

ISOLATIONIST CRITICISM

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"The blackest page in all our history," cries Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, was written when our name was signed to the Treaty delivering Shantung to Japan." Many newspapers agree. Glancing through their pages, we run upon such headlines as "Japan the Possessor of Stolen Goods," "The Crime of Shantung," and "Far-Eastern Alsace-Lorraine," indicating that the gentleman from California produced no little impression among editorial writers when he said recently in the Senate: "To the Japanese Empire, with only 60,000,000 of people, we turned over shamefully and cruelly 40,000,000 of Chinese. To the autocracy of the Orient we delivered 40,000,000 republicans of China. We made the Orient 'safe for democracy' by dismembering its only democracy and handing the parts to the strongest autocracy on earth." This, so the Senator declared, "makes a mockery of our pretensions, and if the Senate permits it to stand, it stamps us forever with its infamy," for, "with Shantung given to Japan, its people transferred to the Japanese Empire, under the League of Nations, we-we, mind you, the ninety-six men sitting in the Senate--guarantee for all time by this League of Nations, if we adopt it, Japan's territorial integrity and political independence. We have not only committed the crime, in the first instance, but we have guaranteed the crime for all time. We give by the Peace Treaty Shantung to Japan and by the League of Nations, part of the same document, we guarantee Shantung to Japan, and guarantee it with our treasure and our blood."

"Thus arguing, the Senator provides Mr. Hearst's Chicago Herald-Examiner with a text for an editorial with the headline, "Sold--40,000,000 people," and declaring:

"Outrageously robbed, China quite properly declined to sign away her title to the loot that had been taken from her and furnish a certificate of good character to the highwayman.

"Japan-wily, tricky, fight-thirsty Japan--who did no more in the war than half a regiment of American dough-boys could have accomplished, played her cards and her secret treaties so cleverly at Versailles that she emerged with a prize-package of plunder second only to that of Britain.

"With hands still red from butcheries in helpless Korea, the Ireland of the Far East, Japan eagerly signed the Treaty, League of Nations and all."

Literary Digest, August 2, 1919

SURRENDER to BRITISH — Hearst.

2

The draft of the Constitution of the so-called League of Nations is a British draft from beginning to end, and it is cleverly contrived to make the League Covenant simply an alliance for the maintenance of Great Britain's dominion of the seas and the permanence of her conquests and annexations in every part of the habitable globe.

The attitude of our envoys in Europe is more pro-British than pro-American, and the standard applied to everything is whether or not it meets British approval.

The French and Italians are baulked when they lay claim to territorial spoils; but England in the first treaty with Germany obtains over 700,000 square miles of new territory to which she has no shadow of a prior claim, and there are treaties with Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria yet to be heard from.

The freedom of the seas, which is vitally necessary to the future safety of American commerce and the future peace of the United States, is surrendered, without even a gesture of dissent, to England, though that is an abandonment of the fruit of one victorious war and an absolute abandonment of the rights of neutral people whenever England is at war with any other nation.

If an English viceroy sat in Washington and governed the United States by order in council he would not change the policy or the attitude of our representatives in Paris.

New York American, June 5, 1919

Surrender to British - Hearst

"It's time for Americans to awake! Five months have passed since the Armistice, since we did the job for which America entered the war...

"Five months now after the end of the war we have a million and a half men in France and Germany; American boys in Siberia under Japanese command; American boys in Northern Russia under English command, and what this means can be told by the fathers and mothers from the letters of their sons.

"Five months after we've made the good fight and won England is acquiring a world monopoly of oil, and has the cable and radio monopoly, and is reaching for the world's commerce; Japan is in some undisclosed manner endeavouring to establish a foothold upon our border."

"King London is sending us generals and colonels and literary lights to tell us how necessary it is that we should help dear England shoulder the burden of bossing the world--she to do the bossing and we to pay for the job.

"In a fit of absentmindedness England has casually gobbled up from Germany and Turkey and Russia a lot of territory bigger than the whole of the United States. Of course, she never thought about this when she went to war to save democracy. It just happened as a reward of virtue."

New York American, April 10, 1919

Failure of American Policy

2

"The credits are:--

"One badly shattered table of the Fourteen Points, cracked by interpretation and split by reservations.

"One tentative what-is-it? peace covenant; which has been read once for information and which seems to need to be recommitted for amendment and possible deliquescence.

"One armistice: which it has been necessary twice to renew.

"One Prinkipo conference: which may not be held.

"On the debit side are:--

"One Germany: in unnecessary and dangerous civil war, hanging over a Bolshevist abyss.

"One Russia: more gravely disturbed than ever and hence more of a menace to others and to herself.

"One Southern Europe: in chaos and unable to begin work of reconstruction.

"One ancient friendship with France: brought to the verge of mutual recrimination.

"One Great Britain: suspended between mobilisation and demobilisation, with industrial disturbances.

"One America: anxious to resume normal life but forced to act on the assumption that a great army must be maintained abroad.

"One condition of wholesome harmony among the Allies: yeilding, under the continuous blows of German and Bolshevist propaganda, to something like discord."

New York Tribune, February 25, 1919

3. Betrayal of ideals, etc.

Betrayal of Ideals

3

In The World To-morrow, Mr. Louis P. Lochner quotes statements which seem to him to prove that the labor movement of the world, except for our Federation, sees little good in what he calls "the shame of Versailles." For instance, the Committee of Action of the Bern Labor Conference "is disturbed to find in the peace terms so much that is menacing to the future peace of the world." The National Committee of the British Labor party denounces the Treaty as "defective from the standpoint of world peace." The radical wing of the British labor movement declares that this "document misnamed a peace treaty" does not give the world peace, "but the certainty of other and more calamitous wars." Our own Socialist party has called it a "sinister peace treaty" which "can only lead the masses of the world into new conflicts more exhausting than the one just ended." And according to Mr. Lochner, the Treaty has been received in neutral countries with "universal indignation."

Literary Digest, July 12, 1919, p. 10

The Dial lamented that the abandonment of the fourteen points was the price which Wilson paid for the league of nations; while one of the organs of the Non-Partisan League of the Northwest declared: "Wilson went to Europe the idol of all its common people. He returns literally without friends."

Dodd, p. 348

The London Herald, a labor organ, denounces the Treaty, saying:

"There is no honor left for any of us. The League of Nations is a body without soul. President Wilson has been beaten. He forced public acceptance of his high ideals on the other Powers, but they have beaten him secretly. He compromised on essentials, and therefore the details have gone astray. From the moment he abandoned the first of the fourteen points he abandoned them all."

Literary Digest, May 17, 1919, p. 15.

(The New Republic) "The details of the settlement," it affirms, "could hardly have been more neatly devised to keep central Europe in an uproar." Of the economic side ~~th~~ of the Treaty it says:

"The Treaty gives the Allies so many different kinds of economic power over Germany that they are likely to be considerably at a loss as to how to exercise it. Both the goose and the golden eggs are theirs, and there will be mighty conflicts and debates for decades as to whether the goose should be made to lay nother egg or eaten. Some people will be interested in keeping German trade crippled; others will be interested in reviving it and exacting reparations. The people who see reparations diminishing will denounce the greedy people who are killing German productiveness, and these latter will reply that the others are reviving the German menace for the sake of some money. We may expect some lively times between the Reparation Commission on the one hand and Allied manufacturers on the other."

Literary Digest, May 31, 1919, p. 16

3

Naturally so eloquent a man as the President paints an attractive picture. He tells us that "it (the league covenant) associates the free Governments of the world in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their right and justice."

But as these words come from Mr. Wilson's pen, we hear the echo of the footsteps of the Chinese Commissioners as they leave Versailles after refusing to affix their names to the document the President heralds as "a great charter for a new order of affairs". And they go, because the same document which contains the League Covenant, also contains the Shantung settlement, which is a negation of every guarantee of "right and justice" the covenant contains.

This Shantung settlement is an open exploitation of a helpless people for the benefit of a strong people; it is a denial of the principle of self-determination; it is a shameless over-riding of the "inalienable rights of nationality." It is a concession to Japan of the privilege of both conquest and annexation. It is a barefaced compromise with a spoilsman who has demanded his price for continuing solidarity with the Allied and Associated Powers and has received it purely and simply because he is strong, and occupies a strategic position.

Detroit Free Press, June 30, 1919.

3

The New York Nation, which is hardly more pro-German than the Berliner Tageblatt, majestically sweeps the Treaty of Peace into the waste basket, and says that "For Woodrow Wilson to negotiate such a peace is to betray all the principles to which he has pledged us; for the American people to assent to the peace that he has negotiated would be to disclose a blindness and moral callousness beyond belief."

The New Republic refuses point blank to retify the Treaty, and declares that "It is impossible to achieve anything worth while internationally with such instruments as Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando and Wilson." We happened to have won the war through "such instruments," but perhaps the New Republic does not think the winning of the war was anything worth while in the way of an international achievement.

What interests us chiefly, however, is the fact that these periodicals of extreme Radicalism have joined hands with the newspapers and periodicals of extreme reaction in opposition to the Treaty. Mr. Villard of the Nation is quite as bitter as Col. George Harvey, although his language is less Senatorial in the vehemence of its invective. The New Republic is as denunciatory as the New York Tribune, which will never forgive President Wilson for not having had 60,000,000 Germans shot at sunrise and all their property destroyed. It is true that each of these discordant elements has different reasons for attacking the Treaty, but they agree in the conclusion that it is not the kind of a peace to which the United States should be a party.

The New York World, June 25, 1919

Surrender to Power Politics

3

The terrible price Mr. Wilson has had to pay for following Mr. Taft's views regarding the League we can now appreciate as we study the peace terms. The European and Japanese Premiers let Mr. Wilson have his league. "Certainly, Mr. Wilson!" they chorused. Then, they began collecting toll for it, with the active aid of Mr. Wilson's American enemies. In order to get his league Mr. Wilson had to yield something substantial -- here to England, there to France, and somewhere else to Italy. Everything he had to yield in that manner was an infraction of the 14 Points and in toto an alarming invasion of his ideal of "a just and lasting peace." Finally he had to yield to Japan on the Shantung question to keep Japan in the League at all, and thus save it from being stillborn.

It is clear now, in the light of six-months' experience with the Paris Conference that in the practical give-and-take diplomatic fighting among the "big four", or the "big five", Mr. Wilson could have exercised a much more powerful influence in making the actual peace terms harmonize with his peace principles if he had not constantly been forced to protect his baby, this infant League of Nations, from persistent attempts against its very life -- attempts made both in America and abroad and which are not at an end.

Springfield Republican, June 12, 1919

THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA

May 31, 1945

TO: Commander Stassen

FROM: H. H. Fisher

Here is a translation of an election poster which gives some good examples of Nazi slogans, particularly about unemployment.

HHF)fs



BROADSIDE IN MARCH 5, 1933 ELECTION
(Translation)

"Within four years unemployment will be abolished" Adolf Hitler has said. His opponents cried that is too long. You gentlemen! And Adolf Hitler does not promise, like you, abolition of unemployment in the shortest time, in order then like you to allow the number of unemployed to grow larger and larger year by year—until finally after 14 years more than 6,000,000 stand idle in the streets! Whatever an Adolf Hitler promises, that will he keep! Whatever an Adolf Hitler strives for, that will he attain! Once he prophesied that he would bring about a movement of millions out of the seven men who were with him in the founding of the NSDAP. The opponents jeered: a poor man! but his will made out of the NSDAP the strongest party of Germany. Hitler swore in Leipzig that he would pursue the legal way to bring his party to power. The opponents jeered: he must break his oath or the NSDAP will not come into the government. His will, however, led the NSDAP to control of the government without breaking his oath. Hitler said, I will be Reichschancellor, even if you contrive to mobilize the devil against me! The opponents jeered: he will never be it! His will, however, overcame all obstacles and he became Reichschancellor.

Hitler says: "Within four years unemployment will be abolished."

"Within four years the farmer class will finally be saved."
here
His will also/will conquer!

Hitler will conquer all the more easily, the more power you give him and the more independent you make him of the parties which have been leading the people to the point where they now are. 14 years you have given these parties time to allow them to bring/^{Germany}to the ground more and more! Give Hitler 4 years to build it up. You give Hitler power and give Hitler time when you elect Hitler!

THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE
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Professor of History

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May 30, 1945

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TO: Commander Stassen

FROM: H. H. Fisher

Hitler on Living Space, Employment, etc.

Here are several quotations from Hitler on these subjects. Most of them are about Lebensraum which, of course, includes the idea of raw materials and support of the people.

These are all from Hitler. Other Nazis have been eloquent on the employment problem and we can furnish quotations from them.

We shall do more searching tomorrow and perhaps will be able to turn up some more effective slogans if these quotations are not sufficient.

HHF)fs

A summary of the idea Lebensraum by Gordon W. Prange.

LEBENSRAUM

"The concept of Lebensraum has been the major ideological instrument of Nazi imperialism. National Socialist literature does not define the term clearly, nor do the Nazis give it any geographical specificity. And for good reason. To be effective as a slogan of conquest, it must remain vague and flexible enough to fit any expedient. For essential Nazi purposes, Lebensraum denotes an area sufficient to assure the Reich both economic sufficiency and military security--in short, the material basis for domination of the globe.

"Hitler appeals primarily to the emotions and the brutish instincts. He argues, first, that soil is basic to the existence of a people; second, that the ratio of German population to German territory is disproportionate; third, that the German people will perish if this ratio is not changed to their advantage. Hence, Germany must acquire more soil--by war, if necessary. Hitler also insists that the struggle for survival--i.e. for daily bread--is a struggle for the soil that produces this bread. Territorial expansion, therefore, is based on Hitler's law of nature. Space must be fought for and retained; land awaits him who can seize and hold it. Thus, the Fuehrer's basic concept of justice is identical with power.

"Hitler's early speeches on the subject of Lebensraum are of considerable significance because they contain the fertile seeds of his Pan-German megalomania."

Hitler's Words, EDITED BY
Gordon W. Prange

LEBENSRAUM

As early as February 24, 1920, the Nazis were demanding Lebensraum. In the TWENTY-FIVE POINTS drawn up by Hitler in conjunction with Feder and Drexler, point 3:

"We demand space (colonies) for the maintenance of our people and the settlement of our surplus population."

Konrad Heiden, A HISTORY OF
NATIONAL SOCIALISM, 1934, 12.

Hebens RAUM

We will Take this space

HITLER'S WORDS, Edited by Gordon W.
Prange, 1944, 18-19

"If you do not give us space on this earth then we ourselves will take this space. That is why we are National Socialists. We fight for the vital rights of our people in this world. The blood of millions can be pledged only if they know that the conflict does not serve a particular class, but that it benefits the entire people. Do not believe that this people will go to war again, if it does not carry a different conviction to the battlefield than it did formerly. The day will come ~~when~~ the German people will rise up and break their bonds asunder, when in millions of hearts there will be one single faith, one embracing conviction: We do not fight for the German middle class, nor for the German proletariat; we fight for our people, for wife and child, we fight for our children's children.

"I am happy that fate guided me, a simple soldier for four years, through the hell of blood and fire. I cannot imagine that a true German would ever take the responsibility of leading his people through this hell a second time unless he was convinced that from this inferno a paradise would be forthcoming for his people."

(Munich, April 9, 1927; Voelkishher Beobachter, April 12, 1927)

Lebensraum

HITLER'S WORDS, Edited by Gordon W. Prange
1944, 17.

TAKE WHAT you need

"The natural situation (in the life of a people) would be that condition in which it could secure its existence from the produce of its own soil. In such a case, however, the people and the size of the population must have an equitable relationship with the area in which it lives. In Germany these two factors are not equitable. Quite the contrary, for there is a glaring incongruity between the two. The population grows steadily, but the area remains the same year in and year out. Neither internal colonization nor a more intensive tilling of the soil will remove this incongruity. There is only one possibility. Soil and territory must be brought into consonance with the population. Our forefather recognized this when they colonized the East Mark (Austria) and when they conquered with the sword the region east of the Elbe. They did this because necessity forced them to it. A man who is hungry does not question the source of the piece of bread that satisfies his hunger. The same holds true in the struggle for existence among the nations. When nations are in need, they do not ask about legal rights. There is then only one question. Does a people have the power to acquire the soil and territory which it needs?

(Vilsbiburg, March 6, 1927; Voelkischer Beobachter, March 8, 1927)

Lebensraum - Population And Area

By war if necessary

HITLER'S WORDS, Edited by Gordon W. Prange, 1944, 19-21.

"As a people without power, the German people will, according to every indication, completely lose its position within the not-too-distant future. The German people will disappear from the earth; in fact, it will perish. This fateful question is the point of departure of our National Socialist doctrine, our Weltanschauung, and our teaching. We must try to seek out those bases for the existence of a people which alone are solid and real. And as a result of our investigation we come face to face with one single question. What is the relationship which the population has to the soil on which it lives?

"Can the soil on which a people lives support the entire population for the time being, and is it sufficient to allow for a further increase in the population? Is the relationship between the soil and the population an impossible one? On the basis of this relationship, can it be predicted with mathematical certainty that either today or in the near future this people will not be able to support itself from this soil? This problem is of tremendous importance. No party, no government, no form of government nor any philosophical system can circumvent it. Under certain circumstances that attention of a people can in part be diverted from this problem by dogmatic queries and theories. Behind it all, however, there still remains a great and fateful question. Can you feed yourselves? In spite of all party dogmas and party principles the Goddess of misery will come and beat on the door of a people which feel more and more the pain of want. A people slowly perishes if this want is not satisfied....

"From this standpoint there is only one hypothesis left for the German people, namely, that in this world population represents the changing element, while soil and territory represent an unchanging element. This means that at present soil and territory are limited in this world. Germany is the Fatherland of 62,000,000 people who live together on an area which is 450,000 kilometers square. This is a ridiculous figure when one considers the size of the other nations in the world today. This is especially noticeable when one looks at a globe map of the world on which Germany completely disappears. Unfortunately the great mass of our German people does not have the logical insight to draw the necessary conclusions from this fact. Instead, the great mass of our German people prefers to chase after certain phantoms. Moreover, the population can increase in a short time; it can perhaps reach 68,000,000 or 70,000,000, and yet the area on which it lives will remain the same....

"The only thing left for a people to do, then, is to attempt an adjustment in the relationship between the area on which it lives, that is, its reservoir of subsistence, and its population. The first method (limitation of the population) is the one which seems the easier. If we cannot expand the soil, then we decrease the population. There are certain parties in Germany who advocate this method....Just a few weeks ago the "German" press announced that we had now received permission to send Germans to Canada again and that the first quota had actually been reached. It was said that this was an important and obvious success of our foreign policy. The success of German foreign policy, therefore, consists in chasing our best human material out of Germany.

"The other way (to solve our problem) is to bring the soil into consonance with the population, even if it must be done by war. This is the natural way which Providence has prescribed....."

(Berlin, May 1, 1927; Voelkischer Beobachter, May 5, 1927)

Lebensraum

Soil and Survival

HITLER'S WORDS, Edited by Gordon W.
Prange, 1944, 24-26

.... "We have long since neglected this policy of the soil (Boden politik) as the basis for the existence of our people. Land policy and agrarian policy (Bauernpolitik) have been shoved into the background and their place has been taken by an economy -- by an industrial economy. And it is believed that this economy can supplant an agricultural economy (Bodenwirtschaft), that a people can be supported by industry alone.

"For forty years we Germans have been of the opinion that our future lies in commerce and industry, and that the attention of the people had begun to turn from the soil, a process which England, as our classic predecessor, had already lived through. In the same measure that England became an industrial state, English agriculture declined, the English peasant became impoverished, and completely disappeared. Today the British Empire is based on industry and export. It is now said by millions that this is also possible for us. These people forget, however, that they must buy a cheaper brand of foodstuffs from foreign countries, for which purpose England has her colonies. In this connection we National Socialists differ sharply with the present national policy, which will deprive our people of its roots because it rests on the conviction that industry can provide for the future of our people. We on the other hand are of the opinion that an industrial and export economy is the symptom of a disease, and that this kind of an economy cannot in the long run provide a people with the means of subsistence.

"The products of the soil would have to support the entire people, while the production of industry would have to find its markets in the national economy, principally in agriculture. This exchange or equalization, which takes place through the medium of trade, would constitute a sound economy by which the existence of a people would be assured. With the adoption of this economy, the soil would again become the main basis of support of the nation. The nation has its roots in the soil, and its prosperity depends on the soil. Thus, the peasantry is not just an estate within the nation like any other, but one of the foundation stones of the whole people, and, to be sure, to such a degree that it continuously injects new strength into the other estates.

"Our present economy declares that our people cannot be supported by itself, consequently it is necessary to export. Thus, this economy loses the balance between agricultural production (Urproduktion) and industrial production. More is bought than is needed and, dear friends, when the general policy of a state adjusts itself to this system there is no restraint. Production rises, everyone races for markets, and then commerce pushes itself into the picture, and desires, in order to exist, as much export, as many markets, and as great a production as possible. The result is that a people is drawn more and more into its insane program.

"We reproach the present political and economic policy: You have departed from the natural foundations of life -- from the soil. You have done this because you think the other way is easier. You reject the idea of bringing the soil into consonance with the population because it requires power and must show results. You say that we want peace, that our people do not want war, but you deceive yourselves if you believe that you can carry on your policy of world trade (Weltwirtschaftspolitik) in peace. For the question around which things revolve

HITLER'S WORD, E dited by Gordon W. Prange,
1944, 24-26 (Concluded)

today is not a question of production, but a question of markets and competition (Konjunktur). It is not just a question of ~~markets~~ exports and import but a question of existence. In the same way that we Germans have more and more adjusted ourselves to this policy, so have other nations. In the same way that we have arranged our entire way of life so that we can no longer exist unless we export, regardless of the fact that millions must go hungry as a result, so other nations too are committed to this policy. And thus the question arises: Will all these nations find sufficient markets? We Germans say 'No'... for the rest of the world has been in this business longer.

"In the second place, our main competitor, England, has subjugated the greater part of the world politically and incorporated it into her colonial system. England had the markets and the sources of raw materials, and we are the interlopers. In order to compete we must produce cheaper and better. And so that the other nations do not lose their basis of existence -- life itself, they will have to offer us opposition. This opposition then will be the new competitor, and if things do not work out, there will be new complications, and soon thereafter another war....."

(Hamburg, March, 1928; Voelkischer Beobachter, March 18, 1928)

LEBENSRAUM

ADOLF HITLER, MY NEW ORDER, Edited with
Commentary by Raoul de Roussy de Sales,
1941, 124.

"..... For our situation in the world in its fatal effects is but the result of our own underestimate of German strength. Only when we have once more changed this fatal valuation of ourselves can Germany take advantage of the political possibilities which, if we look far enough into the future, can place German life once more upon a natural and secure basis -- and that means either new living-space (Lebensraum) and the development of a great internal market or protection of German economic life against the world without and utilization of all the concentrated strength of Germany....."

Speech at Düsseldorf, Industry Club, Jan. 27, 1932.

Lebensraum

WAR for Deliverance of the People

HITLER'S WORDS, Edited by Gordon W. Prange,
1944, 27-28

"We admit that for us the future of Germany does not lie in a mechanical revision of frontiers. In such a case we would again be forced to rely upon world trade, which in turn would make us competitors of four or five other states. That is no future. The National Socialist Movement extends far beyond the decadent level of such a philistine conception. It is the champion of that idea which claims that if we do not acquire more soil then we shall some day perish. We pursue no policy which will not secure the existence of the people for all time....I believe that I have enough energy to lead our people to war, and not for the revision of frontiers, but for the deliverance of our people in the most distant future, so that our people acquires so much soil and territory that the sacrifice in blood can be returned to posterity in four-fold measure."

(Munich, May 23, 1928; Voelkischer Beobachter, May 25, 1928)

LEBENSRAUM

THE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER, 1942
vol. I, 913.

".... Germany finds herself in a more difficult economic situation than that of other lands. We have not the living-space (Lebensraum) that these peoples possess. We have not the basis for our food-supply which has been given to these nations. We have not the raw materials that these States have. We have not their colonies, and we have not all the possibilities and international connexions which are at the disposal of these States and peoples. Yet we have tried to solve our problems, and we have solved them --- better than in many States which started with more advantages than Germany...."

Speech at the annual harvest celebration on the Bückeberg on Oct. 6, 1935.

RAW MATERIALS

THE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER, 1942,
vol. I, 832-33

"We are aware that the geographical position of Germany, with her lack of raw materials, does not fully permit of economic self-sufficiency for the Reich. It cannot be too often emphasized that nothing is further from the thoughts of the Government of the Reich than hostility to exporting. We are fully aware that we have need of the connexion with the outside world, and that the marketing of German commodities in the world provides a livelihood for many millions of our fellow-countrymen."....

Speech to the Reichstag, March 23, 1933

EMPLOYMENT

The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, 1942
vol. I, 831-2

"....Furthermore, it is perfectly clear to the National Government that the final removal of the distress both in agricultural business and in that of the towns depends on the absorption of the army of the unemployed in the process of production.... The National Government ... recognize it as their historical task to support and further the millions of German workers in the struggle for their right of existence... all working power will be utilized in the service of the nation as a whole....

Speech to the Reichstag, March 23, 1933.

RAW MATERIALS

THE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER, ~~KK~~
1942, vol. I., 902-3

"...Speaking of Germany's economic prospects, I am confident that Germany will make herself independent, as regards raw materials, of the rest of the world if obliged to do so.

"We cannot buy more from other nations than they will buy from us. If this means that we have to cut down our imports of raw materials from abroad, we shall find substitutes for those raw materials in our own country.

"It will not be the first time that we have been reduced to such a reliance on our own resources. When Napoleon cut ~~us~~ us off from the rest of the world by his Berlin Decrees, we invented beet-sugar to replace the West Indian product.

"In the Great War we produced our own nitrates as substitutes for those of Chile. We perfected our aniline dyes to such an extent that foreign dyestuffs became unnecessary to our industries.

"The world may laugh when we say that we shall make ourselves independent of imported cotton, wool, and other fundamental raw materials, but in a couple of years they will find that we have done so.

"Whether it is to the interest of the community of nations that Germany should cease to be an international buyer ~~and~~ as well as a seller, I leave to other countries to decide."

In an interview with Mr. G. Ward Price in August 1934, as reported in the DAILY MAIL, August 6, 1934.

EMPLOYMENT

THE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER, April 1922-
August 1939, Edited by Norman H. Baynes,
1942, vol. K L, 113-114/

"The National Government intends to solve the problem of the reorganization of trade and commerce with two four-year plans:

"The German farmer must be rescued in order that the nation may be supplied with the necessities of life.

"A concerted and all-embracing attack must be made on unemployment in order that the German working class may be saved from ruin.

"The November parties have ruined the German peasantry in fourteen years.

"In fourteen years they ~~ax~~ have created an army of millions of unemployed.

"The National Government will, with iron determination and unshakeable steadfastness of purpose, put through the following plan:

"Within four years the German peasant must be rescued from the quagmire into which he has fallen.

"Within four years unemployment must be finally overcome. At the same time the conditions necessary for a revival in trade and commerce are provided."

From the Proclamation by the Government to the German Nation:
Berlin, February 1, 1933.

H. H. FISHER
June 14, 1945

UNANIMITY--MAJORITY--VETO

In legislative matters, majority rule applies in Australia and New Zealand.

The executive veto is almost non-existent. In New Zealand the Governor General appears to have the power to withhold assent but this is usually for purposes of correcting the bill. The executive has less veto power than the president or a state governor in the United States.

Legislative acts are subject to judicial review.

With respect to the jury system, the practice varies widely. In most Australian states and in New Zealand the jury in a criminal case must be unanimous to convict. In most Australian states and in New Zealand a majority verdict is permitted in civil actions. In the appellate courts decision is by a majority of the judges present.

In the history of representative institutions the tendency has been from unanimity, which seems to have been always required in the beginning, to the majority system sometimes limited to 2/3 majority or some other required number. In primitive societies and in the first representative institutions in modern Europe unanimity was always required. This unanimity was often achieved either by the expulsion of the minority or by coercing it into accepting the majority view.

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The practice of majority decisions in the British Parliament, and apparently elsewhere, was applied to less important issues and primarily for the purpose of speeding up the legislative process. Gradually as legislative experience increased the majority principle was applied to more and more important matters until it became generally accepted in the parliamentary institutions of Western Europe. A famous exception to this development was the survival of the Liberm Veto in the Diet of the Polish Kingdom whereby a single member could prevent the passage of legislation by merely saying, "I object." This right was upheld by the most powerful nobles who objected to being placed under the control of the royal government and who represented the privilege as the protection of the liberty of an individual against the arbitrary rule of the central authority. The failure of the Polish legislative system was certainly one of the important contributions to the weakness of the Polish Kingdom.

The practice of filibustering is probably a survival of the old practice of unanimity.

In international conferences the principle of sovereignty has usually resulted in the insistence on the unanimity practice. There has been a tendency, however, in conferences dealing with technical matters (in which the representatives have not been diplomatic agents but representatives appointed specially) to accept majority decisions. The reason for this apparently is the same as in the legislative experience, that is, majority decision has been applied because the matters were of secondary importance and because it facilitated ~~in~~ carrying out the business of the conference.

THE DOMINIONS AS SOVEREIGN STATES
A.B. Keith, London, 1938.

GOVERNOR*GENERAL

(p. 63) "The position of the Governor-General of the Dominions served originally as the essential means of control of the local executive by the Crown. When responsible government was accorded, his functions assumed a clear dualism. In the main he acted as the constitutional head of the Government advised by ministers as is the Crown in the United Kingdom. But he had also to play the part of intermediary between the local and the Imperial authorities, and he owed his appointment to the Imperial Government by whose advice he could be removed from office."

(p. 65) "Dominions enjoy now virtually unfettered freedom in selecting and removing the head of the executive."

(p. 66) "The Governor-General would not usually refuse his assent but would have changes made to make the bill acceptable."

INTRODUCING AUSTRALIA
C. Hartley Grattan
N.Y., 1942, 150.

The Governor-General is not the representative of the United Kingdom in the Australian government. That government is represented in Australia by the High Commissioner, who is, in a sense, a diplomatic officer, an "Intra-Empire Ambassador." His powers are vague.

AUSTRALIA

THE LAW OF THE AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION
Donald Kerr, Australia, 1925.

THE HIGH COURT OF AUSTRALIA (p. 233)

"In cases of differences of opinion among the Justices of the High Court the matter is determined as follows: A Full Court consisting of less than all the Justices cannot give a decision on a question affecting the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth unless at least three Justices (total of seven members, namely, the Chief Justice and six Justices) concur in the decision; in other cases, the question is decided according to the decision of the majority, if there be a majority, but if not, and the Court is equally divided in opinion, then (a) in a case where a decision of a Justice of the High Court (whether acting as a Justice of the High Court or in some other capacity) or of a Supreme Court of a State or a Judge thereof, is in question by appeal or otherwise, the decision appealed from is affirmed, and (b) in any other case, the opinion of the Chief Justice, or of the senior Justice present, prevails.

VOTING

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATE (p. 307 and 309)

By majority vote

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION (p. 322)

By majority vote of each House and a majority of electors in a majority of the States.

Or by a majority (absolute) of one House, rejected by the other, passed again by the first house by an absolute majority, then by the electors.

DEADLOCK

BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES (p. 313)

If the House of Representatives passes any bill and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, and if after an interval of three months the House of Representatives again passes it and the Senate again rejects it, the Governor-General may dissolve both houses. But such dissolution shall not take place within six months before the date of the expiry of the House of Representatives by effluxion of time.

If the House of Representatives again passes the bill and the Senate rejects it, the Governor-General may convene a joint sitting of the two Houses. If passed by a majority of the two houses, it becomes a law.

JURY

smallly Australian (and New Zealand) system based on English common law which requires a unanimous decision for a criminal case, 9 of 12 for a civil case.

JURY SYSTEM IN AUSTRALIA

There is a variation of practice as between the several States.

NEW SOUTH WALES: criminal jury of twelve with unanimity.
civil jury of four, three enough for decision
after six hours.

VICTORIA: criminal jury of twelve with unanimity.
in a minority of cases, a civil jury of twelve or six
with possibility of a majority decision.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA: criminal jury of twelve with unanimity, but
except in murder, accepts majority of ten.
since 1927 has abandoned civil jury for all
practical purposes.

QUEENSLAND: criminal jury of twelve with unanimity.
civil jury of four, majority verdict by agreement
most civil cases heard without jury.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA: criminal jury of twelve with unanimity.
rarely a civil jury of six or twelve with
possibility of a majority verdict employed.

TASMANIA: criminal jury, majority of ten can be taken after two hours
civil jury of three to seven with possibility of majority
verdict but seldom used.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS
ITS TERRITORIES AND CONSTITUTIONS
by Arthur Berriedale Keith
N.Y., 1940

AUSTRALIA

(pp. 36-37)

"In Australia the Commonwealth shares control with six State Governments, all of the usual responsible character. But the federal Government has no control over the Governors of the States, who are appointed by the British Government, and it cannot disallow State Acts...."

INTRODUCING AUSTRALIA

C. Hartley Grattan, N.Y., 1942, 160.

"Within the states the important political power is concentrated in the capital, leaving very little to the local communities. The reasons for this are complex, involving political traditions and the distribution of population. The Australian states evolved from autocratic forms in which power was in the hands of a governor, whose seat was the principal city. As the government was liberalized the changes chiefly affected the franchise and the location of responsibility, the distribution of powers between the central government and the local units being untouched. Population within the states is so distributed, moreover, that aside from the capital city and a few minor provincial centers, there is no local unit with a sufficiently numerous population to undertake more than elementary governmental tasks. The ~~xx~~ local governments are often scornfully called 'curb and gutter' authorities.

"A result is that the residents in the country districts suspect and believe that their interests are neglected in favor of the metropolis. If sufficiently roused, they set up claims for more power...."

Criminal Court

"The verdict of a jury must be unanimous and if after a retirement of four hours it is unable to agree the Judge may, if he thinks fit, discharge it and order a new trial." (pp. 356-57)

Civil Court

"Certain actions are tried before the Judge alone, certain before common or special juries of four and others before common or special juries of twelve." (p. 359)

"The Court of Appeal consists of the judges of the Supreme Court sitting in two divisions of five each, three members being competent to form the Court. The judgment is in accordance with the opinion of the majority present....." (p. 360)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY AND LAW OF
NEW ZEALAND, J. Hight and H.D. Hamford
Melbourne and London, 1914.

NEW ZEALAND

(p. 351) No statutory provision for deadlock between the two houses.

(p. 360) Court of Appeal: judgment is in accordance with the opinion
of the majority present.

In discussing the passage of laws, the phrase "passed by both houses"
is used, implying a majority.



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