

The World Propaganda War

BY WILLIAM E. BERCHTOLD

There is hardly a nation in the world whose government is not busier tampering with public opinion than seeking solutions for grave and universal problems

PROPAGANDA has played a part in government since before the birth of Christ, but never were the instruments of mass impression—the press, radio, screen, platform, schools—so extensive or so effectively harnessed by dictators and monarchs and presidents as they are today. Governments around the world consider it more important to concoct effective propaganda on the political, social and economic problems confronting their nationals than it is to solve those problems. The propaganda technique varies from nation to nation, but the object is the same. Berlin and Rome and Moscow and Tokio and Nanking and Paris and Washington all have their propaganda machines in action with outputs for both national and international consumption.

The propaganda bombardment between nations has reached such a feverish pitch that every government is using some device to shield its nationals from such outside influences as it may consider antipathetic to its own propaganda objectives. The walls of censorship have been thrown up around the borders of three-fourths of the nations of the world, and where frank censorship does not exist other media of control have

been brought into play to effect the same ends. The governmental propagandist has found censorship an invaluable aid in filtering out “foreign” influences which interfere with the effectiveness of strictly national propaganda. How long the United States, Great Britain, Holland and the Scandinavian countries (which stand almost alone in a world ringed by open or secret censorships) can keep from following the lead of Germany, Italy, Soviet Russia, Japan, China and most of the other nations of the world in the employment of censors depends largely on the continued effectiveness of other controls.

The terms “propaganda” and “censorship” have long been considered anathema to Americans. Not even during the World War, when our machinery for censorship and propaganda was as elaborate and as nefarious as that of any other nation, did we permit these terms to come into open and frank usage. It is not likely, therefore, that we shall follow the noisy, bungling leadership of Dr. Joseph Paul Göbbels despite his prediction that “within five years the whole world will imitate our most modern journalistic statutes.” Our technique, the evidences of which are

already visible to those who care to look, will be far more subtle. It will permit the majority of our editors and publishers to maintain their traditional composure toward the imperviousness of America's press to propaganda.

Despite the loud and somewhat farcical attempt of some newspaper publishers to insert "freedom of the press" issues into their fight against NRA codification early this year, there has been no danger of formal censorship of the press in the United States. There has been no need for censorship in either the United States or Great Britain, the only two major nations unquestionably outside its ban today. Both countries have preferred to leave their nationals completely exposed to the daily bombardment of governmental propagandists of all nations. The result has been bewildering to the individual, unequipped to give true values to the thousandfold impressions which assault the eye and ear through the press, radio and screen, but it has been salutary to the objectives of the propagandists at home. Both the National Government in England and the Roosevelt Administration in the United States have capitalized on this bewildered confusion of the individual. How long that state will continue to prove most effective remains to be seen.

II

Dr. Göbbels, whose blustering frankness frequently exceeds his good judgment, says, "The press must be the key-board on which the government can play." The German law which he calls "the most modern journalistic statute in the world" forbids the publication of "matter calculated to weaken the power of the Reich at home or abroad, the community will of the German people, its military spirit or its culture and econ-

omy." The Government licenses journalists who may practise, requiring all applicants to be at least twenty-one years old, Aryans and German citizens who have the "consecration requisite for the task of influencing the public." Another statute provides prison terms and capital punishment for persons who distribute anti-Nazi propaganda printed abroad and smuggled into Germany. Dr. Göbbels has left no room for doubt in the minds of the German people but that as Minister of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment he dictates what they shall read, see and hear without competition from outside influences. The German state of mind following Hitler's ascendancy to power is reflected in the fact that vast audiences cheered wildly when Göbbels told and retold them of his policies for banishing freedom of speech and of the press. Freedom in the abstract means little to men who are hungry! But not even propaganda is a substitute for bread, as Göbbels himself should be learning in the recent economic collapse of the New Germany.

Propaganda, nevertheless, furnished the very life-blood for Hitler's Third Reich. It whipped the nation into a frenzy of nationalistic ecstasy. Germans soon found themselves attending mammoth mass meetings to hear Nazi spellbinders, reading newspapers, magazines and books crowded with Nazi philosophy, seeing motion pictures, dramas and operas glorifying the spirit of the New Germany, wearing pins, neckties and watch charms adorned with the *Hakenkreuz*, smoking *Kameradshaft* or *Sturm* cigarettes with pictures of Nazi heroes stuffed into each pack, listening to endless political speeches blaring from radios, walking along streets lined with flags, posters and pictures of Nazi lead-

ers—during every waking hour of the day the spirit and the power of the New Germany has been impressed upon the individual. Nothing has been overlooked. Hanussen's *Berliner Wochenschau*, whose circulation increased tremendously as despair turned the lower middle classes to astrology, even established the wildest dreams of the Nazis as coming true through revelations in the horoscopes of von Hindenburg, Hitler, von Papen and others. Familiar Christmas carols sung by Germans for centuries have appeared in revised editions substituting the name of Hitler for that of Christ! That the German people have been able to withstand these heavy doses of national propaganda, all directed from the office of Herr Göbbels, is a tribute only to their long suffering endurance.

But Nazi propaganda has been manufactured for export as well as home consumption. Communiqués loaded with misinformation, but designed to create a favorable attitude toward Germany outside her borders, were fed to the regular correspondents of all nations resident in Berlin. Carried as "news," because they bore the stamp of government authority, they quickly spread such stories as Communism's threat in Germany and portrayed Hitler as the savior of the entire capitalistic world. The General League of German Anti-Communist Associations spread pamphlets in the United States, Great Britain, France, Switzerland and the Balkans picturing the Reichstag fire as the pre-arranged signal for "Red" revolt in Germany. Dr. Göbbels recognizes that the "Red Spook" is still the most effective of bogies in capitalistic nations!

Money has flowed freely in the achieving of Nazi propaganda aims out-

side the Third Reich. Delegations of junketing journalists from Yugoslavia, Finland, Estonia and other neighboring countries have been entertained lavishly. As our own congressional committee investigating "un-American" practices revealed, correspondents from the United States were to have been fêted in Germany also.

III

The story of national propaganda in Italy, which made its impress upon the Italian people for ten eventful years before the rise of Hitler's Third Reich, is similar to that which Dr. Göbbels has been feeding to the New Germany in such large doses during the last year and a half. Mussolini has said repeatedly that the Italian press is free "because it serves only one cause and one régime." The press, radio, screen and other instruments of mass impression are all embraced by the Fascist totalitarian dogma: "Everything for the state; nothing outside the state." The younger generation has grown up without being subjected to political, economic or social influences outside the government-approved propaganda. Just as news of world affairs now reaches the German press through the government-controlled Wolff agency, so the 100-per cent government-controlled Stefani agency supplies the Italian press. Editors are given daily instructions by Count Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and press dictator, on what to play up, what to eliminate and how to comment on important events of the day. The result, like that in Germany, is a dull uniformity of the nation's press with all newspapers from Naples to Venice and from Brindisi to Genoa closely resembling Mussolini's own organ *Il Popolo d'Italia* of Milan. The stage is always set for its

maximum propaganda effect. Even when the squadron of Italian seaplanes spanned the South Atlantic, all Italy was given twenty-four hours to celebrate the news so gratifying to national pride before the people were told that five fliers were killed, three planes lost and one disabled. Propaganda has been a major force in sustaining the Fascist dictatorship for more than a decade, but an economic crisis has been brewing in Italy which even propaganda may have difficulty in counteracting, although Italian propaganda manufactured for export has made a strong attempt toward such an achievement. Italy would profit, for instance, by an international boycott against Japanese goods and Italian propaganda vividly pictures the dangers of the Japanese "cheap labor menace." Italy's entire silk output for the year is being held in warehouses pending some indication of the effectiveness of this propaganda against Japan.

Japan's own propaganda, while not as obvious as that of Germany or Italy, has been quite as extensive both inside and outside her own national borders. The white heat of patriotism dominates her national programme. As in Germany and Italy, the press is not only censored but Japanese editors are deluged with so many commands on what to print as well as what not to print that life is far from easy for those who seek to keep out of the hands of the police. News of world affairs is filtered into Japan through the government-controlled Rengo agency, insuring the elimination of influences foreign to the militant nationalistic propaganda which seeks to cut away modern culture, root and branch, in the same way that Nazi propaganda supports caste pride by glorifying the primitive and tribal past

of the race. Japanese and German propagandists have found considerable common ground in the spread of anti-Communist propaganda throughout the world, particularly in the United States and Latin America. Their coincidence of interests has been sufficient to warrant the Nazi Race Investigation Bureau of Berlin to find that "Japanese blood contains so large an admixture of Caucasian as to make it suitable for alliance with that of the purest Nordic." The Japanese, consequently, have been recognized as good Aryans and do not come under the ban prohibiting the marriage of Germans to non-Aryans.

Japan's jingoistic national propaganda has so convinced the Japanese of the inevitability of war with the United States that it is proving a boomerang to Japan's own war plans, which explains the stream of honeyed Japanese interviews which have found their way into the American press in recent months to temper the American fear of war in the Pacific and slow down the American plans for larger naval and air forces. The Japanese press gave unusual prominence to the failure of the United States Army Air Corps to fly the air mail, intimating that the American air forces are disorganized, untrained and poorly equipped. Such stories aid in tempering the jingoistic flood of Japanese national propaganda, which contributed in no small way to the hurried re-establishment of relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. at the opening of the Roosevelt Administration. Japan is fast extending its sphere of trade influence in South America, and with its trade goes political propaganda, chiefly against the United States, to offset the favorable effects of the American-inspired Pan-American propaganda, which appears to be hitting its mark bet-

ter than in the days of more obvious *Yanqui* imperialism.

IV

Every Latin American country with the exception, at the present time, of Mexico is walled by an open or secret censorship on both ingoing and outgoing communications. Mexico has frequently employed censorships during the past decade in times of internal emergencies, but there is none in force now. Peru and Venezuela are ringed by the tightest of censorships. Peru, with a government which has been tottering for some time, suppresses news of political disturbances in all parts of the world. Peruvians at this writing have not yet heard of the San Francisco strike, Hitler's "purging" outrage, or the thousand-and-one uprisings, strikes, or revolutions which fill dispatches from all parts of the world. Sport fans in Peru must think it a bit queer that the results of the Wimbledon tennis matches in July have not yet appeared in their newspapers, if they have any curiosity in that direction. Through one of the quirks of bureaucratic censorship, the news stories containing the scores by games and sets were suppressed by the wary censor, apparently because the succession of figures gave the impression of furnishing some sinister code words which might have a political significance.

The war in the Chaco has been the subject for an intense propaganda bombardment by both sides, resembling on a smaller scale the war lies which the Allied and Central Powers spread from 1914 to 1918. Atrocities, casualties and victories are purely a matter for manufacture on the typewriters of the war propagandists of both sides behind the lines. If the official communiqués of the

warring nations are to be given credence, the total casualties have already surpassed the total population, male and female, of both countries! Strict censorship, coupled with active propaganda of the most nefarious kind, insures a wholly partisan view of the war to the nationals of each side. The radio has provided no end of headaches for government officials of the several South American countries which have been involved in revolutions or wars during the last half dozen years. It is easy enough to control national radio stations within the borders of each country, but there is no way to shut out the partisan blasts of high-powered stations in neighboring countries. In the first battle of the Leticia, for instance, the strict censorship in Peru kept Peruvians from learning of the battle until Colombian radio stations went on the air with reports colored from their own particular nationalistic viewpoint. The only way to counteract such demoralizing radio broadcasts by neighboring countries is to use government-controlled stations at home to furnish nationals with reassuring announcements of the "truth." France, Germany, Austria and Italy have similarly used the radio in a round of intensive attacks and counter-attacks upon the League of Nations, Fascism and Nazism for the benefit of neighbors in the Saar, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Poland and the Balkans.

In Europe, censorship coupled with active propaganda machines dominate not only Germany and Italy, but France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Soviet Russia. France achieves her ends by employing the sly subterfuge of los-

ing, delaying or garbling dispatches which are unfavorable to the Foreign Office's viewpoint. Her propaganda is carried to the ends of the earth, and particularly to her colonies and to countries sympathetic to her viewpoint, through the heavily subsidized news agency, Havas. Perhaps her strongest bulwark has been built in the courting of Francophiles with ribbons and honors. Greece uses not only honors but money to bribe journalists who happen to be swayed easily through such influences. Switzerland, a hotbed for international propagandists who cluster around Geneva, promulgated a law this year which authorizes the Federal Government to take action against Swiss newspapers "which threaten to disturb the good relations between Switzerland and other countries"; the Press Commission of reactionary editors and publishers appointed to act as prosecuting attorney, jury and judge against possible violators closed up *Le Moment*, Geneva's Socialist daily, as its first act. Czechoslovakia, the last Central European country to keep up even the appearance of democratic government, has frequently but quietly censored, fined, confiscated and suppressed publications (particularly Slovak periodicals) which do not reflect the "right" view of the Czech-dominated republic. Spain has suffered a relapse from its first attempts at complete freedom of speech and of the press, chiefly because of the flood of foreign propaganda and the uncertainty of the effectiveness of its national propaganda against such odds. Portugal, Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are without open censorship, but the governments' reign of terror against those who oppose the powers-that-be has convinced editors and publishers of the desirability of printing the govern-

ment communiqués and omitting anything which might prove displeasing. Because Balkan editors are constantly in danger of printing something which may incur the wrath of their governments, most publications employ a *gérant responsable*, a responsible editor, who takes the rap on everything that is punishable by the unwritten law of the country and gets paid for spending most of his time in jail. Even little Andorra, whose 5,000 inhabitants have never had a newspaper or even a printing press in their own country, has followed the fashion in censorship this year. The ban is directed against Andorran news published in Spanish newspapers which may be critical of the existing powers in the little Pyrenean country; the punishment for those who import banned publications involves a term in chains in the dungeon of Andorra's jail.

V

The only nation in the world which frankly and openly censors news dispatches going outside its borders is Soviet Russia. Foreign correspondents take their dispatches directly to the censor, who reads them in their presence. If there is anything in the dispatch which is prohibited, the correspondent is frankly so advised and is given the reason why the Government feels that the material should not be sent. The correspondent is even afforded an opportunity to debate the matter with the censor, and frequently obtains permission to send dispatches which might be prohibited under a strict interpretation of the rules in force. The Soviet censorship, once so rigid that it afforded propagandists in Riga, Helsingfors, Tokio and Bucharest an opportunity to obtain wide credence for fantastic stories about Russian life and conditions, is now far

less rigid than that in Berlin or Rome. As Karl Bickel, president of the United Press, said upon his return from a trip to Moscow last spring: "The Russian censorship, from an American newspaperman's viewpoint, is probably the most intelligent and sanely conducted operation of its kind." The chief difficulty experienced by American correspondents in the Soviet Union is not with the censors, but rather in the magnitude of the task of covering the activities of 150,000,000 people spread over one-sixth of the earth's surface and engaged in a gigantic social and economic project. The whole of the Russian scene, so far as American newspaper readers are concerned, must be viewed through the eyes of not more than two dozen correspondents for American newspapers and press associations.

The news of the world moves into Soviet Russia through the news agency Tass. Its dispatches might be said to display a "communistic viewpoint" of world affairs to the same degree that dispatches of the Associated Press or United Press reflect a "capitalistic viewpoint." There is no need for the daily dictation of policy from some central point, such as that in vogue in Germany and Italy, because the Soviet newspapers are manned by party leaders and owned by the state. While the number and circulation of newspapers in Germany and Italy have declined rapidly under the thumb of dictatorship, Russian newspapers have increased from less than 500 to more than 4,000 within a decade and circulations have soared to the limit of production facilities. *Izvestia* and *Pravda* have a combined circulation of nearly 3,000,000, a point at which it is arbitrarily held. One year of Hitlerism in Germany swept 600 newspapers and periodicals out of existence and

dropped the circulation of those that remain from twenty-five to forty per cent. The Soviet newspapers, dependent upon neither advertising nor circulation for their existence, have proved the backbone of the vast programme of propaganda necessary to change completely the ideology of a nation. Motion pictures, museums, plays, radio and every other modern device have been utilized to the fullest extreme to accomplish the ends of proletarian leadership in the shortest time possible. Since Communism is an international and not strictly a national movement, its philosophy has been actively spread to all parts of the world through propaganda. That the chief results of Communist propaganda in the United States until recent years have been negative, few will deny; but there are unmistakable signs of unrest now which give new potency to persistent campaigning.

VI

Great Britain and the United States, the targets for a major share of the propaganda of all nations because both are without censorships, must rely upon other controls to make their own governmental propaganda effective. That the National Government in England is having an increasingly difficult task in that direction is no secret. Although the Government has an overwhelming majority in Parliament, its weakness in the constituencies presents a paradox which is giving concern to exponents of the National Government, who foresee the probability of a Socialistic victory in the next election. The immense support which the Government enjoyed from popular journalism in the general election of 1931 is waning. The *Daily Herald* and the *News Chronicle* together give the Socialist opposition the power

of their vast circulations. For different reasons, the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* batter the National Government from the other side. It is from one of the earliest champions of National Government then that we hear pleas for "more effective propaganda" to offset this mounting disadvantage. J. L. Garvin in the *London Observer* is openly advocating a Ministry of Propaganda for Great Britain:

"It is almost impossible in a Parliamentary country like ours to devise press laws which would enable any Government of the day to secure in every newspaper—without interference otherwise—the command of a certain amount of space for the direct statement of its policy and proceedings to the whole people. Yet National Government ought to be capable of exceptional authority. . . . There ought to be a Minister of Propaganda in every Cabinet. Amidst the universal democracy of today—with a larger proportion than ever before of electors totally ignorant with regard to every difficult public question—the work of continual explanation and enlightenment is absolutely vital. It never can be done except by a Minister who can give his whole time to it and he ought to be a vivacious man of first ability. The Government cannot begin to compensate for its unique disabilities in the popular press unless it make a bolder and more vivid use of loudspeakers, color and symbolism than has ever before been heard or seen in British politics. It is futile to rebel against the popular conditions. Either you ought not to have instituted democracy unlimited or you ought to realize once for all that it can only be attracted and stirred by primary means."

Such a suggestion would have been

greeted as heretical in England a decade ago, but today it is only a mild approach to the modern propaganda technique being employed all over the world. Each government looks upon its own maintenance of power as absolutely necessary to avert national catastrophe, if not the end of civilization itself. There is no need in the United States, however, for either a Minister of Propaganda (we would probably call him "Secretary of Public Relations") or for censorship. The very suggestion of either one would set the self-appointed guardians of our free press quaking like aspens in a stiff breeze. President Roosevelt is far too cagey for that!

The Roosevelt Administration is leaning more heavily upon propaganda to bolster up the New Deal than any peacetime administration in our history. The skeleton organization for a very formidable Department of Propaganda has been set up and operating in Washington since March 4, 1933, but out of deference to the traditional American aversion to the term "propaganda" it is known by no such name nor has it been dignified with the title of a Department. The New Deal is employing the largest and most experienced staff of publicity experts ever to grace the government's payroll. It includes more than 100 writers and twice that number of minor employees.

No President has ever paid such close attention to the planning of his public acts to capitalize on their propaganda value both at home and abroad. Many a minister of propaganda could afford to take a few pages out of the Roosevelt notebook as well as a few cues from the newspaper-trained trio who make up the White House Secretariat: Louis McHenry Howe, Stephen Early and Marvin McIntyre. The President is a mas-

ter of American publicity tactics. He has an intimate knowledge of the technical intricacies of news dissemination, motion picture production, news photography and radio broadcasting. He appears to get as much pleasure out of a well-turned publicity *coup* as he might from some great stroke of statesmanship. When the press bungles one of his well laid propaganda plans, he shows his only lapse from his usual smiling composure. His Message to the Heads of Nations is a case in point. It was calculated to have a salutary effect on American foreign relations, but turned out to be a dud because the New York *Times* had speculated on the probability of debt cancelations being included in the message. Its honeyed words, with no mention of debt cancelation, fell flat in the Foreign Offices abroad, which had been keyed up by the *Times* to expect a momentous event. The *Times* correspondent received the most serious rebuke meted out by the President since he started his twice weekly conference with the press at the White House last year.

No President has ever won over the White House press corps more thoroughly than Mr. Roosevelt. He makes a conscious practice of calling reporters by their first names, jokes with them, consults them, invites them to Sunday night suppers and movies, and brings them into his confidence so intimately that few have failed to succumb to the seductiveness of the New Deal. The Roosevelt Administration has manufactured a surfeit of "news" in Washington. The propaganda staffs of the NRA and AAA have organized their activities on a wartime scale, so that 120,000,000 Americans have been bombarded with information on every phase of the New Deal—through the

newspapers, magazines, radio, motion pictures and every modern means of ballyhoo.

The New Deal propaganda proved so effective during the first year of the Roosevelt Administration that the patriotic appeal of the Blue Eagle boycott blanketed the press more effectually than any revealed censorship could have accomplished. Since the grip of the Blue Eagle has been broken in more recent months, the Administration is apparently casting about for other methods of marshalling public support to stifle criticism. With few exceptions, those newspapers which have consistently criticized the Roosevelt Administration unfavorably have experienced declining circulation and advertising revenues because the general public has considered it "unpatriotic" to criticize the President in time of "emergency."

The flood of foreign propaganda which has washed our shores has added to the confusion of impressions made upon the mind of the average individual, with the result that most citizens are content to "let Mr. Roosevelt worry about it for me." The confusion has made it possible for the Administration to pursue policies which would not have been tolerated under conditions which might encourage full freedom for criticism. As long as the Administration can keep up the fiction of experimentation without fixing upon any plan, its propaganda will continue partially or wholly to satisfy most sections of the electorate.

The strong appeal to patriotism is still sufficient to balance any "foreign" ideology which seeks to capture American minds. Congress, through its power to appoint committees to investigate "un-American" practices, can provide an important force to harass all propagandists who oppose the Administration.

Through the unrepealed provisions of the Wartime Trading with the Enemy Act, it is possible to expose and deport any foreigner representing a foreign government without registering with the State Department. Through the immigration acts, administered by the Department of Labor, power is available to bar all aliens who become involved in serious criticism of the Administration. Because the term "propaganda" has gained such a sinister connotation in America, the Administration need do little more than brand its critics—whether they be Republicans or Communists—as simple "propagandists."

VII

There are no indications to encourage a hope that this propaganda war between nations will cease; there is every reason to believe that it will become more intense. It is a vicious game at which nations can play only by poisoning the minds of each other's nationals. The world propaganda war might logically lead to real war between nations. Propaganda, with the aid of open or secret censorships, would determine the final drawing of the battle lines and the formation of alliances which would pit one group of nations against another. The only deterrent to such a natural course involving the United States lies in the degree to which Americans and, particularly, those who control the media of mass impression—the press, radio, screen, platform and schools—exercise vigilance in sifting truths from propaganda lies. It is no easy task.

The propaganda technique of governments all over the world is often so subtle, and shifts so fast, that it provides a serious challenge to such agencies as the Associated Press and the United Press, which conscientiously attempt to

supply Americans with world news free from propaganda. The naïveté with which some American editors consider American newspapers impervious to the nefarious devices of governmental propaganda does not aid in defining the task. Frank Parker Stockbridge, editor of the *American Press*, in speaking before the American Society of Newspaper Editors last spring said: "A reporter who would permit himself to be fooled by propaganda is futile." Futility is easily achieved at the hands of the 1934 brand of governmental propagandist.

As the public learns more about the methods and motives behind the propaganda which it sometimes receives as news, it is quite possible that the result will be a complete break-down of public confidence in the newspapers, radio and other sources for daily information. The tremendous decline in the circulation of German newspapers since Hitler came into power is an unmistakable sign of such a break-down of confidence in the New Germany. The rise in subscriptions to confidential news letters in Washington (numbered in tens of thousands for some of the principal Washington news-letter producers) is a milder indication of such a break-down in confidence, particularly among business men, in America since Mr. Roosevelt took office. If the trend continues and the controllers of the mass impression media in America are not able to meet fully the challenge provided by propagandists all over the world to the satisfaction of the American public, the recurrent phrase "that's only a newspaper story" or "that's only a radio report" may prove to be the death knell of public confidence in the media which have commanded their faith in the past.

Purifying the Human Race

BY D. M. LeBOURDAIS

Legislators have a tendency to set up sterilization as a panacea for crime, disease and poverty, but, like other panaceas, it will not accomplish all its advocates expect

FROM points as far apart as Germany and Oklahoma come projects for purifying the human race by means of the surgeon's knife. Hitler's scheme is described as "an act of neighborly love and of provision for coming generations"; while the announced objective in Oklahoma is to reduce, if not do away with, vice, disease and poverty.

The desire to apply stock-breeding procedures to human beings is not new. The re-discovery in 1900 of the laws worked out thirty-five years before by the Austrian monk, Gregor Mendel, gave a great fillip to such ideas. Mendel experimented with peas, but it was not long before similar studies were conducted upon mice, rats, flies and a great variety of other small animals and insects. Mendel's findings were in the main confirmed.

What, then, more natural than that the same principles should apply to man? Surely, man could not be the one great exception? But biological experiments with humans are more difficult than with flies and mice. For one thing, human beings are not so easily controlled; and, further, the time element adds greatly to the problem. Neverthe-

less, by means of observation and the study of family records, it was learned that certain characteristics, such as eye-color, skin pigmentation and hair-color and type, and certain disabilities, such as hemophilia and St. Vitus dance, were undoubtedly inherited in accordance with Mendel's laws. If these were transmitted in such a definite manner, why, it was asked, might not insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, criminality and other similar defects? Like begets like throughout the organic world: why should the rule fail with man?

So, since it was not possible to breed human beings experimentally, the next best thing was to study human genealogies. Following a hot trail, the researchers scanned such records as were available, but perhaps naturally they fastened on those more likely to support their theses. Typical of these is the story of the "Kallikaks," which has since become a classic. Published in 1912, it was the result of researches conducted by Dr. H. H. Goddard and associates into the family history of an inmate of the Vineland (New Jersey) Training School (for feeble-minded persons). The record was traced back to a certain "Martin Kallikak," who, during