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ROOM TO BREATHE IN



One of the Largest Gatherings of All Time. A General View of Tempelhof Airfield at Berlin, Germany. As Over a Million People Crowded the Vast Space to Hear Chancellor Adolf Hitler and to Participate in Unprecedented May Day Celebrations

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

RECENTLY two books appeared by English authors, one from the pen of the eminent British mathematician and sociologist, Bertrand Russell, and the other by the novelist descendant of one of England's most distinguished scientists, Mr. Aldous Huxley. Lord Russell's book was an essay, and he called it *The Scientific Outlook*. Mr. Huxley's book was a Utopian novel, and he took his title from Shakspeare, and called it, *Oh, Brave New World!* Both books were ironical pictures of a future society when the chance and accident, the working of free economic competition, the chaotic political life produced by parliamentary government and parties, free biological choice, the catch-as-catch-can of modern liberal democracy should be replaced by a truly scientific form of government.

In that future state, as foreseen both by Bertrand Russell and by Aldous Huxley, "every little boy or girl that's born into this world alive" will not be "either a little Liberal or else a little Conservative" as Gilbert and Sullivan had it, but will be conditioned by methods of psychological suggestion. Social classes will be formed not by the competitive methods of individual striving but by eugenic selection. The drawers of water and hewers of stone, without whom even a new scientific society cannot exist, will be bred from the working classes and they will have it impressed upon them from birth by gentle radio messages which work while they sleep, that it is eminently desirable to be a member of the hewers-of-stone class. But the nobility will also be eugenically bred—in Mr. Huxley's *Brave New World*, in bottles—and will be decanted as rulers of the Alpha class, and conditioned to a sense of *noblesse oblige* by subtle suggestion. This new world is to be totally unsentimental, completely organized; there will be no illness, no suffering, no unhappy love, no psychological complexes, no unemployment, no hunger or poverty; all the world will be as efficient as a Diesel engine, and all life as determined as death.

Reading these books, we shudder at the horror of the world portrayed, and laugh, because, obviously, these are only the Pucklike dreams of imaginative men. How resigned we are to our chaotic world as we lay down these books. It is dreadful to be hungry, to be humiliated, to be frustrated, as many of us are,

in this sad old world. Obviously, our social system is atrociously organized. But who would not rather tramp the road unsure where he will lay his head at night, than live in the handsomest, most hygienic, most comfortable prison?

Then the disturbing afterthought comes: Perhaps we do not think like this because there is any ultimate truth in our conception of life. Do we not think as we do, merely because the idea of freedom has been suggested to us from childhood? Is not a lion born in a zoo as happy, and infinitely healthier and better cared for, than one roaming the jungle, a prey to hostile forces of nature? Are we not all silly romantics?

Artists have a kind of prophetic sight. I have just come back from Germany—the Germany of Adolf Hitler and National Socialism—I have watched with unbelieving eyes the developments of the first ten or twelve weeks of the German revolution. And as I read the German newspapers, following the decrees of the new dictatorship, I have a strange apprehension that I am reading Aldous Huxley's book come true. Is this, perhaps, the *Brave New World*?

Revolutions create phrases in which an epoch, a world outlook, a form of life, are expressed. Liberty, equality, fraternity—the conception of the French Revolution—is embodied in our own Constitution, in the Declaration of Independence, in the Gettysburg address. "The dictatorship of the proletariat," "The permanent revolution"—the two phrases sum up Russia under the Soviets. "The total state"—and we think immediately of Mussolini and Fascist Italy.

The German revolution is not altogether original. It has taken the concept of the permanent revolution from Trotsky; Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, has publicly explained that revolution is not the final achievement of a condition but the continuous achieving of it through history. The idea of the total state has been taken over from Mussolini. But the German revolution is better expressed in its own word. All students of contemporary world affairs must learn it. The word is *Gleichschaltung*. *Gleichschaltung* means "bringing into line." It means "conformity." It means, quite simply, "making everything alike."



Members of the Reichswehr Band Play "Tattoo" as Over a Million People Look On During the Nazi May Day Ceremonies at the Tempelhof Air-drome, Berlin



Whoever has followed the German press since the revolution of the fifth of March has seen this word over and over again. "Gleichschaltung of the provincial governments." "Gleichschaltung of the civil servants." . . . "Gleichschaltung of the professions." . . . "Gleichschaltung of the . . ."

UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD, N. Y.



The German Christians Hold Their First Meeting. A Religious Movement Founded on National Socialist Ideas. In Circle—Posting Boycott Labels on Windows

though he burn for it. But Germany goes further, and demands, in effect, that her people accept the theory that the world moves around Germany, and no voice dare raise itself in protest. The new German state is ushered in with a set of principles with which every

as well as a racial inheritance, and that it is this social inheritance which determines his mind form; that social forms can change races; that actually racial characteristics have changed profoundly under changed social conditions—that the Jews, for instance, were, in the time of Josephus, a warlike race, disliked for their extreme pugnacity and much desired as mercenary soldiers—if he were to suggest that, perhaps, it is not true that the purest races produce the most vital cultures—for it is a question whether the culture of the Scandinavian countries, racially probably the purest in Europe, is more vital than the cultures of such mixed races as make up the United States, England, France, and—alas, for Mr. Hitler—Germany—that professor would lose his job. He would prove that he has not been "Gleichgeschaltet," not brought into conformity—is guilty, in fact, of the heinous crime of thinking for himself.

Cogs in the Machine

THE new Germany does not want people who

Members of the Reichswehr Band Play "Tattoo" as Over a Million People Look On During the Nazi May Day Ceremonies at the Teppelhof Air-drome, Berlin



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Whoever has followed the German press since the revolution on the fifth of March has seen this word over and over again. "Gleichschaltung of the provincial governments." "Gleichschaltung of the civil servants." . . . "Gleichschaltung of the professions." . . . "Gleichschaltung of the schools, of the universities." . . . "Gleichschaltung," finally, of every individual human being. "Brains and fists," wrote Joseph Goebbels, fiery Minister of Propaganda, in a call to the people on April twenty-eighth, "must make an unbreakable alliance. The peasant behind the plow, the worker in his study, the physician at the sickbed, the engineer at his drawing board, all must realize that the nation and its future are above everything, and that each man in his place is judged by his service to the fatherland, and thus to the general good."

There are to be no minorities of opinion in the new Germany and no division of loyalties.

Keeping Germany's Kultur Untarnished

IF ONE thinks for a moment, one realizes that this conception is as severe an attack on the principles of the modern bourgeois democracy as is Communism. The nations into which we all were born, and in which some of us still live, had no such theory. They leave room for all sorts of loyalties. No one dreams of telling the scientist, investigating the atom, that his findings must be in the interest of France, the United States or Great Britain. It is recognized that devotion to scientific truth involves a quite different set of loyalties from those concerned with patriotic feelings. The command to "render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's" implies a liberty of conscience in many matters besides those entirely religious. No scientist will accept the right of any state to dictate what is truth above the findings of science itself. If the earth moves around the sun and not the sun around the earth, the scientist will not reverse the order to please the powers even

though he burn for it. But Germany goes further, and demands, in effect, that her people accept the theory that the world moves around Germany, and no voice dare raise itself in protest. The new German state is ushered in with a set of principles with which every manifestation of life must be brought into conformity, and no moral or intellectual doubts are allowed. It tells the world, for instance, that it is anxious to remain at peace, is truly peace loving, and does not desire anything more than equality with other nations; but if any German citizen should rise in a public place tomorrow and express the belief that the best means of achieving this condition of international peace would be, in his humble opinion, to bring up children in the belief that other civilizations are perhaps as good as his own, that Germany was also partly responsible for the last war, and that general militarization weakens the chances of maintaining peace, he would be clapped into prison for high treason.

The new German state, with which everything must be brought into conformity, rests upon a scientific thesis which is, to say the least, highly questionable. This scientific thesis is the intellectual justification of the campaign against the Jews. The theory, of which a Frenchman, Gobineau, and an expatriate Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, were the chief modern exponents, is that mental and spiritual values and tendencies inhere in the human chromosome and are physically transmitted. Certain races have, therefore, certain incorrigible characteristics. The maintenance of a culture rests upon the maintenance of a pure race. Mixed races lose their vitality and produce weak cultures which fall before stronger, pure cultures and races.

This is a scientific theory, and in a free society would be judged according to scientific principles—that is, according to whether historical evidence and biological experiment support the thesis. In Germany it is today a dogma, and no scientist dare dispute it. If a German college professor, tomorrow, were to advance the theory that man has a social,

as well as a racial inheritance, and that it is this social inheritance which determines his mind form; that social forms can change races; that actually racial characteristics have changed profoundly under changed social conditions—that the Jews, for instance, were, in the time of Josephus, a warlike race, disliked for their extreme pugnacity and much desired as mercenary soldiers—if he were to suggest that, perhaps, it is not true that the purest races produce the most vital cultures—for it is a question whether the culture of the Scandinavian countries, racially probably the purest in Europe, is more vital than the cultures of such mixed races as make up the United States, England, France, and—alas, for Mr. Hitler—Germany—that professor would lose his job. He would prove that he has not been "Gleichgeschaltet," not brought into conformity—is guilty, in fact, of the heinous crime of thinking for himself.

Cogs in the Machine

THE new Germany does not want people who think for themselves, because people who think for themselves build minorities and invariably spoil the pattern. The National Socialist conception of the state is of a perfectly functioning machine, where each person takes his place as efficiently as a cog, and the whole moves when the leader pushes the button.

The first thing to be brought into line was the provincial governments. Germany was, until yesterday, a federation of largely autonomous states held together by a common language, a common community of economic interest vis-à-vis the outside world, and a common patriotism. The characteristics of the Prussian, as his landscape and religion differ. The Rhinelander, the citizens of the Free Hanseatic cities, while affirming their common German origins, were proud of their local history and characteristics. This particularism of the Reich had unquestionable disadvantages from the viewpoint of national efficiency, and the existence of numerous fiscal policies was particularly wasteful, as Parker Gilbert often pointed out when he was commissioner for the Dawes Plan in Berlin. Its exponents claimed for it cultural advantages, and it certainly gave to German life a large measure of its variousness and charm. It was abolished overnight by *force majeure*, and Hitler and his followers rejoice that not even Bismarck made such an achievement. A dry reply might be that perhaps Bismarck did not wish to do so.

The "making of everything alike" is, of necessity, a gradual process, but the National Socialists must be congratulated on having made extreme progress in a few weeks. Having conquered all the political positions, they immediately passed to the conquest of the economic and cultural positions, unquestionably envisaging the goal when the whole economic



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and social life will be made over in a National Socialist sense.

The professions and trades were switched into line immediately. The various professional groups in Germany are thoroughly organized. There are chambers of commerce and chambers of smaller employers—handworkers, such as bakers, butchers, and so on—trades unions, societies of lawyers, of physicians, both economic and professional, teachers' organizations, student bodies, peasant societies. There is no branch of German life which has not its free societies, until now independent of the state. Technically, these remain independent, but actually, by the process of making everything alike, they become instruments of the state, and, in any case, leave no room for the building of minorities. The procedure was simple. Such organizations all have executive committees. A National Socialist commissar dissolved them and demanded their reorganization according to the "leader principle," which from now on is to be the basis of "true German democracy."

It is, therefore, well to become acquainted with

Glaring Lights Outline the Nazi Swastika at a Gigantic Meeting. In Circle—Two Walking Poster Boards Calling for a General Boycott of All Jewish Owned Stores

theory, summarized in the belief that the means of production should belong to the people and not be operated for the profit of individuals. Mr. Hitler opposes to this the theory that "common use must take precedence over individual use." Does this mean approximately the same thing or does it mean something



PHOTO, FROM EUROPEAN

Sons of the Ex-Kaiser During the Playing of the National Anthem at the Big Stahlhelm Meeting at the Sportpalast. The Ex-Crown Prince at the Extreme Left

not all German diplomacy has been successful. This must stop! Siegfried Kauerer, the head of the Society for Decisive School Reform, which has been working with an educational committee of the League of Nations, is put into jail on a charge of high treason. The leader, Mr. Hitler, says: "The

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It is, therefore, well to become acquainted with this leader principle. Do you think, perhaps, that it means that each society elects its leader, and then renders him obedience? Such was the leader principle of the old Germanic tribes—selection from the mass; complete responsibility when selected. But the leader principle of new Germany is something quite different. It consists in one leader getting himself elected—by methods which I have dealt with in a preceding article—and then appointing all the lesser leaders. Not I, as a member of the group, decide who shall be my leader, but the decision is made from outside and from above. Thus, slowly, every economic, professional and cultural organization is being reformed with a National Socialist at the head, or with someone thoroughly in sympathy with National Socialism.

Freedom in a New Guise

FOR many years Europe has celebrated Labor Day, May first. Germany used this occasion to bring the trades unions and their affiliated organizations, coöperatives and banks into line. At a stroke, all trade-union houses were occupied by S. A. troops and commissars, and the German working classes were informed by newspaper, radio and a great mass demonstration that National Socialism had "freed them from Marxism and restored them to the bosom of the fatherland." There was no protest; there was no apparently universal joy that the bonds which had fettered the working classes for generations were suddenly broken.

But is there not something sinister, something strange, in this universal acceptance of a new order? What, after all, was Marxism, from which the working classes have been freed? It was an intellectual

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PHOTO, FROM EUROPEAN

theory, summarized in the belief that the means of production should belong to the people and not be operated for the profit of individuals. Mr. Hitler opposes to this the theory that "common use must take precedence over individual use."

Does this mean approximately the same thing, or does it mean something else? Is it possible that the several millions of German workers who have clung to a belief in state ownership of the means of production over a period of many years, and have tried to achieve it by gradual political methods, have all suddenly changed their minds, from one day to the next? And where have the German workers been all the time, while they fought Germany's war, while they put through the passive resistance in the Rhineland, if not in the bosom of the fatherland?

These are counter-revolutionary questions. The wave rolls forward, bringing everyone into line. Teachers are wanted for the new Spartan state. Out with everyone who believes in "humanitarianism." Whipping is reintroduced into the schools; dueling is restored in the universities, not to the position it had before the war, when it was tolerated but not legalized, but to the position it enjoyed centuries ago, and at venerable Heidelberg the students can boast that a duel was attended by the rector and municipal authorities for the first time in 500 years! German children must learn how to stand punishment; the new order is for those who can command and who can obey. Most modern education, to be sure, is based on a quite different principle—on the theory that he survives best who learns to coöperate. But this is un-German. Sport is brought into line. The ideal is no longer tennis, football, and other childish pastimes, but *Wehrsport*—military sport—long tramps in silence with a heavy pack, and military drill. "Hooray," cries little Hans, aged twelve, "in two years I can learn in my school how to handle a rifle." The schoolbooks are brought into line. The traitorous republic, along with most western nations, has tried to teach children an objective view of history; not all German wars have been holy wars;

Sons of the Ex-Kaiser During the Playing of the National Anthem at the Big Stockholm Meeting at the Sportpalast. The Ex-Crown Prince at the Extreme Left

not all German diplomacy has been successful. This must stop! Siegfried Kauverau, the head of the Society for Decisive School Reform, which has been working with an educational committee of the League of Nations, is put into jail on a charge of high treason. The leader, Mr. Hitler, says: "The

first object of education must be a sound body. Then, in a second instance, comes the education of the mentality. But here, again, character is more important than intellect. Our people must be given every suggestive power that lies in self-confidence. The youngest child must be brought up in the belief that he is unquestionably superior to others. In his own body, he must feel that his people are unconquerable."

Before the Hurdle of Industry

AT THE great industries the process of Bringing Into Line hesitates a moment. Not, to be sure, before the Federation of German Industries, whose secretary, Geheimrat Kastl, is relieved of office immediately. Not, to be sure, before the Langnam Verein—the federation for representing united industrial interests in the Rhineland and Westphalia. In this mighty industrial organization a National Socialist is put in for every specialized department—for coal, iron, and so on. Not before the film industry, where the Jews are expelled and National Socialists put in charge. But before the vast chemical trust, the I. G. Farben Industrie, the process of *Gleichschaltung* pauses. But only two months have passed and it is certainly too early to predict that the National Socialist state will not eventually cut into the capitalistic system as it is at present constituted as ruthlessly as it has already cut into the labor organizations. But the National Socialist economic theory is not Communism; it certainly does not favor the organization of industry in the interest of the proletariat, or, indeed, of any social class. It wishes here, also, to introduce the leader principle, and the statements of its leaders envisage a kind of

(Continued on Page 52)

Is He Foolish or is he Not?



**Keeps his lawn like a Golf Green
... Neglects his TEETH and GUMS**

You couldn't find a flaw in this man's lawn, even if you used a microscope! But one glance at the man himself, and you know that he gives no care at all to his teeth and gums.

In all probability his tooth brush



ROOM TO BREATHE IN

(Continued from Page 5)

planned economy in the interest of the highly militarized state, a sort of wartime economy such as was introduced into every country during the Great War.

Nor does the process of achieving conformity stop with the churches. At the portals of the Roman Catholic Church, it makes a halt. Catholic Christianity is older than Germany, and it is difficult to bring the Pope into line.

The Weimar Constitution, which created the German republic, separated church and state in Prussia, and the churches became incorporated religious societies, recognized as such in law. The various provincial Protestant churches, thus independent of the state, united in 1922 in the German Evangelical Church Alliance. Now, since the Reich reform has made a united Germany, the twenty-eight separate provincial churches are in the air. Obviously, a new "German" church must be created. Whether this will be an independent church or whether it will again be a state church is not yet clear. If the Nazis win here, as they have everywhere else, the Protestant church in Germany will become an instrument of the state. In Mecklenburg, the National Socialists even put a National Socialist commissar into the High Church Council. Leading National Socialist Protestant religious leaders are working to bring about a German interpretation of the New Testament. It is the contention of Herr Kube, the leader of the Nazi movement inside the church for Prussia, that Germans require a version of Christianity peculiar to themselves and that the church should be an organ for anti-Semitic nationalism. The more radical of the leaders would like to expel from the church all Protestants marrying members of an alien race, and particularly wish to free the church of any pacifistic taint. Therefore, a creed has been proposed which says: "God has made me a German. Germanism is the gift of God. God wishes that I should fight for my Germanism. Military service is no violation of the Christian con-

It is not believed, in principle, that it is possible to bring the Jews into line. They are described in National Socialist speeches and literature as a disturbing, decomposing element. They are feared as being international, pacifist and, above all, critical. They are to be tolerated, but in an inferior position, as long as they behave themselves. But if anything goes wrong, they may expect to bear the brunt of the blame, as once, on April first, they have already had to do.

Germany has failed in one attempt to bring things into line. She has not brought world opinion into line. Not all the speeches of Hitler and Goebbels, of Goering and Von Papen, have wrung applause from the world for the German revolution. The greatest and most ingenious department of the Nazi state is the Department of Propaganda, but as far as outside countries are concerned, it is a frost. Germany united within by force and a new enthusiasm faces a world united in greatly disliking the turn German events have taken.

The Nazi Vision

But this fact makes no appreciable impression on National Socialist mentality. It makes no more impression than world opposition made upon Communist Russia. The Nazis have offered the German people a vision; the German people in overwhelming numbers believe that this vision will become a reality; they believe that the nation has arisen, and that a new day has dawned.

Try to envisage the National Socialist state when it has approximated perfection.

There will be a German nation of Aryan blood. If any Jews are left, their position will be similar to the one they held in Germany in the eighteenth century; they will be petty traders, sequestered in ghettos. What law does not do, public opinion will, for every school child will be brought up to realize the profound difference between Jew and German. When the one-day boycott of the Jews was made on April first, the official Nazi organ, Voelkische

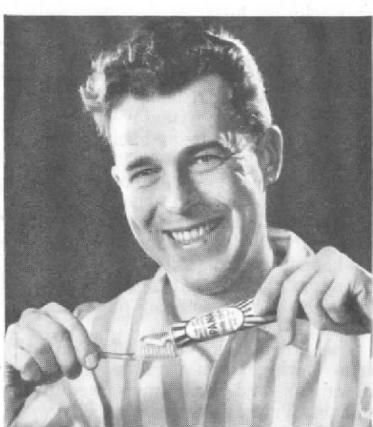
You couldn't find a flaw in this man's lawn, even if you used a microscope! But one glance at the man himself, and you know that he gives no care at all to his teeth and gums.

In all probability his tooth brush often shows a trace of "pink." His teeth are dull, grayish-looking. And his gums are unhealthy.

Like all of us, he eats the soft, creamy foods which civilization has brought to our tables. These foods fail to exercise the gums, which become inactive, then flabby, and finally so tender that they often bleed.

You don't want "pink tooth brush" to dull *your* teeth. Nor do you want gingivitis, Vincent's disease, or pyorrhea. Certainly you wouldn't choose to have sound teeth endangered!

So do this. Get a tube of Ipana Tooth Paste. Clean your teeth with it—twice a day. And each time, put a little extra Ipana on your brush or fingertip and massage it into your inert gums. The ziratol in Ipana will aid in stimulating your gums



back to their former healthy firmness.

Your teeth will brighten almost at once. Before very long your gums will be a lot harder. Continue with Ipana and massage—and you won't be bothered with "pink tooth brush."

Avoid "Pink Tooth Brush" with

IPANA

and Massage

BRISTOL-MYERS CO., Dept. P-63
73 West Street, New York, N. Y.

Kindly send me a trial tube of IPANA TOOTH PASTE. Enclosed is a three-cent stamp to cover partly the cost of packing and mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

the church of any pacifistic taint. Therefore, a creed has been proposed which says: "God has made me a German. Germanism is the gift of God. God wishes that I should fight for my Germanism. Military service is no violation of the Christian conscience. Towards a state which furthers the powers of darkness, the believer has the right of revolution."

A Problem in Propaganda

And the Jews?

The Jews, alone, are not to be brought into line. That is to say, only those Jews are to be treated as other Germans whose fathers fell in the war or who themselves saw service in the front-line trenches. These Jews, even, are to be citizens of the second class, because their children will be discriminated against in educational matters, and they will never under any circumstances be allowed to hold positions of real leadership in the new German state. All the rest are to be treated as guests, as aliens with restricted rights. They may not hold public office, nor sit on the executive bodies of important public or semipublic societies. Only a limited number of them may practice law, and a limited number practice medicine. On principle, they may not teach in Aryan schools, and only by special permission may they be members of the staffs of newspapers. It is preferred that they neither act, dance nor sing on the German stage, to say nothing of directing German theaters.

ers, sequestered in ghettos. What law does not do, public opinion will, for every school child will be brought up to realize the profound difference between Jew and German. When the one-day boycott of the Jews was made on April first, the official Nazi organ, *Voelkische Beobachter*, rejoiced that "from this day on, every school child knows who is and who is not a Jew." No German woman will marry a Jew; no German a Jewess.

This German nation of Aryan blood will be led by leaders. The leaders will ultimately be bred for the purpose, if Walter Darré, the head of the Nazi Bauernbund, has his way. He advocates that breeding stations be established and eugenic laws determine what women must marry and bear children, what women may marry but produce no children, and what women may neither marry nor breed.

Education will be completely regulated. Children of all citizens and even of all resident aliens may learn to read and write, but the number of students admitted to higher education will be strictly limited.

Not everyone who wants to study will be allowed to. Only a certain number of physicians, lawyers, teachers, scientists, artists, technicians, engineers, will be produced, and the state will decide which young people shall have opportunities. All the rest will be good soldiers and workers. In any event, only a tiny per cent—based upon their numerical ratio to the population—may be Jews.

The political system will be a religious dogma, and all heretics will be confined in prisons or concentration camps, the latter built by "voluntary labor units."

There will be no unemployment. Eventually all people who cannot find work in normal economic life will be recruited into a huge army which will drain swamps, build roads for National Socialists and prisons for any dissenters who may be left over, and will be fed, clothed and freed from responsibility, and paid a pittance per day, and may at any moment be drafted into the military army.

The apotheosis of the state will be the soldier, and every citizen will be a member of the army, for the ideal of the Hitler government is "a nation in arms." All military virtues will be glorified. All education will emphasize that war, not peace, is man's normal state, and that fighting is man's only hope against degeneration.

All art will be propaganda. No books will make men's hearts restless with yearning for some other world; no plays or poems will lift the individual out of his Germanness into humanity. Whenever one twiddles the dial of a radio, some voice, as clear, as persuasive, as masterly as the voice of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, will tell the worker over and over again that National Socialism has freed him from his chains; will tell the small *bourgeois* that National Socialism has elevated him to glory; will tell every listener that since he has placed his whole fate in the hands of his leader, he lives in the best of all possible worlds.

Most men will wear uniforms, the badge of their membership in that secret, mystic community of blood brothers, the German state. Women will, by preference, wear kitchen aprons and will stay at home and take care of the children, which they will gladly

reases lose their vitality, and Walter Darré actually has proposals for categorizing German women as potential mothers. The new government has already introduced a numerus-clausus law, not only for Jews but for all Germans. From now on, not everyone can have a higher education in Germany who wants one. The number of the educated will be limited and the selection in the hands of state authorities. The political credo is already a dogma to which all must subscribe or pay the penalty of imprisonment; the new state will be frankly military; Doctor Goebbels has already decreed that no art can exist for itself or in the service of supernational ideals; restaurants already display signs: German Women do Not Smoke, and night clubs are being broken up. Already the censorship keeps from Germans any hint of what the outside world thinks about their revolution; already a whole people is being hypnotized into the belief—without a single definite proof that it is so—that on March 21, 1933, the day of the State Act in Potsdam, Germany entered into a new period of grandeur.

In the Steps of Sparta

As for the police: On the twenty-eighth of April the following small announcement appeared from the Wolff Bureau, the official German news agency, announcing the creation of a German G. P. U.:

The Prussian Minister-President Goering has divorced the political police from the Berlin Police Præsidium, and has made it an independent organ. The secret state police department, thus created, whose activities are governed by a law of April 26, 1933, stands directly under the Minister of the Interior and has the duty of seeking out and fighting all political tendencies dangerous to the state. In this



“You ain’t goin’ to let the Mister drink coffee *at night*, is you?”

Socialism has freed him from his chains; will tell the small bourgeoisie that National-Socialism has elevated him to glory; will tell every listener that since he has placed his whole fate in the hands of his leader, he lives in the best of all possible worlds.

Most men will wear uniforms, the badge of their membership in that secret, mystic community of blood brothers, the German state. Women will, by preference, wear kitchen aprons and will stay at home and take care of the children, which they will gladly bear in large numbers for Germany. They will not hold political opinions—but then, neither will anyone else.

Everyone will be kept healthy by the state, but the weaklings will be allowed to perish.

A New German Credo

All science will be in the hands of the state, and all scientific discoveries bent to the service of the state.

The nation will be virtuous. Women will not smoke or drink. Men will do so in moderation. Manifestations of wealth will be frowned on; all the brave show of opulence will be abolished. Thrift, economy, simple living—these will be the nation's ideals.

Nobody will long for any other kind of life, because nobody will get reports of any other kind of life, except as they come through a strictly censored press. And if a war comes, it is blessed to die for one's country—one has learned that from babyhood.

And lest there be heretics, a careful, secret-police system will be constantly on the watch. While the voices of leaders on the radio repeat over and over again that everything is quiet, and happy, and well in Germany, the police, subject to no authority other than their own, will remove any dissenters to this chorus and put them gently into protective arrest, where they remain without trial as long as they live.

Everything will be in the service of the state—even love.

Does this seem an exaggerated picture? I do not think it is. Hitler advocates marriage according to a eugenic system based on the theory that mixed

announcement appeared from the Wolff Bureau, the official German news agency, announcing the creation of a German G. P. U.:

The Prussian Minister-President Goering has divorced the political police from the Berlin Police Præsidium, and has made it an independent organ. The secret state police department, thus created, whose activities are governed by a law of April 26, 1933, stands directly under the Minister of the Interior and has the duty of seeking out and fighting all political tendencies dangerous to the state. In this duty the rest of the police are subservient to the secret police, which also enjoys special executive powers. Its authority reaches over the entire state territory.

Oh, Brave New World!

But perhaps there is a joker in all this. Long ago, a state existed which was not unlike Mr. Huxley's Utopia. When Doctor Goebbels was asked by foreign correspondents what the ideal of the New Germany was, he answered: "Our model is Sparta." But Sparta did not, as history records, prove to be a very strong state. And perhaps, like Sparta, Hitler's Germany will not prove itself the toughest of organisms, but one of the brittlest, cracking before cultures where the strain is better distributed, where the spirit is more adventurous and ingenious.

How did all this come about in Germany?

Largely because so-called civilized people did not believe it could.

The man who calls himself civilized, whose actions and habits of thought are based upon carefully cultivated differentiations, especially as to loyalties, and upon fostered inhibitions, stands skeptical and helpless before demonstrations of a mass mentality. Because in normal times he has a large directing part in the forces which form public opinion, he is susceptible to the error that his own tastes and prejudices are universally ingrained. In time of war, to be sure, he sees quite vividly that this is not so, but even then he regards lapses from his own standards as abnormal. Civilized people in and out of Germany dismissed Adolf Hitler lightly, because he did not in any sense fulfill their aesthetic ambitions as to a leader. This article is

"You ain't goin' to let the Mister drink coffee at night, is you?"

PERHAPS you're in the same boat as "the Mister." Perhaps the caffeine in coffee keeps you awake, too. If so, drink Sanka Coffee!

Real coffee—and real sleep!

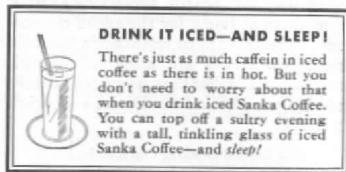
Sanka Coffee is real coffee—with 97% of the caffeine removed. The only thing caffeine ever added to coffee was regrets—sleeplessness, indigestion, jumpy nerves. It isn't even responsible for that cheery glow. That comes from coffee's own steaming warmth and bracing flavor.

Sanka Coffee is a blend of the choicest Central and South American coffees—roasted to the peak of brown perfection. You prepare it as you've always prepared coffee—boil, percolate or drip. You delight in the same appetizing aroma—the same rich, satisfying flavor of fine coffee.

For proof—make the night-test!

To prove it, drink your first cup of Sanka Coffee at night. Next morning you'll know, from actual experience, that you've discovered a delicious coffee you can enjoy morning, noon and night—without regret!

Your grocer sells it—in vacuum-sealed cans—with the guarantee of absolute satisfaction or your money back. Or send in the coupon and 10¢ for a sample can. Sanka Coffee is a product of General Foods.



Sanka Coffee

REAL COFFEE • 97% CAFFEIN-FREE



DRINK IT AND SLEEP!

General Foods, Battle Creek, Mich. S. E. P. 6-33

Enclosed find 10¢ in stamps, to cover the cost of mailing and packing, for which please send me a 4-lb. sample can of Sanka Coffee.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

This offer not good in Canada

Which is the TAINTED KISS?



THE least infection is enough to make you avoid the lips of your family or intimates. You do not knowingly subject them or yourself to this danger. Yet the risk is vastly greater when you drink from a common, public drinking cup, or permit your children to do so. You cannot know who has used it before you, which of many strangers has left his tainted kiss upon its rim.

You can avoid this danger in two ways. Never drink from anything unless it has been sterilized; or else, drink only from a fresh new cup, never used before.*

Sterilizing—real sterilizing with live steam, boiling water or chemicals—is pro-

by way of being a confession. I judged in the same manner. I looked at Mr. Hitler, and thought: "Considerable psychic powers." It is interesting that he comes from Braunau, a fantastic little Austrian village where half the population attend spiritist seances, and from where come the two most famous European mediums, Willy and Rudi Schneider. "Not well bred; no real, inner self-reliance; carries himself badly; doesn't know what to do with his hands; thinks confusedly; talks nonsense." The twenty-five points of the National Socialist program seemed, to me, nonsense, because I judged them from an intellectual standpoint, asking whether the thesis which they presented was true. It would have been far more to the point to ask whether the thesis was one which would be likely to appeal to vast masses of Germans, and whether it might not furnish them with a new mythology. The thesis might be utter nonsense from an intellectual and rational viewpoint, and still overcome a whole world. There are plenty of instances in history of widespread popular mania.

The Mistake of the Intellectuals

Viewed intellectually, the proposal to create, in the midst of modern Europe, a "folk state" seems preposterous. Since when has the modern state been a herd of blood brothers? Not since the emergence of the first urban civilization, which precisely consisted in collecting people of different races and different mentalities and merging them together into a community of interest, and with this step came the dawn of modern culture. If Hitler's thesis is true, the entire North American experiment is doomed to failure.

And Hitler's biology! The simple eugenics of the kennel or the stud, applicable to humans also, no doubt, if you are sure for what qualities you wish to breed—for swiftness of limb or length of nose. But how breed a Goethe, or a Shakspeare, or a Copernicus?

And the economic program. Can-

of some hundreds of years was really greatly cherished by all men. Civilized people did not see that this culture is, actually, to the vast masses no treasure at all, but a burden, which can be borne only under exceptionally favorable circumstances. Beyond that point—if, for instance, by reason of economic malfunctioning vast masses of people are, for years, hungry and idle, then the will grows to look upon civilization as a restraining, impeding force, and to identify revolt against it with freedom.

The shortsightedness of the world in imposing upon Germany so severe a peace that the nation felt itself humiliated, impoverished and delivered over to the enemy; the succession of slights and insults, all exaggerated inside Germany by German leaders for the purpose of keeping public opinion mobilized; the succession of catastrophes—the loss of the war, which shook the faith of the people in the one thing in which they implicitly believed—their incomparable military machine—the inflation, which proletarianized the middle classes and turned them into revolutionary material; the depression, which resulted in six millions of idle, half fed, utterly discouraged unemployed—these have added to the burden which civilization itself imposed: The burden of suppressing the aggressive instincts; of responsibility of thinking for oneself and making judgments; the burden of conforming to a complex law; the burden of educating one's children and trying to get on in the world; the burden of making adjustments to uncomfortable changes, particularly of men to emancipated women, with their right to divorce and their economic independence; the burden of tolerating and being agreeable to people unlike oneself, with other habits, tendencies and faces.

Exchanging Liberty for Bread

Added to all these burdens, in Germany, was the complexity of a tortuous political system, worked out, with the best will in the world, in the hope of achieving genuine democracy, but

people do, what the German masses want. Certainly more than the intellectuals, who have lost their touch with the masses. Freedom—freedom for intellectual and artistic expression; freedom of choice and opportunity; freedom which means room to breathe in—is life itself to some—Shakspeare, listing the manifestations of his times which made him long for "restful death" named "art made tongue-tied by authority"—but to most people, freedom is, perhaps, never obtained nor even desired.

I remember some years ago meeting a young Fascist who asked me what I thought of his country's government. "I don't like it much," I confessed. "There is such a suppression of liberty." "Liberty!" cried this compatriot of Garibaldi. "Whatever can you do with liberty?"

"Breathe it," I might have answered, but I could not have said, "Eat it." Hitler knew perfectly well that millions would be willing to exchange liberty for bread, and probably it is easier to feed a working army than to restore an army of individuals to normal economic life.

The Ear of Young Germany

Germany has gone back to a simpler culture. If, on the one hand, the organization of the mass is to be ever so much more thoroughgoing and incapable than before, the demands upon individual responsibility are to be much lighter. If the Communist revolution represents a movement of the masses toward greater opportunities, the National Socialist revolution is just as much a mass movement, but toward less responsibility. In tomorrow's Germany, there is to be a lower standard of living for everyone, but there is also to be less risk.

And, above all, the National Socialist revolution has caught into itself the young Germany, who for years have been growing up, with no future, unemployed, idle, in a world which did not want them. Hitler has said: "We want you!" Hitler has said: "This country is yours!" He has appealed to

