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Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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Naziism vs. civilization, 1933.

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HITLER CAN THE SDOWN? TEAR

That the light may not go out, American leaders of all faiths and political beliefs, from coast to coast, are aroused by the devastating wave of Naziism which threatens the very foundation of liberty and democracy. Their poisonous influences are already



being felt throughout the civilized world, and in defense of American principles and all that we hold sacred they must be blocked. To this end a Mass Meeting of international importance and concerning the well-being of us all will be held at

CHICAGO STADIUM **Vood and Madison Streets 3 O'CLOCK, SUNDAY DEC. 3d ADMISSION**, 25c and 50c

You will hear the following guest speakers: Dr. John Haynes Holmes of New York

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland Col. Raymond Robins of Florida

With talks by such well-known Chicago leaders as: Dr. Preston Bradley Gen. John V. Clinnin Dr. John A. Lapp Dr. Paul Hutchinson

Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison Mr. Salmon O. Levinson Mr. James W. Mullenbach **Dr. Copeland Smith**

The well-known amplification system of the Chicago Stadium insures your hearing every word, no matter where you may sit. Loyal Americans, regardless of creed or race, belong here-COME!

CHICAGO COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST NAZIISM S. O. Levinson, Chairman; Paul Hutchinson, President; James M. Yard, Secretary; Don M. Peebles, Treasurer

Gentlemen:-	nmittee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziis Room 437-30 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois
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DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON SALMON O. LEVINSON REV. DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES REV. DR. CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON DR. JOHN A. LAPP JAMES MULLENBACH DR. COPELAND SMITH COL. RAYMOND ROBINS RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER MARTIN PLETTL

NAZIISM vs. CIVILIZATION

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Addresses delivered at a Mass Meeting held at the Chicago Stadium December 3rd, 1933, under the auspices of the Chicago Committee for the Defense of Human Rights Against Naziism.— 30 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois

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RESOLUTION

Presented by Salmon O. Levinson and unanimously adopted by 15,000 people at the Chicago Stadium, Sunday, Dec. 3, 1933.

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WHEREAS, The Nazi government of Germany under the control of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and Rust, has appalled the civilized world by trampling upon the fundamental rights of millions of innocent and worthy German citizens, using and relying upon diabolical force to its ends; and

WHEREAS, The liberty of other millions of German citizens has been blotted out by terrorization and death, by complete subjection of the German press to the will of Hitler under criminal pains and penalties, by the suppression and forcible extinction of all political opposition and also by making Naziism the single touchstone of all German religion, economics and international policy; and

WHEREAS, The Nazi government has shattered and destroyed the rights and institutions of labor, has tyrannically imprisoned many of their leaders, has confiscated their accumulated funds and denied them the privileges accorded to labor in practically all other civilized countries in the world, and has impeded and barred the progress of women in their natural rights and is reducing them largely to the status of household drudges; and

WHEREAS, Every principle of civilization and humanity has been violated in depriving Jewish citizens of all their elementary rights of citizenship and livelihood, and in plundering, torturing and killing many of their number without cause, and by cruel persecutions driving thousands of them to ruin, exile and suicide; and

WHEREAS, This barbarous regime has ostracized, put in concentration camps, and deprived of all means of livelihood the flower of the great Christian and Jewish scholars of Germany, whose genius and brilliancy were the admiration of the cultural world; and

WHEREAS, The ultimate goal of the present Nazi program is to rearm and remilitarize Germany with the express design of winning what they call the "inevitable next war"; and accordingly Germany has withdrawn from the existing Disarmament Conference and has thereby delivered a crushing blow to the attainment of world peace; and

WHEREAS, Large meetings of condemnation and protest against the truculent conduct of the Nazi government have been held in Europe and in the United States and efforts are being made by millions of people the world over to meet this unprecedented challenge to liberty and civilization and to thwart and destroy Naziism before its poisonous germs infect impoverished and desperate peoples of other lands and before it ripens into aggressive militarism and war:

NOW, THEREFORE, It is the sense of this meeting to join in the condemnation of the inhuman conduct of the Nazi government and to aid and co-operate to remove this vital menace to liberty and civilization; and to pledge ourselves to refrain from buying or dealing in any and all German materials, goods and products, and to refuse to patronize or ride in German owned or controlled steamships or other means of transportation until the stigma and curse of Naziism are weeded out of the German government.

DR. PAUL HUTCHINSON Managing Editor of "Christian Century"

A little more than six months ago it was my privilege to have a part in the great meeting held in the Auditorium as a protest against the treatment being accorded the Jews in Germany. During the months that have intervened I visited Germany and have talked first hand with Germans of all religious and political affiliations about the policies now in effect there. Now I return to Chicago to find many opinions being thrown to the defense of human rights and against Naziism.

This mass meeting being held today is the inauguration of the work of this committee. I am glad to join this committee and to be present at such a meeting as this. It seems to me that we meet today in an even more solemn mood than marked our meeting last spring. The events of the past week in California, in Maryland, and in Missouri, as well as in Europe, have served to prove that our fears that humanity is confronting a period of mob rule, a throw-back into savagery, are only too well founded.

We deal here with the menace which Naziism constitutes to humanity, not as though human rights were secure everywhere else, not as though we Americans wish to escape condemnation for our own failures to deal justly with minority groups, but because we see in Germany a great government now boasting that it has voted approval of more than ninety per cent. of its people, openly, officially, and deliberately using all its resources to encourage the idea that national greatness can be attained by the ruthless persecution and repression of a helpless race and a religious minority. That kind of thing, my friends, once it gets established as the permanent policy of a nation located in the heart of Europe, as Germany is, is bound to spread until not only the Jews but minorities of all sorts everywhere are at the mercy of the mob spirit.

Our gathering this afternoon, therefore, is a gathering not of Jews, not of Gentiles, but of Americans—Americans roused by our perception that the most precious heritage of our fathers is in danger. That heritage is liberty. There is

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no real liberty at the hands of the mob. Liberty that is reserved only to the majority, liberty that is denied the lawabiding minority is no liberty at all. In the name, therefore, of true liberty we must make our protest against the principle of this criminatory government which Nazi Germany is attempting to set up.

But, even that does not tell the full story of the reason for this meeting. As I look upon your faces and know what is in my own mind I am sure that under everything else there is the feeling inspired by what we know has been going on in Germany that these things are fundamentally and inherently wrong. And if we can have a chance to show that we feel this way about it—that chance we will take.

No, the real reason that has driven out of Germany Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, and others, and has placed wreaths on the graves of the assassins of Rathnal, the real reason for the anger of the Nazis, why they feel that the Jews must be driven out is that the Jews love peace. The Nazis know that the Jews will not fall in whole-heartedly with the attempt to prepare Germany for a new return to the battlefield. The Nazi persecution of the Jews is, at the bottom, one more step in the effort to weld Germany into a totalitarian unity for one more attempt to force all nations into armament.

We come here today, therefore, first, because we love liberty, and, second, because we love peace. And what do we propose to do? Again I must leave the detailed answer to that question to the other speakers, but, in order that there may be no misunderstanding from the start, let me say that we hope this great gathering of American citizens of all faiths and races, and all political groups, will serve notice on the Nazi rulers of Germany: First, that their policy of cruel persecution of the helpless Jewish minority is known in this country and awakens horror here. Second, that as long as this policy continues in force we cannot and will not forget it or overlook it. The Nazi leaders have obviously hoped that as time passes America and the rest of the world will forget about the persecution of the German Jews. But, as long as anti-Semitism continues to be the official policy of Nazi Germany we neither can nor will forget. Third, that

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as a means of giving reality to our feelings on this matter as long as this policy continues in force, ordered by a government that claims an almost unanimous popular support we will, speaking as individuals only and exercising our rights as individuals we will buy no goods produced in a country which so carelessly, so brutally, so blatantly takes human persecution and destruction as one of its principal aims.

question of the ratification of the Treaty of Pasce between Germany and the United States. He said the following thing on liberty which, in my humble opinion, is the greatest statement of freedom, of what our liberty means in this country, that has ever been made. By reason of what Mr. Hurdbincon said 1 an going to read it. It is entitled "Our Birthright".

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SALMON O. LEVINSON

Dr. Hutchinson spoke of our birthright of liberty. I happen to have in my pocket an excerpt strangely enough from a speech made in 1920 in the United States Senate by Philander C. Knoxx, one of the greatest statesmen of our generation, that he delivered on the fifth day of May on the question of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace between Germany and the United States. He said the following thing on liberty which, in my humble opinion, is the greatest statement of freedom, of what our liberty means in this country, that has ever been made. By reason of what Mr. Hutchinson said I am going to read it. It is entitled "Our Birthright".

"It is fundamental to our system of government that under normal conditions the people shall enjoy the utmost freedom possible. This government was framed to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity. Or, in other words, the government exists to make good our independence, our demand for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"To this end the minimum of restraint was levied against the individual in any and all fields of personal action. He was given the maximum of freedom. Thus, we have complete freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of contract, freedom of fortune, untrammeled acquisition of property and retention of property. All of these we normally enjoy fully; uninterrupted by and uncontrolled by any governmental agency. This is our great birthright for which our fathers gave their lives. All other portions of our Constitutional system were granted and established for the prime purpose of making these things certain and secure to us."

REV. DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES of the Community Church of New York City

When I look across the seas to Germany today, I see certain things:

First of all, I see a man, Adolph Hitler, who has not even been estimated at his true importance-for here is a leader. For years we have been making little of this man. When I was in Germany in 1931 everybody with whom I talked was making little of Adolph Hitler. They said, on the one hand, he would never come to power; or they argued if, by some chance, he did come to power he would not be able to do anything very serious. We have been saying that Adolph Hitler was a wind-bag that would be punctured, an agitator who would be discovered and exposed, that he was a mere puppet, the springs of which would be broken and which would be laid or cast aside simply as a used toy. As a matter of fact, Adolph Hitler is none of these things. Whatever we may think of his ideas and character, he is to be regarded as one of the most formidable men now living in the world. He is an orator whose voice weaves some kind of magic spell over the clearest minds and the coldest hearts; he is a statesman of incomparable shrewdness and cunning, who is able to conduct policies without errors and without mistakes; he is a public leader of ruthless energy and ferocious zeal-a leader, the rise of which constitutes one of the most amazing events of the age in which you and I are living.

The most important book upon the German situation at this time—the most trustworthy book I have found is one entitled "Germany enters the Third Reich" by Professor Calvin B. Hoover, an American, and as he treats the last year from the standpoint of Adolph Hitler's achievements as a public leader Hitler is to be regarded as nothing less than a **political and social genius.** I seriously regard Adolph Hitler as the most formidable and dangerous man that the world has seen since the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte.

In the second place, when I look across the sea today, I see a great people, the German people, sixty-three millions of human souls, living at the very heart of civilization in Europe. And these people are welded into a vast body of enthusiastic passion and frenzied zeal for the cause that is represented by Adolph Hitler. In saying this I am not casting ny reflection upon the German people. I have admired the German people for years.

The one thing for us to notice is that sixty-three million people have been driven into a desperate attitude toward this formidable and dangerous leader whom they have accepted today as a deliverer. And the vast majority of the German people-do not be deceived, my friends-the vast majority of the German people are behind this man today. There are minorities, I grant you-Communists driven into hiding, Socialists scattered to the four winds of heaven, Jews who are being persecuted and tortured as Jews have not been persecuted since the darkness of the Middle Ages, heroic Christians who, in their churches, are refusing the tyranny of Adolph Hitler. But, all of these minorities taken together constitute but an insignificant fraction of the German people. In the third place, when I look across the sea, I see a political regime which represents the combination of a man on the one hand and a great people on the other. And a regime that is destined to endure unless world opposition be brought against it for an indefinite number of years in the future. Here again, my friends, let us not fool ourselves about the power and permanency of the Nazi regime. We fooled ourselves in the early days of the Russian Revolution when we said that Lenin and the Communistic party would not be able to hold together more than a few months. And the government of the Communists in Russia today is the oldest and most stable government existing in the world.

In the fourth place, when I look across the seas today, I see a regime firmly rooted in Germany, given over as an instrument of tyranny and persecution, to the greatest amount of torture, terror and confusion that the world has known in modern times. The things that are being done in Germany today by the Nazi government are absolutely incredible. That's the reason why it is so difficult to handle these things. We know them to be facts, and yet when we present them to a public audience people cannot actually believe that these things are true. There's only one thing to recognize in characterizing this Nazi regime and that is that it is a regime of savages who are striving to carry back the greatest and most cultured people in the modern world to the darkness of the Middle Ages. But, the attack of Adolph Hitler is not merely an attack upon the culture and civilization of Germany, but an attack upon the civilization of all mankind today.

It seems that there are three possible things we can dotwo of them extreme things, and the other the middle ground, so to speak, along which it is possible for us to walk. On the one hand we can agree to do nothing, to watch and wait, to bide our time, to appeal to the circumstances, the accidents and the incidents of history to work out this desperate problem. That course of inaction is to my mind altogether impossible, for in the period of time allotted to Adolph Hitler and Naziism he will muster his power, organize his strength and be ready for one forced attack upon all the institutions of culture and of civilization.

Then the second thing we can do lies at the other extreme. All the civilized nations of the world can agree to make war upon Adolph Hitler and the Nazis as the world a hundred years ago agreed to make war upon Napoleon unless he was defeated. There is a large body of public opinion in France today that is ready to advocate that course of action, if inaction is impossible. I regard this proposed war upon Hitler as absolutely fatal. We should only be anticipating the wreck and ruin which we contemplate in the future as we look at Hitlerism. Let us remind ourselves that war never settles anything; that war always destroys everything. There is no way of escape by the method of taking up arms against this regime.

This brings us to the third, and the only possible thing that can be done—the middle ground—the ground between inaction on the one hand and violent attack upon the other. I refer to the weapon commended to you and to all good Americans—the resolution presented a moment ago, the weapon of economic boycott. That is the one weapon we can use. The boycott, to my mind, is a matter of sheer individual and personal self-respect. I cannot, as a matter of personal dignity and honor, I cannot have any traffic with this man or with the nation which he represents. Here he has let loose troopers upon civilization to ravage us all and deface all that we have. How can we, as individuals, have any traffic with what this man represents? But, if that is true as a matter of personal dignity and honor, in our personal lives, why should we not extend this feeling or organize a boycott movement which shall constitute the political, economic and social outlawry of Hitler and the Nazis. That, to my mind, is the real secret of the boycott—a solemn and sacred agreement of mankind that this enemy of all we hold dear shall not be received into the companionship of honorable and civilized nations.

REV. DR. CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON Editor of "Christian Century"

I was, like many other people compelled to face the facts which were brought to our attention at the close of the war, and for the decade, that entire decade, following the war compelled to face the facts which fully convinced me, at least, and, I think, fully convinced hundreds of thousands, if not the vast and overwhelming majority of American and British opinion, that the account of the cause of the war which prevailed during the war and immediately after was a false account, and we began to be convinced of the fact that the guilt of the war was to be distributed amongst the nations of the world—in which Germany had her share, but from which not all or any of the nations, indeed, could be entirely expurgated.

Now we are witnessing, what is a complete upset of that revision of the propaganda of the war, and we have come to the place where I think it is the saddest, it is the most tragic thing in all the world, in all modern history, that a world could be reconvinced with respect to Germany's guilt for causing the war, should have that sense of Germany's guilt for bringing about the war brought back again into the realm of credibility.

Now, this is a world tragedy. In the moral life of humanity we are here today to call our attention to it, to voice our protest against it, to take such steps as we can to prevent the thing, the disease, the evil that there obtains from spreading to the rest of the world, and, if possible, to cleanse and save the German people themselves from the terrible fate which has overtaken them.

Before I sit down and as the real substance of the thing that I want to say, the point, at least of what I want to say is to call your attention to the fact that the Christians have not been altogether bad in this situation. Now, there is no man that hangs his head, there is no Christian man who hangs his head in deeper shame as he reads the story of the relations of Christians and Jews throughout the history of the world from the earliest days of the Christian Church down

through the iniquitous inquisition to the troubles of Eastern Europe, than I. I would like to call your attention to the fact that Christians and Jews are together suffering in Germany today. I would like to point out the fact that the only group of citizens in the entire nation of Germany, free citizens, German citizens, who have dared to raise their voices in protest and in active protest against the totalitarian government are a group of three thousand German or Christian German pastors, who protest against the kind of service that is intended to be made of the Christian conscience of Germany by the political state under Hitler. In my judgment we have but one gleam of hope, the one ray of optimism in the internal situation in Germany which affords hope for us in this grave hour with forty million voters going to the polls and voting "Yah" against two million, some odd hundred thousand voting "Nein" in the ballot that was cast the other day. It is evident that these three thousand Christian ministers of Germany are defying something like the imperial majesty of the emperor of Rome when those helpless Christians, centuries ago, were cast to their death to the lions. What their fate will indeed be we may not now guess. Their importance in the situation is manifestly great and the chancellor of Germany is affecting to follow the hands-off policy with respect to the tension and strain that is now going on in German Christianity and in German ecclesiasticism, but we cannot but believe that this is a purely tactical and strategic course on the part of Herr Hitler, and that he is biding his time, knowing full well that these few Christian ministers of Germany, if they are not eventually suppressed and controlled, will wreck his whole scheme of the totalitarian government.

I remind you, perhaps I am bringing it to you not merely as a reminder but as news, that recently a statement was circulated amongst a limited, a very limited body of prominent, the more prominent clergymen of the protestant churches of the United States, in which a statement of their common convictions with reference to the things going on in Germany was formulated. And this statement was signed by twelve hundred of these ministers. I would like to read you what these ministers signed—the list of signatures was headed by the Reverend Doctor Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York City:

"For weeks we waited patiently, refusing to believe stories of a state policy against the Jews. Now, however, we have in our possession testimony which seems to us to be unimpeachable and we cannot forebear speaking. Herr Hitler for years has preached relentless hatred against the Jews. One specific doctrine acknowledged by Naziism is that the Jews are poisonous baccili in the blood of Germany, to be stamped out like a plague. And now the followers of Herr Hitler are proclaiming and practicing systematically a program of inconceivable cruelty against our Jewish brethren-driving them from positions of trust and leadership, depriving them of civil and economic rights; deliberately condemning them if they survive at all, outlawing them, excommunicating and threatening them with massacre if they do so much as protest. It is our humiliation that a whole section of the human family threatens the civilized world with a return to medieval barbarity. We deplore the consequences which must fall upon the Jews, upon Christiandom which permits their ruthless persecution, and, in fact, upon Germany itself.

"For speaking against Herr Hitler at this time we conceive ourselves to be speaking as the sincere friends of Germany."

Ladies and gentlemen, the ways of God are exceedingly strange. I am a believer in that kind of divine providence which takes the wrathful and evil things of history and of human experience and transmutes them, in the end, to some greater good than otherwise humanity might have attained. And it is my belief, as it is my hope and prayer, that the result of this opening of our sympathies, opening of our hearts, our Christian hearts and our Jewish hearts to one another in these dread days of suffering and persecution the outcome of such an experience as this which we are sharing together may be such a transformation and a reconciliation of Jews and Christians as will wipe out the ancient record of hostility and prejudice which has been shared on both sides on racial lines.

December 4, 1933.

Rev. Frederick Bodenschwingh, Marchstrasse 2, Berlin, Charlottenburg, (Germany)

Fifteen thousand Christians and Jews in mass meeting assembled send greeting in the name of our common God to the Christian pastors who hold fast to the principles of religious liberty and refuse to make the Christian church a racial church and the God of all men an Aryan God.

> Paul Hutchinson, President Chicago Committee



DR. JOHN A. LAPP Sociologist and Labor Arbitrator.

The resolution read to you a few moments ago, and now awaiting adoption by this great gathering, put into carefully chosen words what is already known to the whole world. The indictment of Hitlerism in this document is drawn very clearly and its facts are beyond dispute. A ruthless power has taken possession of the German state and deliberately, with malice aforethought, seeks to destroy all that stands in its path whether it be institutions, whether it be principles, or whether it be people. The great charters of the human race, many of which had their origin in Germany, are being torn into fragments as mere scraps of paper by a mad demon possessed at the moment with the instruments of cruel power.

There have been many raids upon liberty by lustful forces in different countries in the past, but none has ever been more thoroughgoing in its design to stamp out every means of opposition or of protest. Tyranny in the past has been but a gentle zephyr in comparison with the actions of Hitler and his crew of destroyers. We protest here on our own behalf and on the behalf of American freemen. I trust that in a crisis all Americans may boast of that proud title, but we protest even more on behalf of the masses of the German people who, left to themselves and their own institutions, would not tolerate the cruel designs of Hitler.

My father was born in Germany, and his father, and his father's father before him for many generations in a little village whose history runs back to the ancient Forest Council. I am proud of the German blood in my veins; I am proud of the heroism of those millions who have braved everything for the freedom and the opportunity which God intended should be given to His children. For these reasons I am deeply chagrined, chagrined beyond measure that a marauding force should use my people to destroy my brothers of the Jewish race, a race which has played such an important part in the development of German science, and culture, and art; a race that has given as much to the world civilization though one of the smallest of the races as any on the face of the globe for all the generations. I am chagrined that they have used my people to take away the elemental rights of life and liberty of these people and of others. I am chagrined that they have used my people as a tool of the state to help sanctify the unprincipled masters of the state; to remove the protection to freedom of speech and of press-without which liberty is never safe.

JAMES MULLENBACH Labor Arbitrator

Undoubtedly one of the sources of Hitler's success was the glorious promises he held out to the German worker that real Socialism would result if and when his National Socialist projects were made an actuality. At least twothirds of organized labor in Germany was Socialistic and probably one-third Communistic. Neither group were satisfied with things as they were. A vast amount of unemployment existed—nearly six million workers out of work and a promise is better than nothing in the face of the world depression and the demands of the Allies. Many Socialists and even Communists were misled by Hitler propoganda and they joined his ranks. They have since been woefully disillusioned.

The workers of Germany must know today that all the time that Hitler was making these grandiliquent promises of a new era for workers he was in cahoots with the German industrial and financial barons to destroy the German labor movement, to overthrow the unions and destroy the last remnants of any resistnce to the industrial and agricultural Junkers. Hitler is on his way to keep his word with these masters.

Now, it is natural that the treatment of German workers by the Nazi powers should awaken like resentment among other workers throughout the world. Even the conservative American Federation of Labor took action at its last convention some weeks ago. I take the liberty of reading a bit of comment by the Executive Council of the Federation. It says, under title "German Labor Movement":

The Executive Council presents a vigorous protest against the suppression of the trade unions by the Nazi government in Germany, and against the persecution of the Jewish race in that country.

In this section of the report the Executive Council presents a very specific remedy which should be given attention, very earnest and careful attention by this convention. It provides that the American Federation of Labor shall boycott German-made goods and German service; this boycott to continue until the German government recognizes the rights of the working people of Germany to organize into bonafide trade unions of their own choosing and until Germany ceases its repressive policies and its persecution of the Jewish people.

I wish to add one line—no American worker, and especially no German-American workman can buy German-made goods or accept German service without being a traitor to his own unions here in America.

DR. COPELAND SMITH Radio Minister.

Adolph Hitler and Germany under Adolph Hitler is trying to rear, to re-rear, an imperial race on a foundation of interracial and inter-religious hate. It cannot be done. God is against it. The wheels of the universe do not turn that way. Hitler is endeavoring to make of Germany an armed camparmed camps are out of date.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to boycotts. I have always been opposed to boycotts. For four years I was up to the neck and sometimes over the top of my head in the World War. I am opposed to boycotts. I have been still more opposed to boycotts ever since I enjoyed the friendship and came under the influence of that great American, that great Jew, that great internationalist, Salmon O. Levinson.

But, when it comes to a question of what to do with homosexuals and perverts, what to do with dangerous epileptics, what to do with sadists, what to do with such maniacs it becomes quite another matter. That is why I am so tremendously in favor of the boycott of Adolph Hitler and his devilish machinations.

It cost the world ten million of the flower of its masculine youth to get rid of kaiserism. If we are not careful it is going to cost us ten, no, twenty million of our youth to get rid of Hitlerism. We cannot afford to have penalties twice, like these, in one generation. It is to avoid that dreadful contingency, understand, that this meeting has been called. I do not think this resolution (I have read it very carefully) interferes with the free right of the German people to choose their own government. Hitler has created an administration in Germany which has no opposition or whatever opposition there is is undergrounded or has been maimed in his awful concentration camps. The rest of it is wearing, perforce, I suppose, the tattered and rather despicable garment of hypocrisy. The press has been muzzled, their radio transmitters are jamming whatever truth might come to them from across the water and across the borders. Their letters are censored. In what other peaceful way can we tell Hans and Fritz yonder that their leader is a menace to the world. This resolution surely provides the only reasonable, sensible, civilized way.

COLONEL RAYMOND ROBINS of New York

I support this resolution in the name of the Labor movement in all lands, and the German trade unions which the Nazi tyranny has betrayed and ruthlessly destroyed—their leaders beaten, imprisoned, banished, and murdered; their buildings and funds confiscated; their press suppressed and mutilated.

I support this resolution in the name of the womanhood of the world and that vast amelioration to the Western nations as the fruit of the modern spirit of equality and justice now denied the German women by the Nazi tyranny, which seeks to make them drudges in regimented households. Under the militaristic state their chief function is to bear children to be drilled for cannon fodder in the next war.

I support this resolution in the name of religious liberty, won for the Western world by blood and suffering of countless thousands—now denied to the German people by the Nazi tyranny, which seeks to prostitute the church and synzgogue into pagan temples for worship of the heathen gods and, also, and especially, for the, and in the name of those heroic men and women in the Germanland who are fighting this afternoon for spiritual freedom against the ruthless force of the Nazi state.

I support this resolution in the name of scientific truth and intellectual integrity, and freedom in education which the Nazi tyranny aim to destroy in Germanland by burning libraries, terrorizing teachers, and exiling its foremost minds in education, science and literature.

I support this resolution in the name of a free press that is the supreme safeguard of human freedom and progressive civilization, which the Nazi tyranny has so suppressed and destroyed for the time that no word of truth regarding this meeting can be published in the Germanland.

I support this resolution in the name of a starved and suffering Jewish people in the Germanland, whose children have been degraded and abused, whose women have been outraged and driven insane, whose men have been tortured, exiled and murdered by the Nazi tyranny under the savage prescription of a devil who seeks to destroy the whole race, whose creative minds have furnished leaders in religion, in education, in art, in science and government in every country and in every age.

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER of Cleveland, Ohio

Just why are we so aroused, so deeply stirred? Just why are we so passionately indignant at that which has happened and is happening in Germany? After all, we are not unaccustomed to the persecution of our people. Many pages of our history, many of them, are red with the blood of Jewish martyrdom. Why are we so perturbed? What makes this latest chapter in the story of the age-old persecution of Israel so much more horrible and dreadful? Why are we rallying to fight against this thing as men fight against death and the plague? There are other countries in the world today where the Jews do not as yet enjoy their full equality —political or economic; there are other lands in which our brethren suffer disabilities of one kind or another. What is the difference between them and between Germany?

The difference is a very vital one. In those countries especially of Eastern Europe where our people do not, as yet, possess their full measure of equality, they are hopeful in their struggles to achieve it. They have come out of the Dark Ages practically rightless—possessed of no rights but by dint of effort and struggle over many generations they have achieved a measure of it. They are hopeful that they will achieve a maximum. There is, therefore, in their situation a certain spiritual and a certain upward climb; a certain constant ascent which gives hope and spirit and confidence to their struggles and to their sacrifices.

But, in Germany, the process has been completely reversed. In Germany there has taken place a throwback; that which we already achieved through blood and struggle has been again wrested from us. In Germany our people through many generations have struggled to reach the position they occupied at the beginning of this year. After centuries of struggle they succeeded in winning their equality and they used it worthily. From the days of Moses, from the days of Mendelsohn to the days of Albert Einstein, our people in Germany contributed to the life of that people cultural, political, social and economic works—not merely its full share but far more than its share. In every department of human endeavor we gave to that people, and through that people to the world, men of outstanding genius, creative genius, in science, in art, in literature and in the things of the mind and the soul-men who were pathfifinders, men who were pioneers, men who wrote the classic text books of the new sciences. We gave these to them and through them to the world.

What, therefore, has happened in Germany concerns us not merely insofar as 600,000 men, women and children of our people are being trodden under the ruthless heel of tyranny, but that what happens in Germany is of vital concern to all of us because our security and well-being, our rights in the world, are at stake. If Hitler succeeds (and there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind that he will not succeed), if Hitler succeeds in establishing himself and in using that great nation of 65,000,000 of people as a base for his anti-Semitic campaigns throughout the world, then we Jews are facing an era of dread, uncertainty and conflict in the world; and it is because we want to avert all that and that calamity which will follow, that we are determined to crush Hitlerism at the outset. I don't want this fear in this great land of ours, which has been our hope and our dream as it has been the hope and dream of mankind; this land of ours which is built not upon one race but on a hundred races; not upon one group of people but of hundreds of groups of people; this nation into which all peoples have poured their life-blood, their dreams, their ambitions-I don't want this nation which has been founded on the principle of the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, I don't want this land to be sullied, to be dirtied by Naziism and Hitlerism

Let us try a new thought projected into the philosophy of people. Our nation is built upon the idea that allegiance to the Constitution of the country gives a man the rights and privileges of citizenship. Not so in Germany. You may be absolutely loyal to your country; you may have lived there, you and your forefathers, for a thousand years, as many Jews of German descent and their ancestors have lived. Why, there were Jews in Germany before half of those who are at present Aryan-Germans were there. The fact that you had lived in Germany or worked in Germany, and reared your children in love of their country, in the fear of God, and in the service of your fellowmen—that counts for nothing. What counts is your blood—your racial stock. The state must be racially homogeneous. This doctrine, my friends, has in it enough of disruptive force to tear the whole structure of civilization apart. Jews do not belong in Germany because they are racially different; and not only different but inferior. I do not wish to engage in any discussion as to whether my race is better than yours or your better than mine. It's futile, it's cheap, it's vulgar.

I am so glad to know that the Christian clergymen in Germany have finally risen to stamp out this lie of race in Germany. I think that these three thousand Christian Protestant clergymen in Germany who have dared to defy Hitler racialism, are deserving of the acclaim of the whole free world. My friends, they were bound to do it-they had to do it. Not only did their own consciences drive them to do it, but the very possession of their Christianity compelled them to do it. You cannot, in all reason and logic, you cannot teach people in Germany six days of the week, day after day, in the schools and in the universities, and through the radio that the Jews are an inferior race, the Jews' blood is corruptive, that every vice conceivable resides in the soul of this race; you cannot teach that for six days in the week and on the seventh day bring those self-same Germans into 10,000 churches and read to them from the sacred literture of that same people. You cannot teach your people the Ten Commandments of the Jews and you cannot teach them to sing the Psalms of the Jews and you cannot recite the history of the Jews as though it were the most significant history in the world, and then, at the same time, teach your people that these Jews, their ancestors and their descendants, are inferior, utterly corrupt and worthless. It can't be done. Christianity had to reject that because the Germanization of Christianity means the end of the universalism of that great religion. Christianity cannot tolerate it, and the fight on race in Germany, I am inclined to believe, will be fought not as between Jew and Aryan, but as between Aryan Christianity and infamous Nazi medievalism.

I have spoken of Hitlerism in its relations to Jews. Naturally, as a Rabbi, I must speak of that first, but do not for a moment imagine that we are overlooking the fact that. at any time, are we not aware of the fact that Hitler is as much a menace to all freedom-loving people and to all free human institutions as he is to the Jewish people. We are not the only people that are not free in Germany today. There is not a free man or free woman left in Germany today, I assure you. Everything has been muzzled. The hand of terror has clamped down upon the intellect, the free public opinion, the free press, the right of free assembly in Germany. The labor organizations have been smashed, women's rights have been wiped out as overnight, man has become an insignificant tool. The dignity of human life, the sanctity of human life which we cherish so highly-we Americans and we Jews-the inalienable right of man; the fact that there are certain rights which belong to mankind, over which no state or no organization has control-all these rights have been destroyed and trampled underfoot, cynically. So when we Jews speak in denunciation of Hitler, my friends, we do so merely as the spear-point of an attack upon Hitlerism made by all the forces of freedom and liberty in the world.

The boycott, my friends, is going forward. It is going forward until this iniquitous regime in Germany is destroyed and the German people are liberated. There is war today, my friends. The feelings of every human being go far beyond the limited confines of my own people. I repeat again: As a Rabbi, as a Jew, I am, of course, profoundly interested in the lot of my people, but, believe me, I have championed the cause of other people who have been denied and dispossessed and trampled on. It is my appeal at this hour in the history of civilization, as it has been before when the great issues, and the great bases of human ideals are at stake. There is conflict today, my friends, a conflict between Hitler's laws and the Declaration of Independence; it is a conflict between Aryan mediaevalism, the militant Naziism, a virulent racialism, a revived feudalism on the one hand which tramples underfoot all the rights that man has won from centuries back through seas of blood and many sacrifices, and liberty, freedom, equality, tolerance, goodwill, broadmindedness—these are the issues. And it is to this struggle that I summon every freedom-loving man and woman in these United States. We have got to fight Naziism, we have got to defeat it, we have got to thwart it, we have got to check it at every turn unil decency, reason, tolerance and human brotherhood gain their ascendancy over the minds and imaginations of people who believe in this racialism.

Translation of address of MARTIN PLETTL

President Needle Trade Unions of Germany.

"Since Adolph Hitler and Swastika Fascism have become the sole arbiters of German fate, dark night shrouds Germany. Civic and human rights, liberty, progress, culture, in short everything which elevates mankind and makes life worth while has been smashed to pulp.

"What does the Nazi assault on Labor, of which the world unfortunately knows very little, really amount to? The value of the eighty-six labor buildings alone, which formerly served as headquarters for the twenty-eight trade union centers and labor orgnizations and which were taken over by the Nazis, is estimated at no less than 100,000,000 marks (\$33,000,000 at present). Two hundred and twentythree other trade union and peoples' houses, used for local purposes and valued at 140,000,000 marks (\$45,000,000) have met with a similar fate. Sixteen recreation labor centers built at an expense of 10,000,000 marks and four workers' schools, valued at 3,000,000 marks were also taken over by the Nazis. Alone, these valuable possessions represent a total value of 253,000,000 marks (\$80,000,000), aside from the considerable cash amounts stolen by the Nazis. The powerful Labor Bank with its one hundred-twenty branches throughout the country was also taken over by the Nazis; 80,000,000 mark assets were sequestrated, not to mention the value of the building, furnishings, etc.

The organization of the Social Democratic party of Germany has been destroyed and with it 120 daily papers as well as many hundreds of other publications. These papers were printed in eighty-five plants owned and operated by the German labor movement and represented a total value of 80,000,000 marks (about \$25,000,000). Great damage was done n these institutions, aside from the enormous moral and spiritual losses entailed in the destruction of the labor libraries, etc.

"The third link in the German labor chain was the powerful German Consumer Societies, which spread all over Germany and comprised millions of members. They have also fallen prey to the Nazis and the properties conservatively figured at 250,000,000 marks (\$80,000,000) have been appropriated.

"The most painful chapter of the 'New Germany' is its foreign commerce into which the anti-Hitler boycott has made serious inroads. German commerce is slowly being ruined. While German exports in 1913 amounted to 841,000,-000 marks monthly, this figure increased to 1,124,000,000 marks in 1929. Under the impact of the economic crisis, monthly exports in 1931 were reduced to 800,000,000 marks, which still averaged the pre-war level. In September 1933, thanks to the lunatic actions of the Hitlerites, the export figure has fallen down to only 432 million marks. The latest export figures also include the property, furniture, etc., of the German fugitives, which by order of the government are very highly evaluated.

"The German woman has been condemned to spiritual death. She is allowed to bear children, cook, and frequent churches. Working women have been dismissed, daughters and mothers as well as women whose husbands still hold some small job. The so-called "marriage help" of the Hitler government is a gigantic farce and a fiasco. According to the regulations, 1,000 marks are given to the bride, but only as a ten-year loan and under the condition that she does not accept employment. She simply contracts a loan which she must repay in due time, but at the same time, all opportunities to gain a livelihood for herself are barred to her for ten years.

"Today, Germany is a menacing darkness, but it will not always be so. The anti-Hitler forces are at war and only recently three million German voters cast their votes against Hitler. Underground activities go on ceaselessly. It is impossible to foresee the future, but we know that between the great issue of human progress and retrogression, the latter forces will and must be defeated. German labor will rise from its ashes and become again the leader of International labor. The world abroad must not forget that this is an international fight, a battle against the worldwide danger of Hitlerism. All support must be given to those groups who are fighting freedom's battle on the other side of the Atlantic as well as here."

SAMUEL UNTERMEYER'S STATEMENT TO THE CHICAGO MEETING

Mr. Salmon O. Levinson and Dr. Paul Hutchinson, Chicago, Illinois.

Dear friends:

Permit me at the outset to correct the erroneous and damaging impression that has gone forth to the country to the effect that this is in effect a Jewish movement or that its operations are by any means confined to the United States. It is nothing of the kind. It is distinctly nonsectarian and worldwide in its scope.

To stem the tide of and eradicate the vicious Nazi, anti-Semitic and seditious anti-American propaganda with which our country is being flooded by the present official German regime, acting in conjunction with the despised, defunct Ku Klux Klan that has now been resurrected for that purpose. The fact that the German Jews happen to be the immediate victims of this medieval madness of bigotry, hatred and blind fanaticism is merely incidental to the onslaught upon **all civilization**. Tomorrow the Catholics or Protestants may be the targets of the present blind fury of that benighted land that was once the home of culture.

The boycott is the only language that these people, converted by the steady inculcation of twelve years of the poison of hatred and lying propaganda into a nation of Sadists, can understand. Quoting from Hitler's own book "Mein Kampf"

"We need * * * spite, hatred, hatred and once more hatred."

The German people have no conception and are permitted to have none of world opinion of them. World opinion cannot reach into Germany over the prohibitive, all-embracing censorship of the press and the destruction of free speech, which is now punishable by law as a capital offense by death. Germany is sustained by its export trade. When that is withdrawn the present regime will crack and fall. Then, and not until then, will sanity and enlightened government be reborn. Quite apart from these considerations, and yet closely allied to them, it is unpatriotic for Americans to support a government that is carrying on secret seditious warfare against our institutions and to array class against class through country-wide Nazi propaganda in which they are engaged.

What excuse is there for permitting them to plant their vile, anti-Semitic doctrines on our shores? For many years our Government refused to recognize Russia because of its activities in disseminating Communist theories here, and we have now conditioned our recognition of Russia on their pledge not to revive those activities. Why then should we permit a far more perilous conspiracy against our institutions —one that involves implanting among our citizens hatred based on racial and religious differences? It must be torn up by the rooths **if democracy is to survive.**

The demand that we Americans stand shoulder to shoulder in vindicating the rights of civilization and in creating an impasse against the spread of this plague to our fair land is surely not asking much of our patriotism.

Very truly yours,

SU-R

SAMUEL UNTERMYER.

SOME QUOTATIONS FROM NAZI LEADERS

Adolph Hitler's "Mein Kampf" (page 336):

"The adherents of the movement, and, in a broader sense, the entire people must be taught over and over again that the Jew always lies in his newspapers, and that even if he does state a grain of truth once in a while it is only to cover up a greater falsehood, and is therefore itself a deliberate untruth. The Jew is the past master in lying, and the lie and deceit are his weapons in battle."

Dr. Goebel's—"Das Buch Isidor. Ein Zeitbild voll Lachen und Hass" (published in 1931):

"Germany for the Germans. Out with the rabble. We want for our German people a German culture, industry and politics, free from Jews. The people will be led by men in whom it can have confidence, who also during times of misfortune have shown that they are prepared to give their lives for the preservation of the Fatherland."

Reichstag Deputy, Buerger at Cologne, January 31, 1932:

"When we are in power and a Frenchman steps over the German frontier then on the next day all the Jews of Germany will die."

Hitler's "Mein Kampf"

"Never tolerate the rise of two continental powers in Europe. Regard every attempt to organize a second military power on Germany's frontier as an attack on Germany and see therein not only the right but also the duty, to prevent the rise of such a state with all means, even the application of military force; accordingly if such a state exists it must be smashed to pieces."

Hitler's "Mein Kampf"

"We need * * * spite, hatred, hatred and once more hatred."