



**NAZI
PENETRATION
IN AMERICA**
BY ABRAHAM CHAPMAN 5c

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NAZI PENETRATION IN AMERICA

By ABRAHAM CHAPMAN

ON NOVEMBER 10 Nazi Germany added another page of brutal persecution to its long history of barbarism and oppression. A wave of organized brutality swept through the country leaving looted Jewish shops, fire-eaten synagogues, scarred churches, wrecked homes and broken individuals in its wake.

A partial indication of what occurred in Nazi Germany during the dark days of November which aroused the indignation of every decent person is conveyed by the Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* (Nov. 25, 1938). He wrote, in part:

"Between 9,000 and 10,000 Jews have been arrested in Berlin alone. According to careful estimates, between 35,000 and 40,000 have been arrested in all Germany, exclusive of Austria and the Sudetenland. Nearly all the Jews arrested in Berlin have been sent to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen, near Oranienburg, where Niemoller is confined. Many thousands of Jews have been sent to the concentration camps at Buchenwald, near Weimar and Dachau.

"The reports of executions at Buchenwald are confirmed. It is learned from a sure source that 70 Jews

were executed in that camp on the night of November 8-9—that is to say, before the death of Vom Rath. Further executions followed, and according to the latest information available they now total 200 in Buchenwald alone. . . .

“In some regions of Germany all male Jews aged from 16 to 60, in others 18 to 80, were arrested—or, rather, all who could be traced. At the present time innumerable Jews are wandering about the forests of Germany. . . .

“It grows more and more evident that the excesses were planned well in advance. In Berlin alone 3,000 Jewish shops and stores were systematically destroyed by organized gangs in a very short space of time. . . .

“As far as can be learnt at present, the Nazi gangs have burnt and destroyed 166 synagogues and temples throughout Germany in the course of their anti-Semitic drive.”

Add to this the many details still unknown, the attacks on Catholics, the repressive measures taken against “Aryans” who expressed their opposition to the Nazi measures, and the full scope of the heart-rending atrocities begins to unfold.

The refined sadism of the Nazi rulers and the continuous terrorist activities were clearly revealed in a Berlin dispatch from a United Press staff correspondent portraying the fascist contribution to civilization. The story reads:

“Occasionally the wife of a Jew who ‘disappeared’ during the first days of the anti-Semitic campaigns answers the front doorbell and finds a man standing there. He hands her a small package and says:

“These are the ashes of your husband. There will be three marks charge, please.”

And public opinion the world over expressed its profound revulsion at the Nazi savagery perpetrated against the Jews, Catholics and the common people of Germany.

Representatives of every section of the American population have voiced their protest against the storm-trooper attacks, the scandalous \$400,000,000 fine levied upon the innocent and defenseless Jewish people, the legislation and decrees inspired by the most barbarous anti-Jewish practices of the Middle Ages and the subsequent attacks against Catholics, Protestants, and the German people as a whole. The statement of President Roosevelt and the recall of Ambassador Wilson and the American trade envoy to Germany, the statements and resolutions by Governors and state bodies, the declarations of American Senators and Congressmen embodying proposals for further anti-Nazi action, the protests of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders, the resolutions and concrete activities of trade unions, women’s organizations, peace groups, and professional and youth groups calling upon the President to invoke an embargo against Nazi Germany express the anti-Nazi convictions and the democratic morality of the preponderant majority of the American people.

The international rising tide of protest against Hitler barbarism is a heartening sign in these days of fascist aggression and Nazi oppression of weaker peoples and minorities. But moral protest is not enough to stay the ruthless hand of Nazism. The language of morality and ethical standards is totally alien to Hitler and his clique. At this moment, more than at any time before, we must be conscious of the motives and implications for America of Nazi aggression. Today every person whose indignation has been aroused needs to understand that the events of November 10 in Nazi-land were not a sudden eruption of undisciplined

mass hysteria. November 10 represents the climax of a conscious Nazi policy expressing neither the will nor the interests of the German people.

Anti-Semitic attacks and legislation to eliminate the Jew from the economic life of Germany have long been fundamental aspects of Nazi rule. The present tragic situation of thousands of refugees and the concerted anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic attacks are the culmination of a process which the Nazis have developed to a high degree internally and which they are propagating throughout the world.

MUNICH SPURS HITLER

It was not by chance that Hitler chose this particular period to make an international display of his internal Nazi policy and to expropriate the remaining capital of the Jewish population in Germany. What Hitler was too weak to do a few months ago, what Hitler didn't dare do a few months ago for fear that it would arouse the opposition of the democratic countries, he felt strong and brazen enough to do *now*. The Munich agreement, which signed the death warrant of the last democratic oasis in Central Europe, marked a decisive turning point in Hitler's relation to the world. The readiness with which Chamberlain and Daladier stifled the independence of a smaller nation prompted Hitler to continue in the direction of suppressing defenseless minorities. Munich gave fascism a free hand and Hitler is using this hand to defy the democracies and to extend further the Nazi violations of freedom and democracy.

Munich has reaped its harvest: a dismembered Czechoslovakia in which the light of democracy has been extinguished, and a pogrom which exceeded in intensity the Kishinev massacres of Czarist Russia. And November 10 has sounded the signal to Nazi and anti-Semitic groups the

world over. We have already witnessed anti-Semitic riots in Johannesburg, South Africa; the bombing of a Jewish synagogue in Transvaal, South Africa; anti-Semitic student riots in Budapest, Hungary; and the intensification of anti-Semitism in Rumania and Jugoslavia.

Nor must we forget for a moment the signal that Hitler has sent to his adherents in America. A number of days after the pogroms, Hitler's personal organ, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, published on its first page an anti-Semitic leaflet, in English, designed for consumption in Hollywood, promising the "twilight of American Jewry," and attacks upon the Jews.

The Italian fascist demands for Tunisia and other French territories; the Nazi designs on Memel and what amounts, practically, to the complete totalitarianization of Czechoslovakia are further expression of the instability engendered by Munich and of the arrogant fascist defiance and plans for aggression.

The Munich deal has given Nazism international impetus. The lovers of democracy, freedom of religion and freedom of speech are now beginning to recognize that the mad peak of brutal oppression which the Nazis reached on November 10 is not the end of Nazi ambition. The recent Nazi atrocities are only another stepping stone for international fascism and it is in our national self-interest to determine how fascism proceeds, what methods it utilizes, on what weaknesses of democracy it thrives and what we can do to buttress democracy and ultimately defeat Nazism.

NAZI METHODS IN THE U.S.A.

At this moment of profound anti-Nazi feeling in America there are those who will question the immediate necessity of exposing the activities and tactics of the Nazis and their

sympathizers in America. Many point with a feeling of security to the numerous anti-Nazi manifestations which preceded and followed November 10 and the anti-Nazi activities of the American people are both impressive and significant.

The elimination of the Nazi Bund from Southbury, Connecticut, the exclusion of the Bund from the Madison Square Garden Rally of the United German Societies on October 2, signifying a break between the United German Societies and Nazi movement in the United States, and the many anti-Nazi demonstrations throughout the United States were indications of the strong anti-Nazi sentiment in America even before the November persecutions.

An intelligent defense of democracy necessitates not only a good intention, but also an understanding of the methods of the enemy. In America, as in other countries, fascism has developed subtle approaches, ingenious tactics and widespread divisive policies. In our country as elsewhere the major emphasis of the Nazis is placed on the *weakening* of democratic institutions and not, ostensibly, on the forging of a movement which advocates a full-fledged fascist program. The official Nazi movement in America has earned the disgust of the majority of Americans. Consequently pro-fascism in America is concealed under the cloak of a so-called pro-Americanism which in reality is a crude misinterpretation of all American democratic ideals.

No better example of the "Americanism" of the Nazis and their supporters can be offered than the use to which they have put the utterances and personality of Benjamin Franklin. In many leaflets, publications and speeches Nazis in America and in Germany have turned to the writings of Franklin to find justification for their rabid anti-Semitism. They refer to the diary of one Charles Pinckney of South

Carolina who allegedly quotes anti-Jewish statements of Benjamin Franklin, elaborating in the words of Franklin the Nazi program of today. These statements have been repeatedly exposed by Charles Beard, noted American historian, as forgeries. Recently the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia declared publicly in its bulletin that no such diary is in existence and that all the material in the possession of the Franklin Institute points to Benjamin Franklin's friendship for the Jews. Thus the Nazis here work not in the name of the discredited Nuremberg racial laws and not in the name of Hitler's anti-Semitic *Mein Kampf*. Instead they get so-called American organizations like the *Edmundson Economic Service* to make an anti-Semitic appeal on the basis of a forged quotation attributed to a great American figure. They wave the Nazi version of an American flag with the hope of deluding native Americans into the fascist camp.

ANTI-SEMITISM: MAJOR NAZI WEAPON

Anti-Semitism has become the barometer of every rising fascist movement. Although the Jews are the main target of every anti-Semitic attack, anti-Semitism is a serious threat to the people as a whole and to the democratic structure of every country. Anti-Semitism is clearly a negation of the continued battles of the American people for democracy. Anti-Semitism is a gross distortion of the essential meaning of all of American history.

The American Revolutionary War waged for the independence of our republic, the struggles of Jeffersonian democracy to realize the equality of all races, religions and beliefs before the law; and the Civil War which established the freedom, at least in theory, of the Negro people, point

clearly to a fundamental characteristic and ideal of American democracy: the equality of all peoples and religions. Through the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda the Nazis and their American allies are threatening the whole democratic structure of our country. They are pitting one religious group against the other, one nationality against the other. They are dividing the American people, which grew out of the fusion of various national groups and national cultures into one American whole. They are weakening democracy as a whole by retarding the unification of the peoples and groups which, unified, are the backbone of democracy in America.

The danger of anti-Semitism as a tactic of division threatening the integrity of democracy becomes clear if we observe the ramifications of Jew-baiting as an instrument of fascist infiltration. Although Nazism is opposed to and combats the equality and the rights of every national and religious minority, anti-Semitism affords the Nazis the opportunity of penetrating the various national and religious groups with fascist ideology.

Thus we find the Berlin-Rome axis operating in the very heart of our country. Nazi and Italian fascist agents, for example, jointly spread anti-Semitism among the millions of Italian-Americans who oftentimes work side by side with Jewish workers, primarily in the various needle trades. To the degree that their Jew-baiting succeeds (and we must bear in mind that thousands of Italian-Americans have rejected the anti-Semitism of Mussolini) their disintegrating activities in such trade unions, composed of Italians and Jews, also succeeds. Thus anti-Semitism serves directly as a medium of spreading national antagonisms within the trade union movement and within the democratic movement with the intention of dividing the membership and

minimizing the efficiency, rights and victories of the labor movement.

Despite the fact that the Nazi movement is anti-Negro, Nazis in alliance with Japanese fascist agents in America try to make inroads into the Negro communities on an anti-Jewish basis with the hope of counteracting the growing democratic and progressive activities of the Negro people in America. Nazi agents agitate against "Jewish" landlords and against Jews generally in an attempt to divert the struggles of the Negro people for better housing, better health conditions, equality, and progressive legislation into illegitimate anti-Semitic channels.

The Negroes, Jews and other national groups in America have a great community of interest in combating the Nazi movement which is the main purveyor of the anti-democratic race theory on the American scene. The realization of the Nazi race theory would mean the extinction of the Jews, the Negroes, the Catholics and other groups in America. The progressive groups in Negro life, under the leadership of the National Negro Congress, are intensely conscious of the Nazi origin of the present attempts to spread anti-Semitism among the Negro people and are combating the manifestations of anti-Semitism.

Among the various national groups anti-Semitism serves as a point of departure for Nazi penetration. Among Poles, Hungarians, and other national groups Nazis and fascists of the countries of origin introduce both the anti-Semitism and the pro-fascist tendencies of the countries abroad. If we stop for a moment to consider that in New York City over 75 per cent of the population is composed of national groups; *i.e.*, the communities of foreign-born immigrants and the second and third generation native-born children, we can see how fertile a field this is for Nazi penetration.

Here too, the main activity is a divisive one, preventing the unity of the democratic currents of each national group and thus preventing the greater unity of democratic America. In addition, the economic distribution of the national groups in the United States is of a strategic character. The foreign-born and their children compose a large part of America's industrial workers, and Nazi activities among these groups also serve as an immediate lever for splitting activities in the trade unions of the basic industries of our country.

Anti-Semitism serves equally well as a device of division among the religious groups. Here in addition to racial and national differences, religious differences are brought into play. The activities of a Reverend Winrod of Kansas, supported by the Nazis and conducting a vitriolic anti-Semitic and anti-democratic campaign appealing primarily to Protestants, is but one example of Nazi activities among the various religious denominations.

Father Coughlin is an example of fascist activity of a slightly different variety. Despite the anti-Catholicism of the Nazi movement, the fascists use anti-Semitism and other means with the hope of winning American Catholics to fascism. Coughlin appeals to people who repudiate the Bund as such but who accept what are basic Nazi tenets in Coughlin's religion-coated doses. Very recently Father Coughlin, under the pretext of protesting Nazi persecution, repeated the main slanderous anti-Semitic charges of all Nazi literature. He identified Judaism with Communism, and raised the oft-repeated false charge that the Russian revolution was financed by the Jewish banking concern, Kuhn, Loeb & Company.

The truth of Father Coughlin's arguments was eloquently disproved by a simple utterance of the head of the United

States Secret Service Department. Coughlin founded his accusations on a British white paper and on a document of the United States Secret Service. The British Library of Information, possessing the white paper referred to, stated that no such "facts" were embodied in the paper, and the United States Secret Service claimed that Coughlin's facts were not taken from any document of the Department. Clearly Coughlin, who has already openly espoused fascism and in the past has professed a preference for bullets to ballots, wins support for Nazi lies among people who reject open Nazi propaganda.

In spreading Nazi propaganda Coughlin does not represent the interests or the sentiments of the Catholic people in America. The Pope's vigorous condemnations of anti-Semitism and Cardinal Mundelein's recent repudiation of Father Coughlin express the position of the Catholic Church on anti-Semitism. Father Coughlin and his New York supporter, Father Curran, choose to violate their Catholicism because of their pro-fascism and consequently serve as conveyors of Hitlerism, creating divisions and disseminating fascist propaganda among American Catholics.

NAZISM VS. THE GERMAN-AMERICANS

Concentration on the Germans living in any country is a fundamental aspect of Nazi activities. The technique used in Czechoslovakia is an alarming indication of what a successful campaign along these lines can do to cloud the real issues and to create the base for anti-democratic activity. The appeal to greater German nationalism, to the German community of blood, to racial superiority and to a mystical inter-relationship between Germans in the Reich and outside the Reich is naturally applied to the German-Americans as well.

Short wave radio broadcasts from abroad as well as Nazi utilization of the various German programs on local stations throughout America are significant vehicles through which the Nazis reach the Germans in America. The Nazi press in the United States, the weekly newspapers published in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, and the imported material from Germany proper are the chief vehicles of this propaganda. General propaganda is coupled with very concrete organization. The twenty-two Nazi camps in the United States are centers of Nazi activities where speeches of loyalty to the Reich are linked with programs of Nazi activity for the U.S.A. Of these camps the major ones are:

- Camp Siegfried, near Yaphank, Long Island
- Camp Nordland, near Andover, New Jersey
- Camp Eichenwald, near Detroit, Michigan
- Camp Deutschorst, near Sellesville, Pennsylvania
- Camp Hindenburg, on the Milwaukee River, near Milwaukee, Wis.
- Camp Deutsche Zentrale, near Cleveland, Ohio
- Camp Hindenburg Park, near Los Angeles, Calif.
- and camps near Schenectady; South Chicago; Flint, Michigan; Hammond, Indiana; Houston, Texas; Petaluma, California; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle.

The Nazi Bund specializes in strong-arm methods to force German-Americans into supporting the Nazi movement. Promises of terror against relatives in Germany, threats of an organized boycott against the German merchants failing to support the Bund, packing the meetings of non-Nazi organizations to put through pro-Nazi resolutions, are menacing weapons.

The recent Nazi spy trial in New York City proved con-

clusively the organic relationship between the Nazi movement in Germany and the Nazi movement in the United States and established the immediate threat of this movement to the national interests of America. The three spies convicted for purveying American military secrets to Nazi Germany are only a small part of a broad Nazi spy movement in the United States, menacing our national security.

The distinction between German-Americans and Nazis must always be kept in mind. Just as the Nazi movement in Germany does not represent the will of the whole German people so the Nazi Bund in our country does not represent the opinion of all or even the majority of Germans in America. The existence of various German anti-Nazi organizations as well as the *Volksecho*, a German anti-fascist weekly, are clear indications of progressive currents in the German communities. The break already referred to between the United German Societies in New York and the Nazis reflects the conflicts and struggles between the Nazis and the anti-Nazis among the Germans. The recent editorial in the *New York Staats Zeitung und Herold* protesting the pogroms in Germany is also an expression of the tendencies in the direction of the support of democracy in an organ which has been not overly critical of Hitler in the past.

Nevertheless we must not underestimate the intensity of Nazi activity among the German-Americans and their attempts to create a German racial political bloc here in the United States to support Nazi policies and to serve as a springboard for Nazi expansion in the United States. In this connection the Nazis operate among singing societies, sports organizations, fraternal organizations, cultural organizations and church groups. The article by Robert Morss Lovett, "The Nazis Play Saint," in *The Fight* of September, 1938, calls our attention to various indirect approaches of

the Nazis which have yielded successful results. He points out:

"Another and more significant success of the indirect Nazi approach can be seen in the merger effected a few weeks ago between the Reformed Lutheran and Evangelical Churches in the United States. This event—which in its way closely parallels the Nazi drive for a State Church in Germany—marks a step towards that unification of German-American groups by which the Nazis ultimately hope to create a hyphenate political bloc in this country. The church merger, it may be remarked, did not occur spontaneously. On the contrary, it was the fruit of nearly three years of activity and persuasion in the church, carried on with the tacit blessing and encouragement of the Nazis. This summer, as though to seal symbolically the final union of the two church groups, an Evangelical pastor from Chicago has been invited to preach from the pulpit of Martin Luther's own church in Wittenberg—and then to top off his free visit to Germany by attending the Nazi Parteitag (Party Day) in Nuremberg, as a personal guest of Adolf Hitler.

"Throughout all the cultural and church activities, and the simple folk festivals promoted for no apparent purpose in the countryside, one leit-motif appears and reappears with variations; *viz.*, that Hitler has been maligned; that everything said against him is propaganda invented by the Jews; that he has built up Germany out of the ruins caused by the Jews, who are still attempting through economic boycott to prevent the regeneration of Germany. This sinister appeal to racial prejudice is Hitler's trustiest weapon for defeating the boycott against Nazi Germany.

"The Nazi movement in America hopes to create a base among the Germans for support of Nazism and

for campaigns against American democracy and has succeeded in mobilizing some German-American elements into the Nazi camp."

NAZIS SERVE ECONOMIC ROYALISTS

It was not by chance that industrial Detroit was the cradle of the Nazi movement in the United States. In 1932 and 1933 when orders were first issued to the American Nazis on Hitler's own party stationery, they bore a Detroit postmark and the first branch of the Nazi movement in the United States was set up in Detroit. It was more than historical accident that brought the Nazi movement to this city. In the twenties of our century, Detroit was also the cradle of the national anti-Semitic movement inspired by the American publication of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," that anti-Semitic forgery which has served as the ideological base of every modern anti-Semitic movement the world over. Here in America Henry Ford gave the American people the first English version of this provocative and slanderous document through the pages of the *Dearborn Independent*. Although Nazi Germany must take the credit for having developed anti-Semitism to its most brutal and widespread degree the Nazis certainly have no monopoly on Jew-baiting. Long before the rise of Hitler, Ford was spreading anti-Semitism on the American scene for the same reason that German industrialists utilize the Nazi movement for the dissemination of anti-Semitism in Germany today.

Anti-Semitism is always motivated by conscious economic or political interests. In the period of the rise of the trade union movement and popular democratic movements which challenged or questioned the industrial control and the practices of the monopolies, Jew-baiting was used as the

great apology. Anti-Semitism served as the lightning rod for the diversion of growing mass discontent into channels which would not prove dangerous to that section of American society which President Roosevelt so aptly termed the "economic royalists."

It is not surprising to find in the deluge of anti-Semitic literature issued by the Nazi-inflated Robert Edward Edmundson such leaflets as the one entitled *Crucifying the Utilities*. The hand that feeds Mr. Edmundson is quite obviously exposed in this leaflet which foams at the mouth against "legislation framed by the same Brandeis-Frankfurter internationalists who wrote the Security Paralysis Act and the communistic N.R.A., A.A.A., S.E.C., T.V.A., and P.W.A." In other words, anti-Semitism is utilized to identify all progressive legislation in the interests of the broad masses of the people with a non-existent mythical group of international Jewish plotters.

The technique is a simple one. Utilize every possible lie, slander, distortion, forgery and fabrication to discredit the Jew. Then identify everything democratic and progressive with the discredited Jew to discredit the progressive legislation and democratic movements so identified.

Anti-Semitism was as close to the big-business heart of Ford as it was to the Thyssen and Krupp monopoly interests behind German fascism. Out of a complete community of interests Ford looked with favor on the rising Nazi anti-Semitic movement in Germany. Despite Ford's benevolent-for-the-record's-sake apology to the Jews (motivated by a possible boycott of Ford cars) he continued in the direction indicated by the *Dearborn Independent*.

Fritz Kuhn, present Fuehrer of the Bund, came directly to Detroit when he entered the United States and there he carried on his Nazi activities under the fatherly protection

of Henry Ford. The overwhelming majority of Nazi members in Detroit were, as established by a Congressional committee investigating Nazi activities in 1934, Ford employees. And if Ford maintained a dignified silence, in an attempt to conceal his association with Nazism, anxious Hitler spilled the beans when he decorated Henry Ford with a Nazi medal.

Mr. Ford was not the only American industrialist who saw in the Nazi movement a fond reply to the democratic movement which worried the elements in America veering toward fascism. The progressive features of the New Deal could be attacked so conveniently by using the old Nazi technique. And we have witnessed vicious propaganda throughout the country calling the New Deal the "Jew Deal" and calling President Roosevelt "Rosenfeld." American reaction saw in the Nazi movement a convenient device for combatting democratic and progressive tendencies in the United States.

We need not enter into a version of the scholastic dispute as to whether the egg preceded the chicken or the chicken the egg. Chickens and eggs are definitely related and in the same manner the Nazi movement and the reactionary activities of certain American industrialists are likewise related, as each complements the interests of the other. The Bund immediately serves as a recruiting ground for scabs and strikebreakers, and in the broader political horizon is an auxiliary arm of the anti-New Deal machine, and of all anti-democratic movements.

NAZIS IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Certain reactionary sections of the Republican Party have definitely allied themselves with representatives of the Nazi

movement. In the *New York Post* of October 22, 1936, we read:

"To win votes for Landon and Bleakley, the Republican State Committee is employing on its payroll a staff of propagandists identified with local Nazi organizations, the *Post* learned today.

"Charged with working on the German-American population of the State, the staff of fifteen or more writers and clerks is housed in Room 406 at Republican State Headquarters, 41 East 42nd Street.

"It is designated the German Bureau of the Naturalized Citizens Division of the State Committee. The committee has had such nationalist bureaus in previous elections, but never one that was stamped by the politics of the Fatherland as this one is.

"Secretary and active chief of the bureau is Josef Vogel, printing foreman of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the official weekly newspaper of the German-American Bund, the American Nazi organization."

In the same 1936 Republican Party election campaign Nazis spoke over Station WWRL in behalf of the Republicans. The *New York World-Telegram* of October 30, 1936, carried a story with the following headings:

U. S. NAZI ATTACK ON JEWS IS LAID
TO REPUBLICANS

Anti-Semitic Radio Speeches by Griebel, Others,
Sponsored by G.O.P.

Fritz Kuhn Among Speakers in Regular Broadcast
Over WWRL

In other parts of the country as well reactionary and Liberty League sections of the Republican Party have not hesitated to work with Nazi elements in America.

The reactionary Democratic machine in New York City, Tammany Hall, received the open support of the Bund in the 1937 Mayorality elections. And the Hague machine in Jersey City, bearing many of the earmarks of all pronounced fascist movements, also is supported by the Nazi movement and echoes many ideas of the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin.

Nor is it out of place at this point to recall the recent activities of Col. Charles Lindbergh who received a decoration from Hitler and who planned to move to Nazi Germany. It is difficult to state definitely what motivated Lindbergh, an American hero, to act in complete disregard of American public opinion and interests. Some light is shed on the subject, however, if we bear in mind that Lindbergh married into the family of Dwight W. Morrow, an associate of Morgan, and thus through marriage became allied to the Morgan interests. It is very possible that Lindbergh was motivated by the general policy of the Morgan grouping in America, advocating closer economic relations between Nazi Germany and the United States.

The greatest threat to the democratic rights of the American people lies in the community of interest between American reaction and agents of foreign fascism operating within our own borders. Tie-ups between representatives and spokesmen of American reaction and the Nazi movement are naturally not open and above-board. Such an open tie-up would immediately earn the disapproval of the overwhelming majority of Americans. Therefore subtler and more devious inter-relations and methods of approach to the American people have been worked out.

The activities of Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., are an interesting illumination of surface anti-Nazism and actual pro-Nazism. Ham Fish has been excessive in his pro-

tests against the Nazi pogroms. At the same time, however, he has been equally energetic and vigorous in combatting the popular boycott of German goods. His verbal protests are completely blotted out by his advocacy of a policy which can only help Nazi Germany.

In the person of Hamilton Fish we see the concrete embodiment of the most dangerous aspect of Nazi penetration in America. American public figures, speaking in the name of Americanism, the Constitution, and the national interests of our country, support policies which are the direct antithesis of everything that American democracy stands for. The greatest danger comes from the enemies of democracy who skillfully conceal their fundamentally undemocratic character. It is by this method that the fascist forces in America hope to peddle their wares to the American people. If a Fritz Kuhn today reaches only limited audiences, a Father Coughlin, presenting a slightly sugar-coated version of fascism, reaches millions.

DEFENDING AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Today more than ever before we must exercise all our vigilance to ferret out those who drape themselves in an American flag only to betray the best traditions of democratic America. In this period of crisis, created by the anti-democratic aggressiveness which characterizes the actions of fascism internationally, it is essential to distinguish between the true opponents of Nazism and the proponents of fascism operating under the mask of anti-Nazism.

If we know what the interests of democracy are, this will be simple. If we know what policies serve the interests of fascism, we will be able to recognize the demagogues. If we know what movements threaten our national security, we will be able to recognize what forces are really un-American.

Seven years of fascist aggression have taught us clearly that what we in the democratic countries cherish most—peace, security and liberty—the fascist countries are most severely attacking. Fascism has brought war to more and more countries and to more and more peoples. Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, China represent one line of fascist attack. Austria and Czechoslovakia represent another. And of the type of “peace” represented by Czechoslovakia the words of President Roosevelt should become the conviction of every true lover of peace:

“It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by tear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by the sword. There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be replaced by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force. There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the threat of war.”

The possibilities for peace are proportionate to the successful weakening and ultimate elimination of the sources of war and to our ability and determination to resist fascist aggression. Fascism and war have become synonymous, and the fascist preparations for war are feverish. Faith in American democracy and pride in American achievement should not blind us to the forces menacing our own security and peace. The German and Italian fascist penetration in the countries of South America has been brought to the attention of the whole American public in the last few weeks.

Unfair trade practices, economic domination with the hope of political domination, efforts to spread German and Italian culture with the hope of implanting the fascist seed which destroys all culture, mark the activities of the Nazis in South America. But fascist efforts in the South American countries have also met with serious resistance and in the

past few years many democratic movements have asserted themselves and have made themselves felt in the territories to the south of us. The call of Secretary Hull for solidarity between the Americas, the good-neighbor policy of President Roosevelt, in short, the development of cooperation between our democracy and the democratic countries of South America as an expression of the mutual interests of democracy as a whole are necessary steps in the direction of unity for the victory of democracy. This need is becoming clearer to larger sections of the American population and this need is a fundamental expression of the community of interest between democratic forces everywhere.

Today democracy is directly threatened by international fascism.

Isolated islands of democracy cannot endure in a sea of fascist intrigue. We in the greatest democracy in the world can do much for the defense of democratic government and democratic thought the world over. President Roosevelt in his Chapel Hill address of December 5 said that "many other democracies look to us for leadership that world democracy may survive." And he also said "what America does or fails to do in the next few years has a far greater bearing and influence on the history of the human race for centuries to come than most of us who are here today can ever conceive."

No clearer verification of these principles could be offered than the feverish efforts of the Nazis to anchor America to isolationism. Fascism fears both the voice and the power of America and consequently has endeavored to keep America from sounding its voice and doing its part in the period of crisis that we are living in. And here too the greatest threat has come from elements in American life which have fulfilled the Nazi wish.

Not without reason did Fritz Kuhn, fuhrer of the German-American Bund, claim that he would set up isolationist lobbies. But in reality isolationism is a contradiction in terms. The logical conclusion of isolationism would lead to a static relationship between America and the rest of the world, to no foreign policy and no foreign relations. Even the most extreme isolationist does not wish to see such a policy enforced in action. In reality, the problem is whether or not America should use its position of leadership and its influence for concerted action of the democratic forces to curb fascism and preserve peace, or whether America should help the fascist forces by permitting, through inaction, the destruction of liberty here and abroad.

The whole policy of impartiality dished up so cleverly by the isolationist groupings on the American scene served only as a smoke-screen for the imposition of the embargo against Loyalist Spain. The embargo represents neither neutrality nor isolationism. It represents help to fascism in the name of neutrality and of American isolation from the conflicts of Europe. But the conflict between fascism and democracy is not a remote affair which America can look upon with complete disinterest. The conflict between war and peace, fascism and democracy, is the major problem. Its solution will determine the security of America and the future of democracy and peace here. Far from being disinterested we are most vitally affected by the fascist attempts to encircle America.

The menace of Nazism is clear. The internal efforts to undermine democratic institutions and violate civil liberties and the rights of the people, the collaboration between Nazi elements and American reaction and the international ambitions of world fascism are matters of immediate concern to every American. It is our task to exert all efforts

to frustrate the internal activities of the Nazis and their American allies and to resist and defeat the international war-plots of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo, Chamberlain-Daladier axis. Both of these problems are organically related and in reality we are faced with one fight, for decency and morality in the relationships between man and man, and between country and country. Nazism represents the reign of gangster immorality elevated to a system of state government.

Fascism's main tactic first, to gain power, and then, to keep in power, is to divide the people, to divide the democratic forces. We have seen that the Nazi movement in America pursues a policy of separation and division detrimental to the interests of the American people. America's response to the consistent disruptive activities of Nazism must be *unity*, the unity of all the groups which the Nazi movement is trying so desperately to divide, the unity of Jew and Christian, Catholic and Protestant, foreign-born and native-born, Negro and white, in a common defense of democratic rights which are the only guarantee of the security of all. Fascism knows how beneficial the divisions and weaknesses of democracy itself are for its advance. We who oppose fascism must be equally conscious of the great danger of disunity. The most effective answer we can give to the Nazi movement in the United States is the democratic unity of the overwhelming majority of the American people expressed in a determined fight against every specific manifestation of fascism.

The tasks of the united democratic movement are many. Fascism expresses itself in very concrete ways, and to fight fascism we must be equally concrete and specific.

The attacks of fascism and reaction on labor must be met by the broadest support of American anti-fascists for legislation guaranteeing labor the right of collective bar-

gaining, and the extension and preservation of labor's rights.

Anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism and anti-Negroism must be met with determined struggles against those who discriminate against Jews, Catholics and Negroes and by support of progressive legislation outlawing anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic activities which violate the meaning and the spirit of our Bill of Rights.

Aid for the victims of fascist persecution, and an effective program of refugee relief, are direct blows against Nazi Germany. The statement of Dr. Harry F. Ward, National Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, outlines an effective and necessary policy of action:

"The American League for Peace and Democracy proposes the following immediate steps that can and must be taken to relieve the chaotic conditions created by the German government's persecution of the Jews:

"First: That the President should at once call a conference of all democratic nations to consider the problem of jointly providing within their own boundaries and colonies new homes for the Jewish people now in Germany.

"Second: That the President recommend to this Conference that since the action of the German government has created this problem and since that government is taking from the German Jews the money which would otherwise be available to meet the initial cost of resettlement, therefore these costs shall be charged to the German government.

"Third: That until the German government makes satisfactory arrangements to meet these costs, each government participating in the resettlement plans shall forbid all exports, loans and credits to Germany and all imports from Germany; and that all monies owing to

Germany by their citizens through commercial and financial transactions shall be paid to the government to be held until a satisfactory arrangement with the Nazi government shall be concluded.

"Fourth: That if the other democratic governments fail to respond affirmatively to the proposal for a Conference for this problem, the United States proceed immediately to put this program into effect in this country to the limit of its ability to receive and provide for refugees.

"That meantime:

"1. The United States government let it be decisively known that it will not enter into a trade treaty with the Nazi government.

"2. That our government keep its ambassador and its 'trade envoy' to Germany here until the problem of the German Jews is adjusted to its satisfaction.

"3. That the State Department refuse all applications for export licenses for the shipment of arms, munitions and implements of war to Germany, thus abiding by the terms of the Trianon Treaty, which the State Department has not enforced since 1935.

"4. That the American people unanimously refuse to buy Nazi goods.

"5. That organized labor take steps to meet its responsibility for participating in the shipment of goods to Germany, especially war supplies.

"These proposals mean that the American League is unalterably opposed to limiting proposals for the relief of German Jews to resettlement in colonies.

"Also to having the cost of Nazi barbarism and aggression once more placed upon the people of democratic nations.

"The American League must also point out that any proposals to relieve the suffering of the Jews in Germany offer no solution of the main problem of the

barbarism and aggression of the Nazi government. The Nazis continuously persecute other religious and political minorities. Along with other fascist governments they have a continuous program of aggression against other nations. They continuously threaten and make war. There is no hope of peace—no security for any nation or race—until the menace of fascism is removed from the world scene. The American League points out to the American people that our first step towards the solution of the problem is by means of the embargo and boycott to prevent the Nazi government from using American economic resources in any way for the furtherance of its barbarism and aggression."

We must answer fascism by demanding the lifting of the embargo against Spain and by helping feed the valiant defenders of democracy in Loyalist Spain.

We can weaken fascism by extending the popular boycott of Nazi goods and of Japanese goods.

Disillusionment and despair can only help the fascists at the present moment. Our faith in democracy and our hatred of fascist barbarism must express themselves in concrete action for the preservation and extension of democracy and for the defeat of fascism.

TO DEFEAT

NAZISM

ANTI-SEMITISM

FASCISM

IN AMERICA

JOIN

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

NATIONAL OFFICE

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