

The New Barbarian Invasion

THE UNITED STATES is the last and greatest potential source of opposition to the Nazi-fascist plan for world domination. Despite the absence of an active international "democratic front," the barbarian bloc cannot attain its world objective without winning America or at least paralyzing American opposition.

For this reason, the most powerful propaganda engine the world has ever known is giving to America the same sort of attention that is being accorded Africa, the Near East, the Far East, Scandinavia and Western Europe. Its efforts are part of a program which is initiated by the stimulation of sympathetic groups—or their formation—within other countries; it is advanced by aiding those groups with funds, emissaries and skillful propaganda; and, at the last, when the time is ripe, by offering direct military support. This was the method in Spain. It was the method in Austria, prematurely climaxed by the murder of Dollfuss. It is being used in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

For American purposes it is essential to remember that virtually all fascist propaganda emanates from Germany. Its skill is underestimated by sensation-mongers and promulgators of spy scares, within and without Congress. The true threat to democracy lies in the deliberate efforts to indoctrinate masses of the population for explicitly avowed objectives. Those objectives are: first, the consolidation of all people of German derivation in a tightly integrated group, intellectually regimented, trained to arms and ready in whatever land they live to serve the purposes of the Nazi state; second, to implant hatred and contempt for democracy and individual freedom in the minds of populations everywhere; third, to link all fascist, anti-democratic, authoritarian-minded groups for united action.

The scope of one of the chief Nazi agencies for foreign activity, the Verband Deutscher Vereine in Ausland (League for Germanism Abroad), is indicated by one of its publications, "Wir Deutsche in der Welt," 1937, a report on the promotion of "Germanism" throughout the world. Introduced by Hermann Göring, this book contains reports of German communities from Moscow, Budapest, Costa Rica, Helsingfors, Luxemburg, Shanghai, Stockholm, Windhuk (South Africa), Zürich, Paraguay, Lima, the Ukraine, Barcelona and Rio de Janeiro. The United States is omitted from this publication presumably because of the fear of unfavorable reactions here.

The German World Service, which was responsible last year for the faked story of Benjamin Franklin's warning to his contemporaries against Jews—a story still being spread by Edmondson and Pelley—is the

source of much of the material copied, sometimes verbatim, in American fascist publications. The Fichtebund, ideological pumping-station; the Foreign Division of the Nazi Party, headed by an official of the Foreign Ministry; and the Labor Front, all contribute to the foreign campaigns.

The nucleus in America consists of some ten million German-Americans who, it is intended, shall be unified as a "German racial community." To this end camps of a hundred acres or more, at which boys and girls are trained and adults parade and drill, form part of the machinery on Long Island, in upstate New York, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Missouri, California, Oregon and Washington. There are some sixty-six local units in Philadelphia, Buffalo, Reading, Detroit and other cities and many of them now have target ranges. Notices are being mailed in New York to group members notifying them of the date assigned them for target practice.

In Cleveland, at a meeting attended by many groups, but in reality run by Nazis sent for the purpose, there were present Mayor Harold H. Burton, Dr. Rolf Kassler representing the German consul, State Senator McCloskey, Dr. C. Ellis, president of Cleveland College, as well as Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Volksbund, chief Nazi organization here. A local German-language newspaper predicted of this "first German-American Heimat Kunde convention" that it would be followed by others throughout the country, the expressed purpose of the gatherings being to unite Germans throughout the United States, to further the "cultural interests" of American Germanism and to promulgate its ideas everywhere. For these purposes "German culture" must be understood as meaning Nazism.

Efforts to unite all Nazi and fascist groups are reflected in many meetings. At one gathering in Steinway Hall, New York City, of the American Nationalist Labor Party, a Spanish youth, introduced as the son of the former Spanish Ambassador to London, fiercely attacked Jews and praised Mussolini and Hitler. Other speakers praised Franco and charged the Roosevelt administration was controlled by Jews. The audience, when called upon to salute the flag of the United States, gave the Nazi stiff-arm. At a Hippodrome meeting in New York City last October 30, Fritz Kuhn was joined on the platform by English and French-Canadian anti-Semites who outdid him in their violent diatribes against Jews. There were contingents of Italian Black Shirts and White Russians at the meeting. A meeting of Silver Shirts was held in Steinway Hall this year. Not only was there violent anti-Semitic talk, but also pro-Japanese literature was

distributed. Communism was identified as "world Jewry in action" and the forged "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were on sale among other such material. Hitler's name was consistently applauded.

The spearhead of American Nazism is the Volksbund. The introduction to the 1938 "Yearbook" of the Volksbund acknowledges the aid of the Institute for Germanism Abroad at Stuttgart and speaks for the group as follows:

Many German racial comrades look upon the "Yearbook: 1938" not only as a remembrance of an epoch of struggle but as an object which instils fresh strength and courage for the relentless fight of our movement against all enemies of Germany, who at the same time [touching afterthought] are the adversaries of our new homeland, the United States of America.

We stand here as the children of the Third Reich [says the introduction to the 1935 edition], as preachers of the German world viewpoint of National Socialism which has displayed before the eyes of the world the incomparable miracle of National Socialism. Germany considers it as a service to the nation if you greet the rebirth of the German, the glorious movement of National Socialism, with understanding; when you openly accept the German language, German manners and German traits.

This is strictly in accord with Hitler's statement in "Mein Kampf": "The German Reich as a State is to embrace all Germans for the purpose of not only uniting and maintaining the most valuable racial elements of this nation but also for the purpose of raising the German nation gradually and safely to a dominating position."

The German-American Volksbund is linked with 150 organizations of varying sizes, some small, others more numerous, all of them looking toward and ready to be guided by governments other than that of the United States. There are interchanges of speakers, emissaries and literature between American Nazi-Fascists and the Canadian group which would split Quebec Province from the rest of Canada. Among the sympathetic groups may be mentioned Winrod's Defenders of the Christian Faith who are working for his election in Kansas to the United States Senate; the Silver Shirts; the White Front sponsored by the White Guard in the South, and innumerable other fronts, shirts, defenders, patriots, guards and gangs.

The methods of spreading propaganda are various, beginning with the systematic indoctrination of the young. They include the capture of old German-American societies in New York and especially on the West Coast. Their celebrations of such festivals as "German day" are made into propaganda affairs. Daily persistent, intensified short-wave radio broadcasts from Germany and South America endeavor to establish personal contacts with German-Americans who are asked to send messages to friends and relatives in Germany. Greetings are broadcast mentioning those on this side by name. Without doubt the friends and

relatives over there are instructed what to write in conformity with Nazi purposes.

Some 150 German-language newspapers in the United States are served with mats and "boiler-plate" articles and pictures. A characteristic circular letter of the German-American Bund, addressed by one Nazi editor to a German-language paper elsewhere in this country, asks help in increasing regional circulation of the writer's Nazi publication, commends the interest shown in the work for "*Allgemeinen Deutschum unserer Vereinigten Staaten*" (general Germandom of our United States) and urges reference to the purposes of "our racial work" in this country.

An issue of the *Amerikadienst* (American service) of the League for Germanism Abroad reports the largest turnout in thirty years in the Eastern United States at a summer camp; asks a collection in behalf of the Germans in Saskatchewan, Canada; contains an article on the numerical strength and race consciousness of the Germans in western Canada; and a report on the personal contacts of a Nazi woman with Germans here.

The specifically German work always reaches out for new adherents. Anti-communism; agitation for "peace" and opposition to American military preparedness with the intention of hindering potential American defense against Nazi-fascism in the event of war; pro-Japanese propaganda; anti-Semitism; savage hostility to labor; Nazi "racialism"; pro-Franco, pro-Hitler, pro-Mussolini sentiment, are among the diversity of motives promulgated by secret meetings, leaflets, periodicals, books and newspaper publications.

It is characteristic of this program that misinformation must be systematically provided for this country and for the world. Every journalist abroad, every commentator, every witness who takes truth for his guide, who cannot be bought or bullied into the falsification of fact which serves the Neo-Barbarian purpose, is ruthlessly imprisoned or murdered if he is entirely within their power, or expelled and deprived of communication if he is not.

The process of "boring from within," a termite-like effort to reduce the structure of democracy, takes the form of Communist-baiting to the extent that every liberal and democratic manifestation is labeled "red," leftist, subversive. Vigilantism, labor spying, the Black Legion with its murderous terrorism, fit in closely with the program, as do efforts to infiltrate the National Guard. I have no doubt that Father Coughlin's recent advocacy of the "corporative state" was appreciated.

Aside from labor warfare, there is one essential doctrine and theory which Neo-Barbarism relies on. Anti-Semitism has been enormously distended. The artfully promulgated hatred for things Jewish has been made to include democracy and liberalism, themselves labeled Jewish by the Nazi propaganda machine. No statement is too wild, no falsehood too fantastic, to serve the Nazi purpose, from the proliferation of the

orged Protocols to the identification of J. P. Morgan as a Jew.

The Nazi technique is well illustrated in the report of their agitation in Hungary reported by M. W. Fodor, in a United Press dispatch, March 30, 1938:

Leaflets were circulated calling Premier Koloman Daranyi's government and its members unprintable names. They were charged with having Jewish blood, and if they had no such "taint," according to the leaflets, then the Cabinet members were nothing but hirelings of the Jews.

While Nazi officials contended that the leaflets were forgeries, designed to bring the party into disrepute,

observers noted certain features that belied the Nazi disclaimer.

That the efforts in this country, various in form, are as yet amorphous and constitute no major threat to democracy should blind no one to their relationship to what is the most dangerous menace to civilization that the world has faced since ancient cultures were reduced to smoldering manuscripts and heaps of rubble. The present threat is no measure of the ultimate danger. It is a danger to be measured in terms of the progress of Nazi-fascism overseas.

HERBERT J. SELIGMANN

Arnold: Myth and Trust Buster

MAYBE it was Thurman Arnold himself who recently bemoaned in print the inability of the American people to reconcile a sense of serious purpose in their leaders with a hearty sense of humor. It is a fact well worth bemoaning. Any bank president, any senator, any corporation chairman who dared to crack constantly wise about anything of consequence would be liable to lose first his prestige and then his job. And it is under the cloud of this native superstition which holds the grimace mightier than the grin that Thurman Arnold has gone from Yale to Washington to bust trusts for the New Deal.

For the new Assistant Attorney General has for years not only dared but delighted to crack wise about things of consequence. With the reverberations of his latest socially significant laughter, "The Folklore of Capitalism," still resounding through the best-seller lists, his appointment brought howls of holy horror from the pundits who presume to speak for public opinion. How in the name of God or Roosevelt, they demanded, can a man who holds so lightly our Sacred Institutions be entrusted with a serious institutional task? How, in particular, can a man who so ridiculed the anti-trust laws be placed in charge of their enforcement? What are we coming to when a court jester is made minister? Anyway, what are we coming to?

The intended implication of such questions, of course, was that Thurman Arnold, because he owned and enjoyed using a witty tongue and a witty pen, could not possibly be the stuff of which able public servants are made. The assumption is so obvious—and so unthinking. It seems never to have occurred to the pundits that a man might be able to devote his fun-making to something other than trivia and still devote serious energy to something other than fun-making. It seems never to have occurred to them that the type of mind which can see through institutional sham and rib it rather than rant at it might be an asset in the performance of a serious institutional job.

Arnold has that type of mind. And Arnold has yet to take a serious job lightly, despite the fact that he has never considered it essential to don a sour puss in order to indicate purposeful endeavor. As mayor of Laramie, Wyoming, where he was born, as practising attorney, as state legislator, as law professor at Wyoming and Yale and as law-school dean in West Virginia, as Special Assistant Attorney General arguing tax cases before the Supreme Court and even as corporal in the United States Army, Arnold has never failed to see the humor in ceremonial solemnity. Nor, on the other hand, has he ever allowed his lively feeling for the ridiculous to serve as a self-excuse for sloppy performance. Only because public and pundits first came to know him as the irreverently fun-poking author of "The Folklore of Capitalism" (written in his spare time) has the impression got about that he is a cross between a clown and a Communist.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing of either the Communist or the clown in Arnold. His genuinely friendly and tolerant attitude toward die-hards of politics, business and the bar, even while he is kidding the pants off them, is the despair of his radical friends. And he does not kid the pants off the reactionaries and their rituals, clownlike, just for the hell of it. His humor, though never barbed, is pointed. He is often at his most serious when he is funniest.

"Jurisdiction is a horse; this we learn in Arnold's course—" sing Yale Law School students in their faculty song. And Arnold is indeed funny, and intentionally funny, when he draws a crude horse on the blackboard and expounds, then explodes, the abstruse concept of legal jurisdiction with recurrent gestures toward the horse. But in so doing he puts across the idea that it is dangerous to indulge in reification, or—as Mr. Justice McReynolds discovered from a dictionary when Arnold used the word in court—to give definite content and form to an abstraction.

Similarly, one of the funniest pieces Arnold ever