

# RADIO WAR ON THE U. S. A.

BY CHARLES J. ROLO

Dr. Hermann Rauschning quotes Adolf Hitler as saying:

Artillery preparation before an attack as during the World War will be replaced in the future war by the psychological dislocation of the adversary through revolutionary propaganda.

In line with this precept, American listeners are now being assailed through the air with the same strategy of demoralization that was used against Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, France and other fallen democracies of Europe. From sunrise until the small hours of the morning, this country is subjected to an intensive verbal bombardment from the Reich's giant short-wave transmitters. For a long time it was the writer's job to listen in and analyze the missiles — the "bombs for the mind," as a Nazi writer described them. They have one clear and simple purpose: to foment dissension that will paralyze America's will to act.

The German radio offensive against other countries revealed the tactics and objectives of this

form of warfare. Its goal is not conversion, but *anarchy*. It seeks to pit group against group, to turn the people against their leaders, to undermine the individual's faith in his habitual standards of judgment, to arouse in each man's heart uncertainty and eventually panic; in short, to divide, confuse, and terrify. The use of absurd exaggerations and fantastic assertions is an essential part of this strategy. It removes the stigma attached to propaganda, giving it the appearance of ballyhoo. So successful has been this "camouflaging" of the satanic by the ridiculous that for years the world regarded German propaganda as the harmless raving of diseased brains. Even now, with the object lessons of two years staring them in the face, the British complacently declare that Dr. Goebbels' threats and glaring falsehoods cannot win for him friends and allies in America. But German propaganda seeks no friends in America — except traitors; no allies — except Revolution. It is the propaganda of complete Nihilism.

Berlin's "bombs for the mind" are now reaching a sizeable audience in the United States. Seven million radios in this country have short-wave facilities and the number of American-born listeners to German broadcasts is now estimated at somewhere between 150,000 and 300,000. Dr. Goebbels' foreign-born audience is considerably greater. Selected excerpts from these broadcasts are reprinted in the 100-odd pro-Nazi German-language newspapers in this country and in the pamphlets distributed by the German Library of Information. Listening groups in German sections gather around loudspeakers tuned in to Berlin or Hamburg to hear the voices of the fatherland. Moreover, radio is an ideal vehicle for transmitting to Nazi sympathizers in this country confusion propaganda for wholesale distribution. The German Propaganda Ministry can tell its friends in America exactly what to say and how to say it. From the source and fountain head of the Nazi Gospel, the little men now receive a constant stream of new ideas, new slogans — and sometimes *orders*.

The Nazi radio campaign against the United States falls broadly into two phases. The first, from the outbreak of war until the German

*Blitzkrieg* in the West, was mainly devoted to acquiring a following and gaining its sympathy and confidence. Even the propagandist of Nihilism must first use persuasion to produce in his audience the state of mind which makes it vulnerable to the strategy of disintegration. Germany's first tactic of persuasion was to use speakers with a good knowledge of American life and patterns of thought, who addressed their hearers in the friendly, colloquial style of our own domestic broadcasters.

Chief of Berlin's "North American" division is Fred Kaltenbach, known to short-wave listeners as "Lord Hee-Haw" (America's equivalent of Britain's Lord Haw-Haw). Kaltenbach, who speaks with an agreeable midwestern drawl, was born and bred in Waterloo, Iowa, and spent the greater part of his life in this country. In the World War he enlisted in the U. S. Army and rose to the rank of Lieutenant in the Coast Artillery, but never saw active service. Four years ago, Kaltenbach made a pilgrimage to Germany, which he terms "my mother," while America is his "sweetheart." He received a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin, married a German girl on the staff of one of Goering's aviation magazines, and joined the Ministry of

Propaganda. In May, 1939, he paid a short visit to this country, addressed Waterloo Rotarians on the virtues of the Nazi regime, and was acidly advised to "go back *there* if you like it so much." Fred went, and stayed.

Kaltenbach's right-hand man is one E. D. Ward, in private life Edward Leopold Delaney, of Glenview, Illinois. This self-styled "Irish-American" was formerly a ham actor, press agent, pulp writer, and barker for a burlesque show, who spent most of his life in and around Manhattan or playing stock in the provinces. Other regular Berlin speakers are Dr. Otto Koischwitz, who sometimes uses the pseudonyms "Dr. Anders" and "Mr. O. K.," and was for fourteen years professor of German at Hunter College, and Constance Drexel, an American woman, introduced as "a Philadelphia heiress and socialite." Her function is to disarm listeners with polite small-talk about the social activities of Americans still in the Reich.

These speakers make a special point of emphasizing their "Americanism." They refer to themselves as "this American," and when speaking of "the Germans" assume the pose of semidetached observers. The language they use is a folksy, idiomatic brand of American, gen-

erously studded with Lincolnian homilies. Talks and commentaries are slanted for people of all tastes and levels of culture. For the less educated Kaltenbach and his team present dialogues and dramatic skits, for the serious-minded elaborately documented lectures. Berlin studies its listeners with the thoroughness of a professional psychologist.

## II

During the period of military stalemate in Europe, vilification of Britain took first place on German broadcasts to the U. S. A. The varied and manifold vices of the British were lumped together under the comprehensive epithet of "Britality" — a subject to which Berlin returned on every program. Britain's "brazen and outrageous" violations of neutral rights, the "disgusting hypocrisy" of the British in claiming to have moral war aims, the ingenuity of the British "in evolving new forms of depravity" — all these were cited as typical examples of "Britality." It is not surprising, the German radio declared, "that Britain has never produced a Lincoln. . . . The British gentleman, when exposed in his true colors, turns out to be nothing but an unscrupulous

brute." On one occasion, it suited a Nazi spokesman to describe the English as "a nation of small shopkeepers arguing about everything." Another time, Britain was "the old spinster among nations" who "lives, works, and fights for the well-being of her plutocracy." On a third occasion, the old witch, magically transformed into a fair young man, had become "the Casanova among nations, the international Don Juan, standing under the windows of the United States making violent love to the Yankee girl."

Great ingenuity was shown by Nazi broadcasters when they turned to their second major theme: Anglo-American friction through the ages. Listeners were reminded:

Britain is your greatest competitor in foreign markets. . . . Britain is lawlessly seizing American mail to gain access to American business secrets. . . . Britain is organizing a widespread system of espionage on American soil. . . . Britain sacrificed American citizens on board the *Athenia* in order to get a new ally. . . . English contempt for American culture is too well-known to deserve comment.

The perennial moral was that America should do absolutely nothing to assist "the most corrupt and sinister dictatorship the world has ever seen."

Against all this was set the image of an enlightened Germany, dis-

tinguished by youthful vigor, industry, and an admirable system of social justice, a Germany friendly to America and all things American. The Berlin radio assured American listeners that the seizure of the Polish Corridor was in no way different from the annexation of Texas and New Mexico in 1846, and likened the conception of *Lebensraum* to the Monroe Doctrine. Appealing to the left-wing section of its audience, who had been previously informed that in Nazi Germany "there are no slums and tenement districts," Berlin pictured the Reich as fighting for "a solidified European system instead of the arbitrary profiteering of capitalist interests."

"America has nothing to fear from Germany," the Reichsender took pains to reiterate during this first period, and multiplied its protestations of respect and affection for Americans. A series of talks was devoted to the glorification of America's great historic figures. A taxi driver was brought to the microphone to say: "We love America and Americans and shall miss the American crowds when we hold our next summer music festival," and Fred Kaltenbach assured "the folks back home in Iowa" that "a German victory is no threat to American democracy. At

bottom there is far greater similarity between American democracy and National Socialism than there is between old-fashioned English class distinction and Americanism."

Such was the policy of the German radio drive on America in the initial seven months, before this country embarked on its policy of "all aid to Britain short of war." Then Germany launched its *Blitzkrieg* against the Low Countries and the United States increased its material aid to the Allies. The Nazi radio thereupon began the second phase of its drive — a large-scale radio psychological offensive designed to undermine Americans' faith in the leadership, policy and institutions of their nation. To camouflage their destructive nihilistic criticism, Berlin speakers continued to employ for the most part a tone of bluff geniality.

The basically "moral" appeal of the first months was now abandoned in favor of an appeal to "Yankee horse sense" and economic self-interest. A frank and jovial cynicism replaced Berlin's former piety. "It's good business to be on good terms with the winner" became the *Leitmotif* of German broadcasts to America. On this theme Berlin elaborated as follows:

It is sheer folly to bet on the wrong horse in a race where the stakes are as big as those in this competition are. Germany is going to win the war. Why not face the facts and make up to the winner? Why quarrel with the dominant power in Europe at a time when that power not only has tremendous allies but is slated to play the leading commercial part on the continent after the war? Self-interest should prompt the American people to get ready to capitalize on the big trade boom coming to Europe after peace is made.

Part and parcel of this policy has been a resolute campaign against the Administration's efforts "to institute a system of purely Pan-American economics." In language grimly reminiscent of German broadcasts to England during the Polish crisis of August, 1939, Germany insisted on her right to trade with South America, and attacked what it termed Cordell Hull's "Cartel Plan." The German radio declared:

The United States will have to renounce the idea of interfering with the trade that Germany is carrying on with Latin America. . . . Europe will not accept American economic exploitation as a substitute for London domination. The rest of the world does not depend on the United States but the United States depends on the rest of the world. . . . Germany cannot be blamed if she takes her business elsewhere.

While calling for American economic cooperation with Hitler's "New Order," the German radio

insisted upon a political Monroe Doctrine for Europe:

If Europe is ready to respect the Monroe Doctrine, is it too much to expect the United States to refrain from interfering in the affairs of Europe? Germany agrees that what the United States does in Mexico and Central America and how she treats her Negro subjects is her own business. How about more reciprocity in this respect?

Invariably Nazi broadcasters concluded with Hitler's dictum: "America for the Americans, Europe for the Europeans." Several times, however, the writer heard direct assaults on the Monroe Doctrine. "If there had always existed a Monroe Doctrine," argued the German radio on one occasion, "there would never have been a United States. Conditions change from time to time and frontiers must be left to change with them." It then went on to discuss openly "the ultimate division of territory in America."

To encourage a policy of appeasement, the German radio is now approaching its listeners with a characteristic mixture of threats and reassurances. It warns them that "America is the isolated exponent of a system that has gone down to defeat," reminds them that large-scale rearmament takes years to complete, and hints darkly

at "a German invasion" and "a German economic *Blitzkrieg*." On the same day, however, sometimes on the same program, a Nazi spokesman will blandly assert:

Germany has no designs on the American continent — and you know it. Even if she did have, it would be physically impossible for her to cross that little body of water known as the Atlantic Ocean.

### III

All this time, the offensive against Americans, the American Government, and the American way of life has been developing all along the line. Berlin complains of American "diplomatic blundering" and "irresponsible diplomats," and speaks bitinglly of Washington's "coterie of calamity warriors." (Exactly the same terms were applied by Berlin in the past to the governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, and England.) The German radio claims that Britain was "encouraged" to declare war by the promises of America, and was then betrayed. "England," said a Nazi speaker recently, "is the Poland of U. S. interventionists." And he went on to accuse this country of having "deliberately engineered" the downfall of the British Empire "in order to take it over and eventually dominate the whole world.

... Help to Britain is a mask for titanic imperialist plans." Also:

The liquidation of the British Empire and the bankruptcy of British feudalism so far seem to be working out as the most gigantic business deal the United States has ever closed. Britain would do well to give in to Germany rather than be left at the mercy of the United States imperialists.

In the next breath, however, Berlin roundly accuses the Administration of seeking "to crash the war without an invitation," and asserts in this connection that "there are certain vital facts Washington officialdom is concealing from the public." The American people are warned — as were the peoples of Poland, France, Norway, Belgium, and Holland — that "alien elements are administering your policy and diplomacy . . . the real enemies of the United States are in the service of the Government."

Americans themselves are coming in for a good deal of harsh criticism. They are now accused of being "believers in class distinctions," "loafing around drug stores," "suffering from a money mania," or "clinging to old forms and wilfully shutting their eyes to new developments." They are censured for allowing their young to be "perverted by the movies." They are ridiculed for being "more than

50 per cent superstitious — because you live in fear." The Reichsender complains bitterly that "privately-owned American short-wave stations" are broadcasting "twisted and false reports about Germany," and Berlin speaks of the "pure British" attitude of America's "Jewish-plutocratic" press.

The anti-Semitic campaign on German broadcasts to America is now approaching a pitch of hysteria. As many as three or four talks a week are devoted to urging Americans to banish or "quarantine" the Jews in this country. Other groups against whom Berlin is assiduously working to foment hatred are industrialists, financiers, and the wealthy classes in general — "who enjoy an easy life through speculation," Berlin tells its listeners.

As the Nazi radio campaign to stir up civil war in America gathers in intensity, more and more ballyhoo is thrown in to camouflage the real "bombs for the mind." British aviators are accused of "deliberately" seeking to destroy the American Embassy in Berlin. The Duke of Windsor is to be Viceroy of the United States when this country is united with Britain. Americans are said to be "malevolently encouraging their young men to offend Germany." And yet,

the German radio asserts sorrowfully, the Reich is only fighting "to make the world safe for U. S. mails." Pan-Germanism, the Reichsender explains innocently, is "only a defensive device. There would be no pro-Germans in the U. S. if there were no pro-English . . . the German element in America is the only genuinely neutral and patriotic one." Dorothy Thompson is berated because, "contrary to thousands of other women," she does not consider Hitler handsome. America's "dynamic democracy" is sneeringly referred to as DD, which, says Berlin, "might also mean 'damned dumb.'" A Nazi broadcaster goes on to talk of the "Sixth Column — the goofy guys who believe in the Fifth Column." Another complains that "A Dachs-hund was tortured and blinded by children in South Dakota — because of its German name." These are but a few of the extravagant fantasia that serve as camouflage for the dynamite in German broadcasts, and at the same time attract listeners with a taste for whimsy.

In the place of what it is working to destroy, the German radio purposely leaves a vacuum. It does not suggest that Americans should adopt the Nazi way of life. Its propaganda for American neutrality is balanced by bitter assertions

that America is already in the enemy camp. Only one positive doctrine emerges: the doctrine of race hatred and class warfare. For the common people of America the German radio has a message which, stripped of all trimmings, is essentially communistic, while to business men and property owners it speaks blandly in terms of profits and dividends. The poor are encouraged to hate the rich, the rich to fear the poor. The ideals and traditions of rich and poor alike are assailed by an all-corroding cynicism fatal to national unity.

Group warfare as forerunner of anarchy — that is the ultimate objective of German propaganda. To confuse, divide, and terrify the people of America as the people of France were confused, divided, and terrified is the goal of German short-wave broadcasts to the United States. In radio Germany has found the most effective weapon yet forged for the psychological dislocation of its enemies through confusion propaganda. In an age in which ideas have enslaved peoples, overthrown governments, and paralyzed armies safely entrenched behind fortifications of steel and concrete, radio, as used by the Nazis, is a formidable instrument for "world conquest through world revolution."



# DO YOU WANT TO BE A WHITE MAN?

## *A Story*

By LOUIS PAUL

A SWEATING sun, raw-edged, burned into the damp plowed earth and caked it into clods. The melody of laughter, black laughter, rang out over the fields. The sky was pale with the dazzling spring sunshine. Over in the northwest pasture a saddle mule, crazy with energy, raced his fool head off. Old Jack, a stooped and grizzled Negro, looked up from his fence mending, pushed back his battered straw, and fixed his attention on the crazy mule for a moment. "Them which hates wuk 'n' won't do wuk 'n' too lazy fo' wuk is de one pile up too much en'gy. Thass a truf, mule," he mumbled philosophically.

A big barrel-chested black man, naked to the waist, dug the blade of his plow in and brought his animal to a halt beside Old Jack. Perspiration streamed down his body, saturating the drawers that stuck up out of his denim pants.

"Hi, Ole Jack. Whut you mum'lin' to yo'se'f 'bout?" he grinned, chucking the reins and

stepping between the furrows for a breathing spell.

"Who mum'lin'?"

"You mum'lin', Ole Jack."

"I mum'lin' philosophy 'bout that crazy-runnin' mule, is you so persistent to know. Anybody got de en'gy t' caper in disyar sun is lazy folks."

"Never 'cuse dat granboy o' youn bein' lazy folks," Jed smiled. "He off 'ventin' again, reckon. Does Mistuh Jackson fine out he lazin' some place he git his bones bust, sho-nuff."

Old Jack shook his white head dolefully. "Dat Slimmy be d' death o' me. Well, you better go awn 'bout yo' plowin', sinner," he added. "Mistuh Jackson ketch you loafin' he goin' to bust yo' bones in de bargain."

"Got to res' dis animal once in twile, Ole Jack," Jed laughed, picking up the reins. "Geed!"

The sun swung down from the sky as though it were driving chariots. It dug into the winter