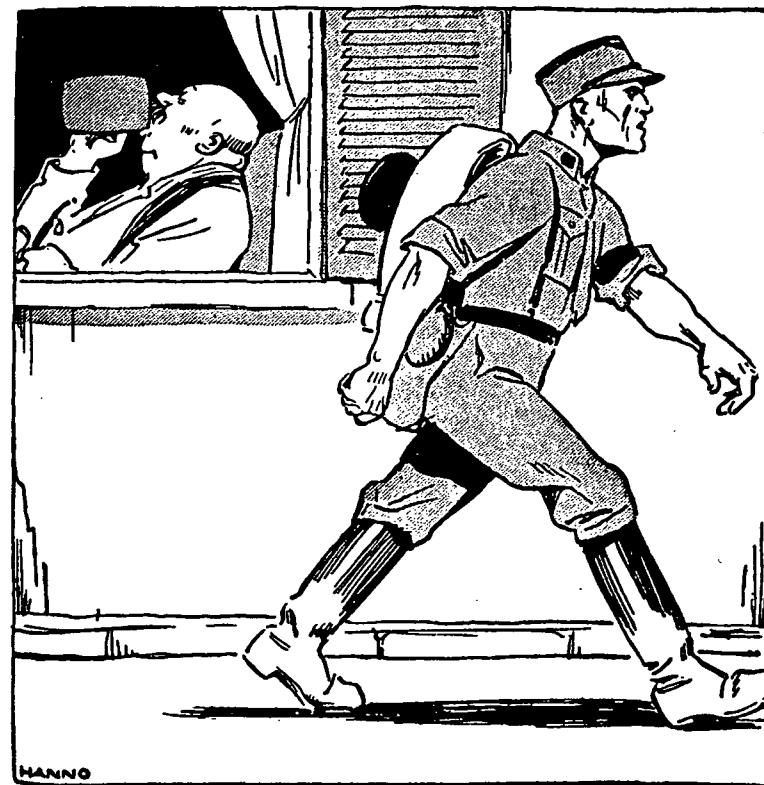


close to 7 percent in Berlin, and a whopping 13 percent in Munich.⁹⁵ A 1940 book by the nutritionist Hugo O. Kleine pointed out that Germans were spending more on alcohol than on any other "food product" (his quotation marks) with the exception of meat and bread.⁹⁶

Nazi leaders also worried about the opportunity costs of using farmland crops for fermentation instead of food. In 1937, for example, the manufacture of high-octane alcohol ate up more than two million tons of potatoes, sixty thousand tons of grain, and nearly sixty million liters of fruit.⁹⁷ Nazi ideologues argued that agricultural resources could be put to far better uses, judging from the benefits Americans had reaped from Prohibition. A 1941 antialcohol treatise written by two SS officers claimed that the American ban had resulted not just in declines in mental illness, mortality, and days missed at work—but also in increased purchases of shoes, clothing, and foods like milk, coffee, and cheese. The authors quoted U.S. Steel magnate H. S. Dulaney's opinion that Prohibition ("one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of civilization") had enormously improved the lives of his 300,000 workers; Henry Ford is cited as stating that Prohibition had made possible the eight-hour day and the five-day week. The SS teetotalers blamed the repeal of Prohibition on the "unscrupulous propaganda of alcohol-capitalists" but also pointed to the hopeful fact that even after the collapse of the federal ban in 1933, many American states continued to bar the sale of alcohol (e.g., Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, and Mississippi).⁹⁸

Health, in short, was only one of several concerns behind the Nazi antialcohol campaign. Apart from cancer or the damage to labor power or even injury to the German "germ plasm," alcohol posed a symbolic threat to the Nazi state and body, as to culture and civilization generally. Racial subterfuge was sometimes invoked—as when Jewish manufacturers of alcoholic beverages were attacked as "liquor Jews"—but the more prominent theme was the equation of alcohol and degeneracy. The shiftless, out-of-work drunkard was the imagined polar opposite of the Nazi workaholic; the indolent, sedentary boozier violated the "man in motion" ethic of Nazism (see fig. 5.5). The loquacious exuberance

Zwei Männer — — zwei Weltanschauungen



(„Der OX. Mann“ 14.5.38)

FIG. 5.5. "Two Men—Two World Views." Germany's foremost antitobacco journal contrasts the sedentary boozier with the energetic "can-do" Nazi man in motion. Source: *Reine Luft* 21 (1939): 13.