."

"Is this a Senate inquiry?"

"No, just a NEW MASSES one."

"Suppose I say I gave her the money."

"I know you didn't."

I turned to Miss Ilma.

"Do you realize that if you refuse to tell where you got your money to go to Germany to meet leaders of the Nazi movement just before you came here to organize the Congress, that you are open to grave suspicion?"

"I can't tell!"

"Why not? What is there to hide if you got it from a legitimate source?"

"I can't tell," she repeated.

"You realize the suspicion——"

"I can't help it. I can't tell."

"If you got it from some one on the level, why can't you tell?"

"I'll tell you who I got it from!" she exclaimed suddenly.

"You understand that I'll have to quote you?"

"Yes."

"You realize, too, that I shall check it?"

"With the man?"

"With his bank. I shall want to know if he withdrew that sum from his bank on or about the day you say."

"The History Society paid my expenses," she said in a low voice.

"A little earlier you said that they did not."

"You can check with them."

"Very well."

As I rose to go, I said:

"Miss Ilma, you are making a grave mistake in refusing to tell who paid your expenses to Germany. I know it was not the History Society."

"No, it was not," she said in a low voice.

"Will you tell me who gave you the money?"

"No!" she shouted. "I can't tell. I can't tell!"

And with this, I think, ends the Viola Ilma Youth Movement, with all its menacing Fascist tendencies.

After the above story had been written, Arthur Garfield Hays' office, at the request of Miss Viola Ilma, stated that it had investigated her status at Ellis Island as well as the law governing her status as a citizen. According to Mr. Hays, Miss Ilma became a citizen when her mother resumed her citizenship following marriage

to an alien, and therefore, Miss Ilma today is a citizen. Mr. Hays, when asked why then Miss Ilma traveled on a Swiss passport, said, "Well, I guess it was due to bad advice."

Miss Ilma's answer, in the form of a letter to *THE NEW MASSES*, is given below, together with the editors' comment:

TO *THE NEW MASSES*:

You published in your November 13th number an outrageous and untruthful article charging that I am a Nazi spy and implying that my recent trip to Germany was financed by Nazi money. This article is in the form of an interview with John L. Spivak. Some of the alleged statements I made to Mr. Spivak are true. A good deal of it is made up out of whole cloth. Its inferences are wholly absurd. On the whole, it is a fraudulent and malicious patchwork of unrelated parts.

I therefore ask that you will make a retraction and also publish this letter in your paper, in as conspicuous position as the article containing your charges.

I went to Germany to study the youth movements there, as I did in other countries. My trip was paid for in part by people who were interested in what I was doing in the United States. My sympathies are not pro-Nazi, but strongly the opposite. However, in my opinion some things the government has done there in encouraging various youth activities, especially athletics, are excellent.

I was given a letter to Mr. Hanfstaengel by a friend who knew him when he kept a print shop in New York many years ago, and has not seen or heard from him since. My object in seeing Hanfstaengel was to get him to put me in the way of finding out as much as possible about the various youth movements.

Your charges that the Committee for the Nation, an organization with which I never had any connection, is a pro-German organization, whose object is to have the gold content of the dollar reduced in order to make it easier for Germany to pay its debt to this country is a sample of the peurility [sic] of your paper. This Committee, I understand, is one of business men who think, like many others, that a depreciation in the dollar's value to the 1926 level would cut down debts and help business.

Altogether, your attack on me—inspired, I suppose, by my hostility to the Communists in the Youth Congress—is so deliberately untruthful and so fantastic that it could only appear in a sheet conducted by rather pathetic little neurotics, cursed with a sense of inferiority and a false humility that permit them to stoop to shameful acts.

New York, N. Y.

VIOLA ILMA.

[Mr. Spivak's interview with Miss Ilma centered about her mysterious trip to Nazi Germany just before she organized the Fascist Youth Congress. The facts are that she did have letters of introduction from Edward A. Rumely of the Committee for the Nation to Nazi leaders, that she did see them before she organized the Congress and that she did receive money from a mysterious source to cover her trip and expenses to Germany. Miss Ilma's letter does not clear up the question of who paid her expenses to Nazi Germany.—*THE EDITORS.*]

“HATE-THE-JEW” CAMPAIGN IN THE COLLEGES

MOST COLLEGES and universities throughout the United States have witnessed, since Hitler got into power, a rising tide of anti-semitism. Most students and professors, Jew and gentile, are amazed, unable to account for this sudden development. That there had been a more or less latent anti-semitic feeling in many universities is recognized. Harvard's action some years ago in limiting the number of Jewish students was the first open move on a racial basis. It was an isolated instance which brought Harvard the condemnation of the country.

That Jewish students are discriminated against in admissions is too well-known to need proof in this place. Many of our leading universities have limited admissions without announcing it as openly as Harvard did. That few Jews rise to full professorships in the universities is also well-known. The evidence of racial discrimination is so overwhelming that more than one article could be written about that alone. At present I am interested in explaining the activities behind the sudden rise of anti-semitism in our leading universities and colleges. What the vast majority of students and professors do not know is that in our universities and colleges there is a secret anti-semitic organization directed by German exchange students to carry on pro-Hitler propaganda and develop the "Hate-the-Jew" creed for the sake of "pure Aryan culture." Working with this secret organization are Nazi agents who came here ostensibly to study, and one hundred percent Americans in the "patriotic" organizations which are distributing anti-semitic propaganda in cooperation with secret Hitler agents in the United States.

This secret organization is known as the Paul Reveres and is headed by Col. Edwin Marshall Hadley with headquarters in Room 1911, 120 South La Salle St., Chicago. The Paul Reveres have branches in almost every university and college in the country, including Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Northwestern University in Chicago, and Columbia. This organization, with a special espionage division, has given particular attention to the colleges in New York

City which have a great many Jewish students. In addition to these various colleges and universities, the Paul Reveres have recently extended their activities to the high schools, again especially in New York City.

This student espionage and propaganda organization works in cooperation with Nazi agents who entered this country as German exchange students. The primary object of the Paul Reveres is ostensibly the development of "patriotism."

Its original organizer and secretary was Mrs. Albert W. Dilling of Kenilworth, the author of *The Red Network*, which listed Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mayor Fiorello La Guardia as "Reds." Mrs. Dilling, however, does not seem to feel that all Jews are Communists or "potential Communists," and when she learned of Col. Hadley's anti-semitic tendencies, she wrote to him in protest. Col. Hadley replied (March 6, 1934):

Regarding the "Jew angle" patriotic movements can be handled by them in a body much better than in mixed groups so please see to it that the chapter [a division of the Paul Reveres] is kept strictly a gentile organization. This can be handled without publicity by your membership committee.

Mrs. Dilling's hatred of Communists halted at the injection of the race issue, and she resigned. The Paul Reveres, though continuing their drive for members on "patriotic" grounds, asked all applicants whether they were Jews.

Col. Hadley did not dare to come out too openly with his hatred of the Jews, so he published a 24-page pamphlet, *The Plan in Action*, a bitter, vitriolic attack on the Jews, and signed it "by Earnest Sincere." The authorship of this pamphlet has been kept secret even from the leading disseminators of anti-semitic propaganda. Countless thousands of this vicious attack on the Jewish race have been distributed throughout the country. One of the chief distributors is Royal Scott Gulden, head of the anti-semitic espionage Order of '76. Gulden himself, though in contact with Col. Hadley, did not know this patriot was the author of the pamphlet.

There is much more to be said about Col. Hadley and his "patriotic" activities, but I think this is sufficient to show the type of man who heads the Paul Reveres and their anti-semitic activities in our universities.

Within recent months, the country has become aware of a particularly bitter feeling on the Jewish and radical questions in New York City colleges, New York University, C. C. N. Y., and Columbia especially. What caused this eruption mystified not only the people, but most of the student bodies and their professors. None of them dreamed that it was caused by the cunning operations of Nazi agents working with and through native American students.

Early in 1934, Hitler agents in the United States headed by Guenther Orgell, head of the Nazi secret political service in this country, decided that an espionage organization must be organized in the universities and colleges. A young student whose name, I am sorry to say, I do not know, arranged a meeting with Rudyard Uzzell, Jr., a student at the University of Pennsylvania, the son of Mrs. R. S. Uzzell, 8812-165th St., Queens, in Royal Scott Gulden's office, headquarters of the espionage Order of '76. The reader will recollect that Royal Scott Gulden, head of this "patriotic" order is working in cooperation with Nazi agents here.

Gulden, the reader will remember, merged his organization with the Silver Shirts, headed by William Dudley Pelley. The two worked to extend their spy and propaganda systems. It is in Gulden's organization that I found members of the United States Military and Naval Intelligence, detectives and big business men and it is Gulden's organization, too, which has been most active in disseminating Louis T. McFadden's anti-semitic speeches in Congress. I give this brief summary so the reader will understand the relations between these patriots and Nazi secret service agents.

The young woman who arranged this meeting is the head of the espionage division of the Paul Revere branch at Cornell University. Uzzell had been exceedingly active in organizing espionage and anti-semitic groups in various colleges, achieving his greatest success at the University of Pennsylvania.

Uzzell, after his meeting with Gulden, asked to be presented to Orgell, who is ostensibly head of the United German Societies but devotes most of his time to directing Hitler's secret service work in the United States and the smuggling of anti-semitic propaganda off German boats which dock in New York. Uzzell wanted to discuss with Orgell the combining of Nazi and American anti-semitic activities in the colleges.

This hopeful young Nazi, aided by his mother, is apparently determined to make anti-semitism and espionage through the Paul Reveres his life work, for he has in his home in Queens one of the largest card indexes in the country of prominent people who can be won over by proper propaganda. On April 3, 1934, Uzzell and Guenther Orgell met at the Friends of New Germany headquarters. Orgell told his visitor that he would be glad to use him in an advisory capacity in college propaganda work, but the man in charge of the Paul Reveres had been more than satisfactory in establishing Nazi cells in the colleges.

Uzzell asked him who the man was, but Orgell would not tell him. Uzzell and most of the student members do not know to this day who he is. For their own and the public's information, the man is Fred Wetzell, 240 East 86th Street, New York City. This student

has secretly organized twenty Nazi cells at C. C. N. Y. alone. These secret Nazi cells follow the German method: four students to each cell.

In organizing these cells, the work is carried on with extreme caution. Members of the student espionage and propaganda organization, under strict orders from German agents like Orgell, do not approach possible members directly. Instead, there is a special group of students who act as primary contacts to feel out the prospects. Usually each university and college throughout the country has one special "contact man." In New York City the contact man is a Columbia University post-graduate student, St. George Bissell, the 3rd, son of Pelham St. George Bissell, Municipal Court Justice of New York. He lives with his father at 270 Park Avenue.

Bissell has been active in promoting Fascism on the Columbia campus, but none of the students know that this man is working not only with the Paul Reveres, but frequently consults Royal Scott Gulden on the best methods of developing his espionage and anti-semitic organization. Bissell constantly moves in circles of secret Nazi agents and provocateurs. On March 29, 1934, for instance, a secret meeting was held at the Justice's Park Avenue apartment at which Gulden explained the need of organizing students "to be ready to do the bidding of the Paul Reveres in attacking Communists and Jews on Union Square." The Justice was present when the meeting was called to order, but left after a few minutes without saying anything.

These activities have developed open race hatred on the campuses of the various universities. In some, as at Harvard and Yale, open organization of Nazi groups is directly traceable to the activities of "patriotic" American students working with German agents. Co-operating with these Nazi groups are the German exchange students, like Detlof von Sahn, son of a former Mayor of Berlin, who was active in organizing anti-semitism at Washington University in St. Louis working under the direction of Consul-General Gysling of Los Angeles. When THE NEW MASSES tried to get in touch with this Nazi student to ask for an explanation of his activities, he left hastily for Berlin. He has not come back and probably will not. Other students not only carry on propaganda here, but organize "good will" tours to Germany which are "extremely inexpensive." These tours are for students and professors. In Germany, Nazi students act as guides. One such "good will" tour was organized under the guidance of the Open Road, 56 West 45th Street, "in order to reciprocate the generous hospitality they (the Nazi students) are enjoying at American Universities and Colleges." During this summer's trip abroad the professors and students were filled with Nazi propaganda and many of them came back to deliver enthusiastic lectures about the fine conditions in Germany, especially the way the Jews are treated over there.

I point out these facts briefly to give the reader a notion of how the long arm of Nazi anti-semitic activities works in this country. It is not only active among the students. It extends to the American professors and teachers, some of whom are conscious Nazi agents. It uses prominent German professors who visit this country, like Professor Frederick Schoneman of the University of Berlin, who in his eager desire to give pro-Hitler lectures is willing to travel around anywhere in the United States and speak for nothing. If his expenses are paid, he is grateful.

Professors in the universities, like Thomas Alexander of Columbia University—who heads the Order of '76's list of prominent professorial names of those who will deliver pro-Hitler talks—take advantage of every opportunity to address gatherings and offer a defense of Hitlerism—as Professor Alexander has done and is doing. It is this eminent Professor Alexander who met with one of Gulden's secret agents, Olga Grunewald, "consulting psychologist," who went to him after she had been at the German Consulate on May 1, 1934, to discuss organizing a branch of the anti-semitic Order of '76 at Columbia University. Professor Alexander assured this secret agent of his fullest cooperation. The meeting between this secret agent and the professor took place in the professor's study on May 10, 1934. It was Professor Alexander, too, who aided this secret agent in drawing up a list of over 100 professors and teachers in New York and Philadelphia who might become members of the Order of '76 to carry on espionage activities and anti-semitic propaganda.

Some of our leading teachers like Mrs. Elizabeth Schrader, head of the German Department of the New York State Department of Education are members of Nazi organizations. How much Mrs. Schrader has to do with the appointment of "unpaid volunteer" teachers of German in the New York schools I do not know but I cannot imagine that Martin Hartmann and Fred Scheibe, who as "unpaid volunteer" teachers work under her, were appointed without her knowledge. It would have been difficult to get them a regular teacher's pay but these generous souls volunteered to "teach" for nothing. And certainly it is difficult to believe that Mrs. Schrader, a member of Nazi organizations, does not know that these two "unpaid volunteers" are among the leading anti-semitic propagandists in the country and that they welcome an opportunity to carry on their pro-Hitler and anti-semitic activities right in the heart of the New York school system where they can influence not only students but teachers who in their turn can influence countless other students.

Hartmann is one of the most rabid Jew haters in the country. For a time he edited *Das Neue Deutschland*, and the anti-semitic Nazi newspaper, the *Deutsch Zeitung*, which today sets the pace in spreading the "Hate the Jew" creed.

Fred Scheibe is not only a member of the Friends of the New Germany which takes the lead in spreading the "Hate the Jew" creed but appears frequently as one of the chief speakers at Nazi propaganda meetings.

In this way "unpaid volunteers" who spread Nazi and anti-semitic propaganda creep into our schools and colleges.

I mention these not to single them out among the many but to impress the reader with the avalanche of anti-semitism in our highest institutions of learning.

Professors accept free passages to Nazi Germany and no country or shipping company in the world gives out free passages without expecting something in return. So I wonder what actuated the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines to give a first-class passage to the wife of a C. C. N. Y. instructor, Mrs. C. von Bradisch, who sailed on the S.S. New York on May 18, 1933, to be followed on August 10, 1933 on the same ship by her husband, listed as Prof. J. von Bradisch.

This wonderment is based on a letter that R. T. Kessemier, the resident manager in Philadelphia of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American lines wrote to Robert Biele of Philadelphia in June, 1933. Biele is a member of the Friends of the New Germany, the organization which is taking the lead in anti-semitic propaganda in this country. This letter stated:

"Enclosed you will find a list of professors in the various colleges which will no doubt be of assistance to you."

The professors listed as prospective aids for this Nazi-directed anti-semitic organization include the following:

- Dr. Ernst Jockers, University of Pennsylvania.
- Prof. Doernenburg, La Salle College, Phila.
- Dr. Harry W. Pfund, Carl Schurz Foundation, at present at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- Dr. Preston A. Barba, Allentown, Pa.
- Prof. Daniel B. Shumway, University of Penn.
- Prof. George Bickel, High School, Pottstown, Pa.
- Dr. Karl Reuning, Swarthmore College.
- Prof. F. O. Kegel, Lehigh University.
- Dr. W. Hausmann, German Department, Central High School, Broad and Green Streets, Phila.

While referring to those prominent educators who were given free passages to Nazi Germany, it is as good a time as any to point out that the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines are members of the Transatlantic Conference with headquarters at 80 Broadway, N. Y. City. This conference imposes severe penalties on its members for giving free passages. Six months ago the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines were caught by Emil

Lederer, sole arbiter of the Conference, giving free passages to four people. The German shipping lines were fined some \$60,000 but the fine was kept secret. The fact is that between January 1, 1933 and May 9, 1934 these two Nazi shipping companies *gave over 300 free passages*, some of them to Nazi propagandists.

If the shipping companies who are members of the Transatlantic Conference or Mr. Lederer who assesses the fines, will write me care of **THE NEW MASSES** I shall be happy to present them with a complete list of all who were given free passages, the names, the boats on which they sailed, the class of passage, the date of sailing and at whose suggestion they were given free passage.

This list, which is too large to be published in full here, includes influential persons like Karl K. Kitchen, once a Broadway columnist for the *New York Evening World*. Kitchen was given a first-class passage May 3, 1933 on the *Bremen*. He returned after a visit to Germany ready to write a series of pro-Hitler articles. Some of them appeared. Col. E. Alexander Powell, nationally known lecturer on international subjects, who has been telling the world what a fine place Nazi Germany is, sailed in a first-class cabin on July 22, 1933, on the *Europa*. Burton Holmes, internationally known traveller and lecturer, sailed on a free passage on the *Europa*, on April 8, 1934.

Nazi Germany sees nothing wrong in giving free passages to gentlemen who are in a position to say something good about Hitler's government. In fact, it sees nothing wrong in spending money to carry on anti-semitic propaganda in this country. That the Nazi Consul-General in New York gave money to Father Francis Gross of Perth Amboy, N. J., to print a vicious anti-semitic throwaway as well as money to George Sylvester Viereck, the Nazi agent in this country, has already been established. The various consulates are under the direction of the German Embassy in Washington. I was curious to know how Hans Luther, the German Ambassador, viewed this wholesale dissemination of Nazi money to propagate the "Hate the Jew" creed in direct interference in the internal affairs of this country.

When I called the German Embassy for an appointment with the Ambassador, his secretary hesitated when he heard the name.

"Oh! Spivak. Well, the Ambassador is not in just now. Perhaps you could call in an hour?"

In an hour I called again.

"Perhaps you had better see Dr. Rudolph Leitner, the Ambassador's chief aid," he suggested.

Dr. Leitner was at the Chancery next to the Embassy building on Massachusetts Avenue. I was ushered into a room where an engraving of Hindenburg hung on a wall draped with black bunting. On the opposite wall was a portrait of Hitler.

Gustave Struve, private secretary to the German Ambassador appeared in the doorway.

"I am sorry," he said, eyeing me with a puzzled air. "I did not understand just what you wanted."

"THE NEW MASSES has been running a series of articles on anti-semitism in the United States. A great deal of the evidence shows that much of it is due to German agents—"

The Ambassador's secretary raised his hands in horror.

"Oh, no! No!" he exclaimed.

"Well, at any rate, I thought the German Ambassador should be given a chance to explain——"

"That is not a matter for the Ambassador to make statements on. We have no German agents in this country. We do not mix in the internal affairs of America."

"Yes, of course. But tell me, are the German Consuls in the United States under the German Embassy?"

"Certainly."

"Dr. Kiep, the German Consul-General in New York City, gave Father Gross, a Catholic priest of Perth Amboy, N. J., \$500 to print and distribute anti-semitic propaganda."

The secretary waved a hand. "Ah, but that is so far back. I really do not know about it."

"And a man named Hunter of the Industrial Defense Association in Boston"—Struve nodded—"discussed with Dr. Tipplekirsch, the German Consul in Boston, the problem of getting money from Germany to organize an anti-semitic campaign in this country."

"Dr. Tippleskirsch! That cannot be."

"I'm sorry, I have Mr. Hunter's letter telling about it."

"But that cannot be," he repeated. "Excuse me, maybe I better see Dr. Leitner."

The secretary vanished. In about five minutes he returned.

"We do nothing to interfere with the affairs of this country," he repeated vigorously.

"But the German Consul gave money for anti-semitic propaganda——"

"Ach!" he exclaimed irritably. "We have no money to spend. We cannot get money here even for important things. All we can get is our salaries. We cannot get gold from Germany. What is wrong in giving people help to write good things about Germany which is being attacked by the Jews? Every country gives money to write good things about it. I suppose if we examine the American Embassy in Germany we could find the same thing—carrying on propaganda. The Jews—they are responsible. This propaganda question has already been discussed by the American Ambassador in Berlin——"

He caught himself, as though he had said too much and became quiet, staring at the picture of Hitler looking down on us.

"I have evidence that German agents are not only carrying on anti-semitic propaganda here but are actually organizing branches of the Stahlhelm and that these members drill secretly."

"Ah," he said. "There is no more Stahlhelm in Germany. But look, suppose a few people get together and drill. What harm can it do?"

"These are just the questions I should like to see the Ambassador about. There seems to be plenty of evidence that German agents are carrying on anti-semitic work, directed by Germany——"

"The Ambassador cannot make statements about that," he said with finality. "But I will see him and talk to Dr. Leitner. Maybe you call again, eh?"

That afternoon I called again.

"Ah, Mr. Spivak," his voice purred. "The Ambassador is so sorry. He cannot see you today."

"You mean that the Ambassador would be happier if he did not see me?"

"That is right."

"Perhaps I could see Dr. Leitner?"

"Ah, no; I have already said too much. Please, we do not want to say anything. Anything we say the Jews will use to attack us."

"But——"

"We do not mix in America's internal affairs," he almost shouted. "We have a Jewish problem in Germany and we have handled it. That is our business. But we do not want to say anything because the Jews are attacking Germany!"

"It sounds like the Jews are attacking Germany—that's the burden of your refrain?"

"Yah!" he exclaimed. "The Jews!"

And with that he hung up.

"The Jews are attacking Germany." Of this there is no evidence. But that Nazis are attacking Jews not only in Germany but in the United States there is plenty of evidence. The effects of the Nazi propaganda is widespread. Everywhere—in the business, the cultural worlds, there is growing bitterness resulting from preaching the "Hate the Jew" creed, the same sort of propaganda being distributed by the Paul Reveres as, for instance, the following which I found at the University of California and which is reproduced with the original spelling intact:

THE WORLD JEWRY WANTS WAR TO STRENGTHEN
THEIR SUPREMACY

Gentiles of the World:

Realize: That we are slaves to the International Jewish bankers who

mislead all the governments by their money control. These Jewish money powers use our money which they have, with the help of their payed agents, stolen from us under false pretensions.

Realize: That J. P. Morgan and others are only the gentile front of the Rothschilds and other Jewish international bankers. . . . Jews hate gentiles and cheat them whenever they can . . . they demoralize our youth with lewd motion pictures and misinform us through sensational newspapers which they control through their money power.

Realize: That Communism and Bolshevism were never meant to help the poor, but under Jewish leadership they preach class hatred between gentiles. . . . International Jewry and their payed agents are the only winner when gentiles fight each other. How many millions of gentile girls' lives have been spoiled by Jews who protect their women but see in every gentile girl their rightful prey. . . . The Jews are not superior but they are fresh, indecent, conceited and know no scruples. The Jews are not of the white race, they are semites (half-niggers) *Gentiles Beware of the Jewish Denomination.*

P. S. Take this letter most seriously, copy it ten times and send it to your friends urging them to send it on. It must reach every gentile home so quickly as possible.

Due to their unfair business methods the Germans have expelled the Jews from places of trust and has demanded of them to either conduct their business upon the methods of that country or to find some other place to do their cheating.

Let us be as good citizens to our country as Adolph Hitler is to his. Let us all be American Hitlers.

So the Nazi-directed anti-semitic propagandists carry on their work, leaving their effects upon the teachers in the colleges, universities and public schools.

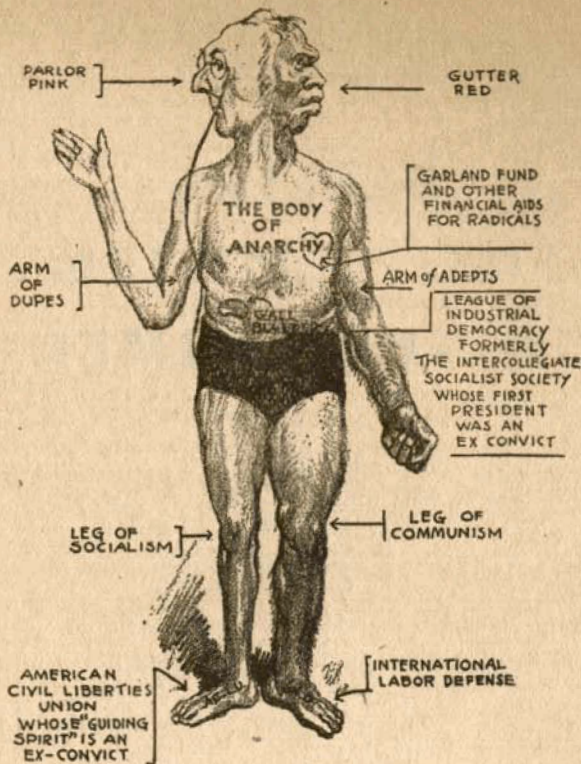
The following statement came from Pelham St. George Bissell 3d, in a letter to THE NEW MASSES, given with the editors' comment:

TO THE NEW MASSES:

I have never been wittingly or knowingly associated with any anti-semitic propaganda activities. It is understandable that anti-Communist activities may be confused with anti-semitism, but I have never been and am not now under the impression that Communism is a Jewish movement. As soon as I learned that Royal Scott Gulden, whom I saw only twice, was engaged in anti-semitic propaganda, I promptly severed all relations with him. I had no further dealings or communications with him. My attitude toward the Jewish people has always been free from prejudices and of the friendliest nature. I am not now and never have been a member of or affiliated with him in any manner with the Order of '76 or the Reveres nor have I contributed any funds to these or any anti-semitic movements.

PELHAM ST. GEORGE BISSELL 3D.

[We are glad to record Mr. Bissell's statement that as soon as he learned, as revealed in THE NEW MASSES, that Royal Scott Gulden was engaged in anti-semitic work, he severed all connection with him.—THE EDITORS.]



The Body of ANARCHY lurches forward by using first the leg of SOCIALISM and then the leg of COMMUNISM.

COMMUNISM is supported by the foot named INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE.

SOCIALISM is advanced by the foot called AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

The sustaining blood stream of this hideous destroyer is provided by the Garland Fund and other financial aids for radicals.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY — the diseased Gall Bladder — is the organ developing the unhealthy doctrines that pollute our educational institutions.

ADEPTS, those having guilty knowledge of the purpose of ANARCHY, constitute one arm of the demon.

DUPE, the gullible and unsuspecting victims of "A NEW SOCIAL ORDER," make up the other arm of ANARCHY.

THE PARLOR PINK appears as one face but the GUTTER RED is the true visage of the monster ANARCHY.

Designed and Distributed by

THE PAUL REVERES

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

120 South La Salle Street

CHICAGO

SELLING ANTI-SEMITISM TO THE FARMER

FARMERS throughout the country, particularly in the South and the Middle West, are as bewildered by the crumbling of the economic system as the business men and the workers in the mills, mines and factories of the land. During the survey which I made for *THE NEW MASSES* in the spring and summer of 1934 I found that many farmers, in trying to understand the causes of the depression, placed the blame upon the "international Jewish bankers."

There was the Nebraska farmer who expressed the attitude of so many others. I had asked him what he thought caused the depression and he answered promptly:

"I'll tell you. It's the Jews."

"I don't quite understand," I returned. "Your Jewish population in Nebraska is pretty small. How do you blame the loss of your land on the Jews?"

The farmer explained. He had lost his land for non-payment of taxes. The local banker in his community was a friend of his. This banker assured him that he (the banker) did not want to foreclose.

"My banker told me that if *he* did not foreclose a bigger banker in Chicago was forced to do that because still bigger bankers in the East—in New York—threatened to foreclose on him. And the biggest bankers are Jews!"

He paused, spat a mouthful of chewing tobacco, and looked at me triumphantly.

"Look," he continued. "Who is secretary of the treasury? Morgenthau! A Jew! Who is the Governor of your state? Lehman! A Jew banker! Who is the biggest international banker in the country? Warburg! A Jew!"

He motioned with his hands as if that settled the discussion.

"But there are others," I murmured. "Morgan, Rockefeller—"

"They are controlled by the international Jewish bankers," the farmer insisted. "The Jews have a world-wide conspiracy among themselves to wreck the economic system, capture all the gold in the

world through their banking interests and thus gain supreme control of the whole world—”

What this bewildered farmer was telling me was what he had been told by those reading the “Protocols of Zion.” The farmer did not know the “Protocols” had been proved to be forgeries. He was not an economist. He did not understand the economic forces which wrecked his prosperity, which caused him to lose his land. The average American, I found, does not reason economically and when some one tells him of a definite entity which caused the depression—like a world-wide conspiracy of Jewish bankers—he can grasp at that.

Leaders of farmers, unless they want to advocate the overthrow of the capitalist system, must find reasons to account for the farmers’ plight, and many of these leaders seize upon the “international Jew” as an excuse. These leaders wield national power and influence upon many thousands—leaders like Milo Reno of the Farmers Holiday Association, for instance. Mr. Reno’s Congressional supporters, farmers in his organization and liberals who support this farm leader do not know that he has been one of the foremost disseminators of anti-semitic propaganda in the country, his harangues against the Jew profoundly developing hatred of this race.

Reno went through the farming area, particularly in Iowa, telling groups that the Jews were responsible for their troubles. The development of anti-semitism in Iowa, Nebraska and other areas in the mid-west became so great as a result of this anti-semitic propaganda, that Jews living in that area pleaded with Henry Wallace (now Secretary of Agriculture) to talk to Milo Reno and explain that the Jews were no more responsible than the Chinese.

In the latter part of June, 1933, Wallace and Rabbi Eugene Manheimer of Des Moines met with the Farmers Holiday leader. Milo Reno told them vigorously that “the Jews invented ‘usury’ and were consequently responsible for the farmers’ troubles.” The Jew, Reno insisted, is the author of all the evils that the farmer is suffering from today.

What the present Secretary of Agriculture did not know, what the Des Moines Rabbi nor the farmers following Reno did not know, is that this leader had been working hand in glove with the anti-semitic organization known as the American fascists, whose leaders seek to overthrow the government of the United States by force as soon as they are thoroughly organized!

The American fascists have another name by which they are more commonly known: The Crusaders for Economic Liberty (or the White Shirts) headed by the eccentric George W. Christians, with headquarters in Chattanooga, Tenn. This organization, with a wide espionage system of its own directed by C. F. Fulliam of Muscatine, Iowa, has been intensive in the distribution of anti-semitic propa-

ganda, working all the while with Nazi agents in the United States.

When Henry Wallace became Secretary of Agriculture he had too much power and influence for Milo Reno to oppose him openly; and when Wallace called Reno's attention to the results of his "Hate the Jew" creed, Reno decided to break away from the White Shirts and their fostering of race hatred. Leon Vanderlyn, Resident Secretary, Northeastern Division of the Farmers Holiday Association, with headquarters at 485 Madison Avenue, New York City, under the name of the Associated Liberal Groups of Greater New York, spoke for Reno in the discussions between the farmers' leader and the head of the White Shirts espionage system.

At the beginning of February, 1934, Fulliam wrote to Vanderlyn in part:

Do you really know what Fascism is or do you accept what all avenues of publicity in the hands of the enemies of the American people want you to believe? Many organizations and movements are labelled Fascist that are no more than you claim to be. Fascism is modern nationalism. Fascism is not a foreign importation. It is a world idea. It is not even a new creed. It is a new method. Fascism is the modern adaptation of an old creed. It is the creed of all for each and each for all. It is essentially a "spiritual rebirth." An "enlightening." Every Aryan world power today is organizing its own type of Fascism according to its needs and the psychology of its people. It is the answer of the White Races fighting to maintain their World Supremacy and their Christian culture and civilization to the International Financialism and the International Marxian Communism of the International Jewry which seeks to destroy white supremacy. The entire world is a battleground and International Jewry has no one to blame but themselves for what is happening, for they have industriously for many years been sowing the whirlwind of which they will reap the harvest. Although now in control of America in every walk of life, they must relinquish their control over us and recede from the key positions that they now occupy or suffer the consequence of their own action.

Bearing in mind that the Secretary of Agriculture had warned him about fanning the flames of race and religious hatred in this country, Milo Reno instructed Vanderlyn to break away from this Fascist group. On February 15, 1934, Vanderlyn wrote to Fulliam, head of the espionage and propaganda service, as follows:

Dear Mr. Fulliam:

I deeply regret that the trend you and Mr. Christians have taken in the last three months must result in the cessation of all cooperation between us. As I told you in the summer of last year, while I agreed with you concerning the international bankers and concerning the necessity of keeping the fundamental tenets of Christianity alive, nevertheless, I thoroughly disapprove of anything smacking of the Hitler method and of Nazi philosophy. The fact that you have distributed German propaganda authorized by a group of downright reactionaries, Hamilton Fish and his crowd, has been the last

straw. [Vanderlyn is referring to the anti-semitic book, *Communism in Germany*, imported into the United States by George Sylvester Viereck, Nazi agent, and distributed by Ralph M. Easley of the National Civic Federation.—J.L.S.]

I am authorized by Milo Reno to inform you that there can be no possible tie-up between the Crusaders for Economic Liberty and the Farmers Holiday Association. Mr. Reno is of my opinion that the essence of Christianity does not lie in inciting racial and religious prejudice. When the Crusaders made the statement: The Golden Rule instead of the Rule of Gold, they were on the right track. When they changed their name to American Fascists, they alienated the strongest element which could have come to their support, the Farmers Union and the Farmers Holiday Association.

When our Master threw the Money Changers out of the temple, he did not enter upon a campaign of religious persecution, and the warfare against Wall Street and the Chicago Pit does not imply a campaign of religious intolerance, and the trappings of dictatorships and Hitlerism.

If at any time the Crusaders for Economic Liberty are willing to change their tactics, to abandon the foolish idea of Fascism, and truly preach the Golden Rule, they will find the Farmers' Holiday Association more ready to cooperate with them.

Until then, we must consider ourselves on entirely separate paths.

Leon Vanderlyn,
Resident Secretary, Northeastern Division,
Farmers Holiday Association.

Mr. Vanderlyn's indignation, after Mr. Reno's anti-semitic propaganda in the Mid-West, is easily understood when the conferences between him and the Secretary of Agriculture is known. Perhaps Mr. Vanderlyn, as well as Milo Reno, will understand the sudden change of the American fascists into a body intensively preaching the "Hate the Jew" creed when they learn that Fulliam, at this period, was in close touch with Nazi agents in the United States, signing his name in the special letters to these agents with the Swastika sign of allegiance to Hitler.

Let me quote a sample letter. It was written on April 24, 1934, and addressed to Reinhold Walter, of the Friends of the New Germany, the leading organization in disseminating anti-semitic propaganda in the United States. The letter arrived at Walter's home, 805 Fairmount Place, New York City:

Dear Mr. Walter:

A week or so ago I sent you in care of your publication a copy of a statement to the press by the Department of Propaganda, Crusaders for Economic Liberty. If you have printed it would very much appreciate your sending me a copy for my file and reference. Will be glad to remit for a copy of same.

I have followed with great interest the articles in Today magazine about the Nazi activities. I would not worry much about such articles if I were you. Every knock is a boost because you know and I know that they do

not tell the truth. I treat all such that attack the crusader movement with scorn and contempt and am entirely unruffled and unmoved by their ravings.

You can do a great deal for American Liberties and Institutions and trust that I may have the pleasure of hearing from you.

America is awakening. Hail the dawn of a New America.

Yours in the fellowship of Aryan freedom.

(signed) C. F. Fulliam.

P. S. Enclosed please find copies of three letters I wrote which might interest you. The Jews in America may have frightened a lot of you American citizens of German birth or descent but here is one American citizen with good German blood in his veins who is not ashamed of it. I say what I please and advocate what I please as granted me in my constitutional rights so send some of your New York Jews out here in Iowa and see how far they get in suppressing free speech. CFF

The American fascist or the White Shirt or the Crusader for Economic Liberty or whatever else he may call himself at different times does not always sign his letters "yours in the fellowship of Aryan Freedom." The word "Aryan" is used only in communication with Nazi agents. But no matter how they sign their names, the White Shirts are among the most prolific distributors of anti-semitic propaganda in the country.

One of their chief propaganda activities is the dissemination of the discredited "Protocols of Zion." This attack upon the Jews is mailed out in vast numbers, each copy containing a letter from George W. Christians, the eccentric head of this organization, explaining the urgent need to read the book and understand its philosophy.

Christians, ever since he and Fulliam started to work with Nazi agents in this country, has gone to extreme measures to show his loyalty to the Nazi agents. One of Christians' close associates is Oscar C. Pfaus of 1446 W. Edgemont Avenue, Chicago. Pfaus is one of the chief Nazi leaders in Chicago who has been active in carrying on the "Hate the Jew" campaign. Besides making his vicious attacks on the Jews wherever he has an opportunity to speak, Pfaus' main Nazi activity in the Middle West has been to try to consolidate the various fascist organizations into one powerful body to carry on the anti-semitic activities from central headquarters. His "official" job is being president of the German Alliance of Chicago.

Pfaus' anti-semitic activities aroused considerable antagonism not only among Jews, but among many gentiles and the Nazi leader communicated with the head of the American fascists complaining of "persecution" by two Jews, Julius Klein and Robert Baum. Not knowing how to get in touch with these two men, despite his espionage system, Christians wrote to the Jewish Telegraph Agency, care

of the Jewish Advocate in Boston, Mass., threatening them with Chicago gangsters. This warning was written March 7, 1934:

Gentlemen:

I have been informed that Mr. Oscar C. Pfaus, 1446 W. Edgemont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, a German citizen, is being persecuted by underground methods by a pair of rats by the name of Julius Klein and Robert Baum, because of his sympathetic attitude toward the Crusaders White Shirts, and his approval of our Economic Liberty program.

Now we are well prepared and perfectly willing, and in fact anxious, for publicity purposes, to defend Mr. Pfaus' rights in an open fight in the courts, but we do not propose to stand for this sneaking, undercover nonsense. If you don't think we mean what we say, just make a few inquiries and find out who is who in the Chicago Underworld.

Yours in the fellowship of freedom,

(Signed) George W. Christians,

Commander-in-chief, Crusader White Shirts.

Simultaneously the patriotic Mr. Christians wrote to T. O. Busbee of Tampa, Fla., to "use your underground connections to see that Mr. Pfaus gets the protection that he needs so that we can keep this scrap in the open and get all the publicity possible."

Of course this sort of stuff sounds a little insane and we could ignore it were it not that Hitler's activities in Germany before he got into power were as fantastic and as mad as this Crusader's letters. But insane or sane, the intensive propaganda carried on by these fascist leaders working in close cooperation with Nazi agents in this country is having a profound effect upon the attitude of gentiles toward the Jews. The anti-semitic activities not only of Fulliam's propaganda department but of Milo Reno before he was told to "lay off" by the Secretary of Agriculture, have fallen on rich soil. In the business world, the result of this propaganda against the Jews has already reached the stage where word is being quietly passed to take protection away from them in such matters as insurance policies, for instance, solely because holders of policies are Jews. Let me illustrate the effect of Milo Reno's and the White Shirts' propaganda in Iowa.

The Iowa Mutual Liability Insurance Company, with its home offices in the Insurance Building, 512 Second Avenue East, Cedar Rapids, Ia., wrote to J. Max Goar, manager of the J. Max Goar Insurance Agency, 505 Plymouth Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn., on Dec. 11, 1933, as follows:

Dear Sir:

In re: FCA No. 406108

Our inspection of this risk indicates that the truck covered by this policy is driven by a young man twenty years of age who has the reputation of fast

and reckless driving. Although our policy has been in force since May 5th, and we have not been presented with any claims, we cannot help but feel that to continue the policy will sooner or later involve us in a claim because of the driving habits of the chauffeur.

Under the circumstances, we are obliged to issue cancellation of this policy and sincerely trust that you will encounter no difficulty in picking up this policy promptly. If, for any reason, you are unable to secure the return of the policy within the next seven days, notice of cancellation will be directed to the assured from this office.

We might incidentally mention that this risk covered a Jewish assured which our experience has indicated to be undesirable risks and for that reason we would appreciate your assistance in declining further risks for people of this type in view of the unfavorable records.

Appreciating your prompt cooperation and thanking you for acknowledgment of this letter, we are

Very truly yours,
Iowa Mutual Liability Insurance Co.
(signed) G. J. Starman,
Underwriter.

It would not be difficult to present more overwhelming evidence of the wave of anti-semitism now sweeping the United States, guided and directed by open and secret Nazi agents. We have already seen in these articles the amazing network of anti-semitic hate woven by these Hitler agents. We have seen the international intrigue, the hook-ups with nationally known American "patriotic" organizations, the far-flung spidery web of hate reaching into and out of every walk of life, desperately fostering hatred of a people in an effort to make it the scapegoat for a crumbling economic system even as Hitler used Jews and Communists as scapegoats.

In the first chapter I listed eleven points which I undertook to prove. I think I have proved them and many, many more. The evidence is now in, open to the public. What can be done with it to stop the further spread of the "Hate the Jew" creed will be discussed editorially later. I do not think the destruction of Hitler in Germany will solve the problem here. The seeds of anti-semitism have fallen upon rich soil. I think we in this country may well prepare ourselves for a period in which this propaganda will be carried on for a long time to come and it is only a question of time before talk and the printed word will produce overt acts, open attacks on the Jews and inevitable pogroms. The Jews, if they think anything at all of the evidence presented, would do well to start preparing to defend themselves, their homes, and their cultural heritage. I do not think they have long to prepare before the avalanche of Nazi-directed hate will be upon them.



CRUSADER WHITE SHIRTS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

March 7, 1934

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency,
c/o The Jewish Advocate,
Boston, Massachusetts.

Gentlemen:

I have been informed that Mr. Oscar C. Pfaus, 1446 W. Edgemont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, a German citizen, is being persecuted by underground methods by a pair of rats by the name of Julius Klein and Robert Baum, because of his sympathetic attitude toward the Crusader White Shirts, and his approval of our Economic Liberty program.

Now we are well prepared and perfectly willing, and in fact anxious, for publicity purposes, to defend Mr. Pfaus' rights in an open fight in the courts, but we do not propose to stand for this sneaking, undercover nonsense. If you don't think we mean what we say, just make a few inquiries and find out who is who in the Chicago Underworld.

Yours in the Fellowship of freedom,

Geo. W. Christians,
Commander-in-Chief, Crusader White Shirts

GWC:EM

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

An Editorial in The New Masses, Dec. 4, 1934

FOR the first time in its history the United States faces the consequences of organized anti-semitism. As John L. Spivak pointed out in his concluding article (THE NEW MASSES, Nov. 27), pogroms are not only possible, but probable. The various shirted movements will see to that. The American Jew is today confronted with anti-semitism everywhere: in the college, in the neighborhood, in the factory and shop. This country, once the refuge of oppressed Jewry, is today developing as menacing a form of Jew-hatred as now exists in Germany and Poland.

Bourgeois liberalism, now in its last stages of decrepitude, cannot rouse itself to recognize today's realities. The liberal would still like to console himself with the thought that hatred of the Jew is an imported, "un-American" creed, incapable of striking root here. It is a fad from over-seas—a transitory phenomenon which will be gone tomorrow. He does not understand that anti-semitism is neither a manifestation of Czarist despotism nor merely the domestic policy of Hitler. Its significance is much deeper; it grows out of present day capitalist civilization as inevitably as do wars and revolutions.

One cannot understand the "problem of the Jew" without analyzing the complex of economic, religious, racial and national factors involved.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, when the German labor movement first came into contact with organized anti-semitism, Engels could write: "Anti-semitism is the sign of a backward culture and for this reason is only to be found in such countries as Prussia, Austria and Russia. Anyone preaching anti-semitism here in England or in America would be laughed to scorn." But that was in the last century. Nineteen-thirty-four presents a different story. No one either in England or America today dares laugh at a movement which fifty years ago the progressive capitalist countries would have considered a disgrace to their civilization. The anti-semites of today are the children of the erstwhile industrially progressive bourgeoisie. We can by this fact measure the cultural level of our time.

A moment's consideration of Germany, today's classic land of anti-semitism, is pertinent here. Anti-semitism appeared there in organized form in the Seventies, a direct consequence of the bitter economic crisis of 1873. Where this anti-semitism said "Jew" it meant "capital." August Bebel, then leader of German Social Democracy, called this anti-semitism the "Socialism of the Imbecile." This "imbecilic Socialism" continued through the years, waxing in crises and waning in periods of relative prosperity, until Hitler re-furnished it with all the trappings so well known today. The medieval persecutions of the Jews, springing entirely from economic motives, had been carried out under the cloak of religion. It was God's work to smite the Jew. In the anti-semitism of today "race" and "nationality" replace the Holy Ghost.

The fundamental economic source of anti-semitism was carefully hidden in Germany. Yet when the ruined middle-classes in that land revolted against the Jew they did so because he personified Capital that was destroying them.

As long as the bourgeoisie could accumulate and feel assured of its riches, it had no reason for organizing the forces of the lower middle-class against the proletariat. The quicker the petty bourgeoisie was ruined, the better for capital; the better for the commodity market. The industrial reserve army was thereby increased and wages went down. The relative weakness of the labor movement and the objective possibilities for expansion of capital were the basis for the liberalism of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary maturity of the working-class and the universal crisis of capitalism in the post-war period constitute the causes for the process of Fascization today going on throughout the capitalist world. As part of the mobilization of all reactionary forces against the threatening proletarian revolution, anti-semitism becomes one of the most effective weapons of the bourgeoisie for diverting and confusing the revolutionary impulse. With the aid of anti-semitism the bourgeoisie has undertaken the political organization of the wavering middle-class. For this reason the "Hate-the-Jew" creed has become a political question of prime significance for the working-class itself.

Thus the Jewish question is primarily a class question: it is involved thoroughly in the incessant conflict raging between the upper bourgeoisie and the proletariat. If any further proof is necessary let us recall the years of the Russian civil war: Jewish industrial magnates supported the pogrom generals. In February of this year, when the Austrian workers fought their heroic battle against the Catholic Heimwehr Fascists, the rich Viennese Jews hastened to furnish the Dollfuss government with money. The same in Nazi Germany, where Fascism has thus far developed the most advanced form of anti-semitism, hundreds of Jewish revolutionaries have been murdered, but not a single big Jewish banker has thus far been expropriated.

(The first "nationalization" of a Jewish department store in Nuremberg, recently reported in the press, is the best example of Hitler's class policy regarding the Jewish question.) Wealthy Jews helped to finance Hitler's rise to power. There are bourgeois Jewish organizations in Germany which openly and voluntarily declare their loyalty to the Fuehrer.

Immediately after the August elections this year (after the party purge of June 30) Dr. Neumann, chairman of the "Union of National-German Jews," issued the following historic proclamation:

The members of the Union of National German Jews, founded in 1921, have in war and in peace placed the well-being of the German people and the German Fatherland, with which we feel ourselves inextricably bound up, above our own. For this reason we welcomed the national revolution of January, 1933, although it was accompanied by certain hardships for ourselves, for we consider it the only means of eliminating the damage done in fourteen miserable years by un-German elements. We are in entire agreement with the political legacy of the honored president and director of the state, Hindenburg, who has acclaimed the deeds of the Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler, as a decisive step of deep historical significance, at the same time declaring that much still remains to be done, and that the National revolution must be followed by a reconciliation embracing the entire German people.

That portion of the German Jews, who know no fatherland other than Germany belong to the German fatherland body and soul. . . ."

The conclusions from these facts have a direct bearing on the situation in America today. Hundreds of thousands of Jews, accustomed to a degree of security from race hatred, suddenly find anti-semitism all about them. What has become of their haven—America? The ghetto and the pogrom, which yesterday seemed like an evil story out of an old book, have today become a reality.

In America we find two reactionary nationalist organizations seeking hegemony over the Jewish masses: The American Jewish Committee, led by the upper crust, and the American Jewish Congress, the upper middle-class groups, many of which are clustered about Zionism. Their solution of the anti-semitic danger has been characterized by their pussy-footing policies concerning Hitler, their exaggerated nationalism, their extreme wariness of offending the powers that be. After all, they will not reverse history and act contrary to the behavior of their fellow-bankers in Germany. Herr Neumann's manifesto is an international object lesson.

The only safety for the Jew, his only tactic, can be his alliance with the working-class. For after all, Fascism is primarily directed against the producing masses and not against the Jewish masses. The Jew is made a scapegoat; his own co-religionist in the upper class will turn him over to the American fascist when it becomes expedient.

Spivak produced undeniable proofs of the financing of anti-semitic organizations by the American Jewish capitalists.

The Jewish question and anti-semitism can only be solved by the one class which strives to overthrow exploitation: the proletariat. In the Soviet Union there is no longer a Jewish question. There it has been solved as part of the question of national minorities. Only there is it possible for the Jewish people, freed from all forms of exploitation and oppression, to develop its national culture.

But there are millions of Jews who are not ready for this solution. They must be taught that only a classless society can finally put a stop to their misery. But in the interim, these Jews—whether they be workers, or professionals, or small business-men—must realize that a common fighting front with the working-class on the specific anti-Fascist issue is necessary. Fascism is not inevitable. Pogroms are not inevitable. They can be circumvented if a powerful enough united front is welded.

The Jewish-American Clubs, with headquarters at 80 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y., have been formed for this purpose. Their program of action is such as to include students and middle-class groups in the fight against anti-semitism, against Fascism. This organization is affiliated with the American League Against War and Fascism.

The lessons for American Jewry to observe are manifest. There was Czarist Russia. Today there is Hitler Germany. The moral is inescapable; the Jewish masses cannot stave off anti-semitism by themselves. They cannot purchase safety through meekness, nor retreat to the synagogue, nor even flight to Palestine. They must stay and defend themselves. And this they can accomplish only through alliance with the whole revolutionary working class, who like them have everything to lose from the success of a Fascist movement. Without them, the Jews are consigned to the Ghetto, doomed to massacre and pogroms.

The End

Additional copies of this pamphlet can be secured from The New Masses, 31 East 27th Street, New York City, at the following rates: In quantities up to five at 25 cents each, plus postage (2c per copy); quantities of 5-25, 22 cents postpaid; 26-100, 20 cents; 101-300, 18 cents; 301-500, 16 cents; 501-1,000, 14 cents; 1,001 or more, 12 cents. Remittances must accompany orders.

Read the
NEW MASSES

GET THE NEWS
from the other side



Every week outstanding revolutionary writers and artists like these

JOHN L. SPIVAK
ROBERT FORSYTHE
RUSSELL T. LIMBACH
MICHAEL GOLD
GRANVILLE HICKS
GARDNER REA
ILYA EHRENBURG
HAROLD WARD
JOHN STRACHEY
EDWARD DAHLBERG
JAMES T. FARRELL
JOSHUA KUNITZ
JACOB BURCK

comment brilliantly on the current scene in politics, economics and culture—editorially and in vital articles.

THERE'S more to the news than you read in the general papers, unless you've had enough radical training to get behind the captions and read between the lines. Did you really think that Roosevelt was "turning left?" Have you looked on LaGuardia as a true friend of labor? Can you hear the clink of cash through the noisy cheers of patriots-by-the-day? You need THE NEW MASSES to give you a new view—a revolutionary view—on people and events that make news today.

NEW MASSES

31 East 27th Street

New York City

\$3.50 a year

\$2 for 6 months

TRIAL OFFER — \$1 for 15 weeks