

# What Are We Going to Do With the Germans?

PM today begins a forum on concrete problems of the peace. On their solution depends whether men and women the world over can live free and decent lives in a peaceful world or are going to be plunged into new wars every generation or so.

The time to think of these questions and to thresh them out among ourselves is now. Nothing but confusion and uncertainty can result if we try to push them off until the last minute and then leave them for discussion and bargaining at the peace table. This is a democratic war.

The statements and interviews which follow represent as many shades of opinion as it was possible for PM to get from men and women whose writing and thinking influence millions in America.

Out of discussions such as this and a hundred other forums eventually will come America's position at the peace table. PM welcomes expressions of opinion from its readers in the hope that the more the American people think and study the problems of the peace, the sounder can be the solutions.

Today's forum deals specifically with the question: "What Are We Going to Do with the Germans?" I asked that question of one of the wisest men I have

ever known, the late Professor Franz Boas. He looked at me for a moment and then answered: "It ought to be 'What Are We Going to Do with Ourselves?'"

If the first question has validity, then so has the second and if we try to keep the answers separate then we're headed for a new and worse war perhaps even faster than we plunged from World War I into World War II. It is against this background that PM presents today's question.

For Hitler's Nazism is something that goes infinitely deeper into the world's problems than the Kaiser's imperial dreams ever did. It is the answer of reaction to the advance of democracy and the rise of the working man that was one outgrowth of the First World War. Fascism has no geographical limit. It originated in Italy. It spread to Germany and Spain. It helped plunge France into pitiful collapse at the hands of politicians and industrialists who perverted the issue into "Better Hitler than Stalin." It existed to a lesser degree in Britain. It exists today in our own country.

But Germany will not be the only issue of the peace. There are other problems such as colonies, small nations, the Japanese and a world police. Other PM forums will discuss them. They will be published weekly.

—ALEXANDER H. UHL

## Here Are Answers by Important Persons of Our Time

By Franz Boas:

### Insane Asylums For Nazi Leaders

The late Franz Boas, Professor Emeritus at Columbia University and "dean" of American anthropologists, was one of the most beloved and respected men of his time. Among the first scientists to blast the Hitler theory of "race superiority" he was the author of many books which are standard in their field. His most widely popular book was *The Mind of Primitive Man*. The interview which follows was given by Professor Boas two weeks before his recent sudden death. Only three days before he died he returned the corrected copy of the interview as it appears below. It was the last interview he gave.

What we must remember about Germany is that Hitler has been in power for not more than nine years. It will be ten years next Spring. Now ten years is not so long a time in the life of a nation and there is still a whole generation in Germany that has grown up and worked both under the old Empire and the Republic. Suppose we go back to 1914. That would be 28 years ago. Take a person who was 20 years old then and grew up under another tradition. There is a very considerable number of persons of this age who are now inactive. We ought to strengthen that element and do whatever we can to bring them into power. This, of course, is not an easy job, but it can be done.

We ought to give as much initiative as possible to that group and to use as little outside pressure as possible, because they would simply react to outside pressure as they did the last time. The more we police, the stronger would be the reaction, and, I think, so far as possible it should be avoided.

Q: Will a certain amount of force be necessary?

A: Yes, certainly. Disarmament has to be supervised, no doubt about that, but it should go hand in hand with general dis-



armament. As far as internal affairs are concerned, the more we leave to the Germans, the better it will be, for the simple reason that force will cause resistance.

Q: How deeply into the German ruling class will we have to cut to eliminate Fascism in Germany?

A: The whole present ruling clique ought to be eliminated.

Q: In what way? Tried, executed, put into concentration camps?

A: No, in insane asylums.

Q: What about the Prussian Junkers and Army leaders?

A: You cannot trust them insofar as the question of democracy is concerned. But you can trust them so far as decency is concerned, unless they have pretty much deteriorated in the past ten years.

Q: Do you think there is hope for a democratic Germany?

A: I don't see why not. Take the whole development and the rapidity of the change from the Republic to the Nazis. I don't see why a turn like that should be permanent

The Nazis have been in power only nine years. There must be very large numbers of Germans who grew up under different traditions.

Q: What about the young Nazis?

A: Of course those who were pampered in the Nazi school of leaders are hopeless, except a few here and there. I know young people in general. I think there must be considerable numbers who resent Nazi compulsion and a fair number of individuals—I would not say how large—who, after the pressure to which they have been exposed, would go to the other extreme and long for freedom.

Q: You think education could bring them back?

A: Not all of them, but a sufficient number. In regard to the question, "What to do with the Germans," it is very decidedly my opinion that we ought to see to it that the older generation is helped as much as possible, by helping them to get into power.

There is great danger that the Germans in the areas where they live in enclaves outside of Germany will be exposed to bitter revenge on account of the ruthless persecution of other nationalities by the Nazis. This should be avoided. I cannot see any solution of this problem except by a general policy of transmigration, notwithstanding the hardships it would imply.

By Earnest Hooton:

### Breed War Strain Out of Germans

Professor Earnest Albert Hooton, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, is particularly interested in man's biological development. He is the author of *Apes, Men and Morons*, published in 1937. His approach to anthropological and social problems is always unorthodox and he likes nothing better than to throw out startling ideas for the sake of the discussion they may

develop. His contribution to *What Are We Going to Do With the Germans?* is pitched in that key.

(The following suggestions are offered by a physical anthropologist who has spent many years in the study of race, nationality, and the relation of individual biology to behavior. However, these suggestions represent no consensus of anthropological opinion; they have not been submitted to any group and have been endorsed by no one. The author, himself, is not fully confident of the practicability of the measures outlined. He merely presents them for discussion.

E. A. H.)

#### Basic Postulates

- (1) The behavior of a nation arises from the mass of its population and not from leaders or restricted social classes. National culture, national psychology, national ideals are at once the products of the aggregate of biological units of the population and the influences which tend to select for survival and to exaggerate those biological types of men which most readily conform to national behavioral patterns. Both cultural environment and heredity interact to produce in nations stable and persistent modes of behavior.
- (2) Substantial amelioration of national behavior cannot be effected solely by external efforts to change the national culture (form of government, ideologies, religion, education, economics). Biological measures for the bettering of the physical, mental, and moral quality of individual human units must also be applied to insure permanent improvement.
- (3) To break the vicious cycle of interaction between a militaristic state and the predatory tendencies of its citizens, the former must be destroyed and the latter neutralized or bred out. Since the state is the mechanism for the operation of group aggressions, its destruction most effectively frustrates such aggressions and at the same time makes it easier

