HOW YOU PAY FOR PRO-NAZI PROPAGANDA

The scandal of the congressional frank. The tricks Fish, Wheeler, and Nye use to let pro-Nazi groups spread "America First" propaganda over the nation.

NE of the chief public activities of America First is to flood the country with propaganda. Besides the enormous quantities of material mailed from the national offices in Chicago and the various chapters in leading cities throughout the country, the organization also sends material, without any mailing costs to itself, through the courtesy of the United States government. This is achieved by way of the committee's Washington contacts and none has been more helpful than Senator Wheeler. The technique is old and sure-fire. A senator or a congressman makes a propaganda speech or merely inserts a statement into the Congressional Record. Once it's in the Record he can order as many reprints from the government printer as he wishes, at printing costs. These reprints are shipped to organizations by the sack loads for addressing and mailing to endless lists of names. No stamps are necessary, for the unaddressed envelopes carry the senator's or congressman's frank. The senator or congressman pays the government printer, and the organization which wanted the propaganda refunds the money to the lawmaker. The senator or congressman merely acts as agent for a private propaganda organization to get printing done at cost and mailing free of charge. For an organization like America First, with a huge printing and stamp bill, such congressional cooperation is worth thousands of dollars. In the now notorious case of the postcards Senator Wheeler mailed under his frank, he at first tried to tell his colleagues in the Senate that he himself had paid for the printing; a little later in open debate he admitted that America First had paid for it.

Next to Lindbergh, Wheeler is the loudest and most vociferous spokesman for America First. He himself is not an official of the organization, but his wife is a member of the national committee, and communications between America First headquarters and the senator are routed via his wife through their home at 3757 Jocelyn St., N.W., Washington. The senator is no new hand at sending bales of propaganda to notorious pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic individuals and organizations for addressing and mailing under his frank. Among those who have disseminated his franked mail have been such pro-Nazis as Charles B. Hudson of Omaha, Neb., Donald Shea, and Joe McWilliams. At Christian Front meetings in New York, McWilliams used to urge his audiences to get the material, address the envelopes, and "drop them in the nearest mail box. No stamps are necessary since they have Senator Wheeler's frank on the envelope."

Lindbergh statements are the favorite material for franked mailing, and they have been sent out by the hundreds of thousands. Postal regulations provide that a member of Congress may send as many sacks of unaddressed mail with his frank as he wishes to one agent for addressing and mailing. Let me quote from a letter written by Cong. James C. Oliver of Maine on July 14, 1941, as to how many agents have disseminated Lindbergh's statement:

"Let me add briefly that the organizations participating in the distribution of the Lindbergh statement were the America First Committee, *Scribner's Commentator*, the American Coalition, and other patriotic organizations whose deep seated interest in the welfare of the United States cannot be questioned."

I don't know by whom it can't be questioned; I question it very seriously, and there are a lot of others besides me. I shall consider Scribner's Commentator and its "patriotism" in a subsequent article. So far as the American Coalition is concerned, I do not want to digress by going into it in detail. It is sufficient to say that a number of pro-fascists, pro-Nazis, and anti-Semites are in it and that the Coalition supported James True, one of the chief pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic propagandists in the country. True once patented a "Kike Killer" with which to slug Jews in street brawls. This is the type with which the "patriotic" Coalition has worked.

Let us see what the law says on the use of the frank to disseminate material: Chapter 4, Sec. 613 (1932) of the Postal Laws and Regulations provide:

"It shall be unlawful for any person entitled under the law to the use of a frank, to lend said frank or permit its use by any committee, organization, or association, or permit its use by any person for the benefit or use of any committee, organization, or association. This provision shall not apply to any committee composed of members of Congress."

You will note that any use of the frank for the benefit of a private organization is expressly prohibited. Let's see if any private organizations have used such propaganda reprints to advertise themselves. Some branches of the Steuben Society have been working intensively to develop a popular demand for this country to adopt the pro-Hitler foreign policy urged upon us by the America First propaganda machine. Theodore M. Hoffmann, national chairman of the Steuben Society, delivered a radio talk over Station WHA in Madison, Wis. The talk dealt with Americans of Germanic extraction, a fine and interesting subject. Sen. Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota had it inserted in the *Congressional Record* and the Steuben Society did the distributing.

If you will look at the illustrations on the opposite page you will see that the type used by the Steuben Society's addressograph machine has a "55" stamped near the postage registration mark. The second 5 is almost obliterated. If you will now glance at the envelopes mailed in New York and franked under Wheeler's signature you will find the same type and the same 55 with the second 5 almost obliterated. The type is exactly the same, and belongs to an old-style machine of which there are fewer than twenty-five in New York. The ink used is a peculiar blue and only three of the owners of the old type use this peculiar blue ink. One of them is the Michael Hillegas Unit No. 55 of the Steuben Society with offices at 348 E. 146th St., New York.

This unit has been very active in disseminating Wheeler franked propaganda against aid to Britain, Greece, and China, and has disseminated a lot of Senator Nye's franked propaganda. On June 13, 1941, Unit No. 55 also issued to its membership a mimeographed letter from which I quote two significant paragraphs:

"At this meeting excerpts from the Congressional Record will be distributed to the members. They are in the form of a radio address delivered by our National Chairman.... (These excerpts are in franked envelopes, requiring no postage.)

"Come to the meeting and get a bunch of them to distribute among your friends."

Who paid for the wide distribution of propaganda against helping Britain and China? Who paid for the tons of propaganda sent from Wheeler's office to Joe McWilliams, Donald Shea, and other notorious pro-Nazis? Senator Wheeler is silent on this score.

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO HIDE, **GENERAL WOOD?**



What is it you feared when you refused to see Mr. Spivak? Spivak wanted to ask you some questions the people of America are asking. He wanted to know:

- If "America First" was juggling finances and membership figures.
 If "America First" has behind-the-scenes deals with notorious pro-Nazis and anti-Semites.
 - 3. If "America First" has Nazi money behind it.

Why are these questions so embarrassing? What are you afraid of, General Wood? Perhaps the United States government can make you talk or find out what it is you fear to talk about.

The Editors.



THE FISH SCANDAL. A notorious odor emanates from the mystery of the missing mail bags. The Fish episode involves a certain propagandist, Prescott Dennett, who has been accused by government lawyers in open court of accepting money from known Nazi agents. "America First" is also in the picture and so are bags of mail bearing the franks of appeasement congressmen and copies of their speeches. NEW MASSES is gladly offering all its material-the photostats above as well as any other evidence Mr. Spivak has collected-to governmental authorities. In connection with the Fish incident, the documents reproduced above are important: Note that the top envelope comes from the Steuben Society, some branches of which urge a pro-Hitler foreign policy. Note too the encircled "5." The other two letters, with Senators Nye and Wheeler's names, also have the mysterious "5" on them. Mr. Spivak on the opposite page explains that the Steuben Society's addressograph machine has a "55" stamped near the postage registration mark. The second "5" is almost obliterated. The type belongs to an old-style machine. The ink used is a peculiar blue and only three of the owners of the old type use this peculiar blue ink. One is the Michael Hillegas Unit No. 55 of the Steuben Society which has widely distributed propaganda against aid to Britain, Greece, and China. Who paid for this wide distribution of propaganda that Listang Southon Wheat



