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**‘LIVING-SPACE’
AND POPULATION
PROBLEMS**

BY
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THIS pamphlet examines in detail the so-called problem of *lebensraum* or 'living-space'. Is it a claim for an equal share of the world's area, or of the world's wealth, or does it maintain the necessity for a 'great power' to dominate lesser powers? What have been the effects of the German and Italian attempts to increase their birth-rates? Will the population of Germany increase greatly over this century? These and other matters are discussed in this pamphlet.

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Further aspects of *lebensraum*, as a part of German policy, are considered in Oxford Pamphlet No. 12, *Encirclement*, by J. L. Brierly.

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.150,000,000

ON 22 May 1939 the Italo-German Treaty was signed by Count Ciano and Herr von Ribbentrop in the presence of the German Chancellor. The Italian Foreign Minister thereupon made a radio speech in which he said that 'our two nations with their 150,000,000 workers, citizens, and soldiers will henceforth march united'. He was followed by the German Foreign Minister, who declared that '150,000,000 Germans and Italians form with their friends in the world a bloc which is invincible'. Herr Hitler himself telegraphed to Signor Mussolini: 'The world will now recognize that all hopes of weakening the Berlin-Rome Axis are vain. Germany and Italy, united in a bloc of 150,000,000, will always stand together, to defend the sacred heritage of civilization and secure a peace based on justice.' Herr von Ribbentrop then went to the Foreign Office, where he announced to the representatives of the German and foreign Press that 'the new pact establishes absolutely and indubitably the unbreakable solidarity of the 150,000,000 people united under the leadership, unique in history, of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini'. A week later General Ambrogio Bollati declared in the *Giornale d'Italia* that 'the 150,000,000 men of the Rome-Berlin Axis form a compact and homogeneous whole from the Baltic to Libya. The hundreds of millions of men belonging to the Anglo-French bloc are scattered over three-quarters of the globe.'

The technique is obvious; it has been fully

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explained in *Mein Kampf*. The German-Italian bloc from the Baltic to Libya comprises a population of 125,000,000, that is only 15,000,000 more than the Franco-British bloc from the North Sea to Tunis, and only 5,000,000 more than the German-Austro-Hungarian bloc in 1914 (which, to all appearance, did not form a less compact and homogeneous whole and had furthermore some rather strong claims on Italian assistance). But to quote the unimpressive figure of 125,000,000 would serve no useful purpose from the standpoint of the Rome-Berlin Axis. It seemed advisable to substitute a bigger figure, and to repeat it over and over again until it was accepted everywhere by public opinion. It is evident that this bigger figure, quite apart from its intimidating effect, offers convenient support for the contention that the Axis does not have at its disposal an adequate 'living-space'.

The German Demand

The demand for a greater living-space also played an important part in Herr Hitler's reply to President Roosevelt's peace telegram. Herr Hitler stated on 28 April in the Reichstag:

'12. Mr. Roosevelt declares further that he is absolutely certain that all international problems can be solved at the conference table.

'I answer: Theoretically one should believe that this is feasible, for common sense would indeed plainly show in many cases the justice of the demands on the one side and the compelling necessity of concessions on the other side. For example, according to all common sense, logic, and all principles of a general human and of a higher justice, nay, even according to the laws of a Divine will, all nations ought to have an equal share in the goods of

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this world. It should thus not happen that one nation claims so much living-space that it cannot get along when there are not even 15 inhabitants to the square kilometre, while other nations are forced to maintain 140, 150, or even 200 in the same area. But in no case should these fortunate nations further curtail the living-space of those peoples who are already suffering, by robbing them, for example, of their colonies. I should, therefore, be happy if these problems could really be solved at the conference table.'

The Meaning of an Equal Living-space for all Nations

According to Herr Hitler all nations ought to have an equal share in the goods of this world. *This does not mean*, of course, that each of the seventy-two self-governing states of the earth should have $\frac{1}{72}$ of the goods of the world. It apparently means that each nation ought to have a share in proportion to its population. For example, the German nation ought to have 4 per cent., the Italians 2 per cent., the Japanese 3 per cent., the Russians 8 per cent., the Chinese 20 per cent., and so on. But do the Germans actually have less than 4 per cent. of the goods of the world? Is it not a fact that both the national wealth and the national income of the German nation far exceed 4 per cent. of the total wealth and the total income of the world population? Though all common sense, logic, all principles of justice, and even the laws of a Divine will demand that all nations have an equal share in the goods of the world, Herr Hitler evidently does not worry about this kind of equality. What he is worrying about is the equality of each nation's share in the *area* of the world.

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But how should this share of the various nations be reckoned? Herr Hitler complains that the United States claims so much living-space that she cannot get along even when there are barely 15 inhabitants to the square kilometre (and, therefore, has acquired areas predominantly inhabited by coloured people such as Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska). But according to the Statistical Year-Book for the German Empire there are in the United States 16.5 inhabitants to the square kilometre. And which are the nations, of which he speaks, with so little 'living-space' that they have to get along at present with 140, 150, or even 200 inhabitants to the square kilometre? There are, to be sure, in Belgium 274 persons to the square kilometre, in Holland 247, in the United Kingdom 195, in Japan 186, in Italy 141. But would Herr Hitler claim that these nations have less living-space than Germany with 135 inhabitants to the square kilometre? Evidently not. He would point to the colonies and other dependencies of these nations as part of their living-space. But in doing so, he would forgo every chance of discovering a single nation which has, as he says, to get along with 140, 150, or even 200 inhabitants to the square kilometre.

But even if living-space is measured by relating the population to the area of the mother country and all dependencies combined, there remains the fact that the shares of the various nations differ enormously. The German Empire (including the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia) comprises hardly 0.5 per cent. of the world area but 4.0 per cent. of the world population. The corresponding shares of Poland are 0.8 and 1.6 per cent., of Japan 1.5 and

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6.4 per cent. Other 'have-nots' are China, Holland, Spain, and Turkey. The British Empire, with 26.0 per cent. of the world area and 24.6 per cent. of the world population, has about its due share and so has the United States. Most other nations, including Italy, are 'haves', i.e. they have more than the average 'living-space'. Although Italy has just suffered a reduction of her 'living-space' by the conquest of Albania (which is more densely settled than the Italian Empire, excluding Albania), it would still seem fairer to enlarge the living-space of the German Empire at the expense of the Italian rather than of the British Empire.

There are, in fact, German experts who consider the German Empire as the only genuine 'have-not' in the world. Professor Obst of the University of Breslau, after having computed that the World Powers with 'grossly inadequate' living-space are 'Japan, the German Empire, and until recently Italy', states:

'After the conquest of Abyssinia Italy herself declared that her appetite was satisfied.' The struggle raging at present in Eastern Asia will probably free Japan from the deficiencies of her living-space. Virtually the sole country left is then Germany who in view of her economic structure (which must be taken for granted) cannot get along without colonies of her own.¹²

¹ Signor Mussolini declared on 5 May 1936 that, with the settlement of the Abyssinian question and the foundation of the Imperium, Italy joined the ranks of the satisfied nations. She has, however, left those ranks since.

² 'Die Lebensräume der Weltvölker', *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jan.-Feb. 1939, p. 2. Professor Obst characterizes as 'excessive' the living-space of the British, the French, the Dutch, the Belgian, the Portuguese, and the Russian Empires, and of Brazil; as 'sufficient or even excessive' the living-space of the United States, as 'more than sufficient' the living-space of the Italian Empire, as

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Area and Population of the Large Countries of the World:

| Countries (including dependencies) | Area | | Population | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--|----------------|
| | in 1,000 sq. km. | per cent. of world area | in millions | per cent. of world popu- lation | per sq. km. |
| Earth | 134,500 | 100.0 | 2,139 | 100.0 | 15.9 |
| German Empire | 635 | 0.5 | 86 | 4.0 | 135.0 |
| Poland | 390 | 0.3 | 35 | 1.6 | 89.3 |
| Japan | 1,984 | 1.5 | 137 | 6.4 | 69.1 |
| China | 10,362 | 7.7 | 437 | 20.4 | 42.2 |
| Holland | 2,081 | 1.5 | 75 | 3.5 | 36.2 |
| Spain | 846 | 0.6 | 25 | 1.2 | 29.5 |
| Turkey | 763 | 0.6 | 16 | 0.8 | 21.6 |
| Egypt | 994 | 0.7 | 16 | 0.8 | 16.0 |
| British Empire | 34,946 | 26.0 | 525 | 24.6 | 15.0 |
| U.S.A. | 9,682 | 7.2 | 145 | 6.8 | 15.0 |
| Italy | 3,823 | 2.8 | 53 | 2.5 | 13.9 |
| Afghanistan | 650 | 0.5 | 7 | 0.4 | 10.8 |
| Mexico | 1,969 | 1.5 | 19 | 0.9 | 9.7 |
| Belgium | 2,422 | 1.8 | 23 | 1.1 | 9.4 |
| Iran | 1,644 | 1.2 | 15 | 0.7 | 9.2 |
| France | 12,370 | 9.2 | 111 | 5.2 | 9.0 |
| Soviet Russia | 21,176 | 15.7 | 171 | 8.0 | 8.1 |
| Colombia | 1,162 | 0.9 | 9 | 0.4 | 8.0 |
| Portugal | 2,174 | 1.6 | 17 | 0.8 | 7.7 |
| Chile | 742 | 0.6 | 5 | 0.2 | 6.2 |
| Peru | 1,249 | 0.9 | 7 | 0.4 | 5.2 |
| Brazil | 8,511 | 6.3 | 42 | 2.0 | 5.0 |
| Saudi Arabia | 1,108 | 0.8 | 5 | 0.2 | 4.7 |
| Argentina | 2,797 | 2.1 | 13 | 0.6 | 4.6 |
| Venezuela | 1,620 | 0.8 | 3 | 0.1 | 3.4 |
| Bolivia | 1,333 | 1.0 | 3 | 0.1 | 2.4 |

'at least sufficient' the living-space of the Spanish Empire, and as 'barely sufficient' the living-space of Poland and China.

¹ See *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1939, p. 34. Since this table was published Germany has seized Bohemia-Moravia and Memel, and Italy has conquered Albania. I have taken account of these events and have furthermore included Manchukuo among the dependencies of Japan. The countries are listed according to population density.

Is Germany Over-Populated?

The German Empire is more densely settled than any other empire in the world. But does this mean that it would be better off if its population were smaller? This is a most puzzling question, and our present knowledge of the optimum population for the various countries is so scanty that no conscientious demographer would feel able to give a conclusive answer to that question. If then the German Government were to contend that their population is too large in relation to the area over which they have control it would be very difficult to disprove the validity of such a claim. But they are far from saying so. The first of the 'Ten Commandments for the Production Battle of the German Peasant', proclaimed on 15 December 1934, states: 'Germany is poor in space, but Germany is rich in population and rich enough in all resources to ensure the feeding of her people from this limited space and to produce industrial raw materials to a considerable extent.' Even in 1934, when several million workers were unemployed, Germany did not consider herself over-populated, but on the contrary thought that both from the *economic and the military standpoint*—and other aspects, such as comfort and cultural amenities, do not count in Nazi Germany—the country was better off with a large than with a small population.

In the meantime rearmament and public works have absorbed practically all the unemployed. In the course of the last five years 700,000 agricultural labourers have migrated from rural districts. Not only agriculture but also industry complains about

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the scarcity of hands. A few weeks before the conquest of Bohemia-Moravia, the German Institute for Business Research wrote:

'Despite the increase in employment which was realized by great efforts in 1938, the general shortage of labour became more acute. If at the beginning of 1938 the uncovered demand for labour was estimated at about 500,000 workers and employees, State-Secretary Syrup estimates the deficit for 1939 at about 1 million.'

One of the first actions of the new administration in the protectorate was to transfer a large number of workers from Bohemia-Moravia to Germany. Immigration is encouraged in every way, emigration (of 'Aryans') is practically forbidden, and male and female emigrants are recalled from other countries. Following the example of Italy, the German Government is also making great efforts to increase fertility.

Italian Population Policy

Seven years before Herr Hitler came into power Signor Mussolini had inaugurated a new population policy for Italy. On 26 May 1927 he said in the Italian Chamber:

'I affirm that the fact which is not fundamental but which conditions the political, and hence the economic and moral power of the nations is their demographic power. Let us speak clearly about that: What are 40,000,000 Italians against 90,000,000 Germans and 200,000,000 Slavs? . . . Italy, if she wants to count for anything, must have at least 60,000,000 inhabitants by the beginning of the second half of this century.'

The Italian theory was: Our country is over-populated. In the past emigration has relieved population pressure, but we need a bigger popula-

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tion within our State boundaries in order to increase our political power in Europe and in the world. We must therefore expand our population and at the same time expand our territory.¹

Italy then restricted emigration and adopted many measures to increase the number of births. She tried to discourage celibacy and childlessness and to encourage the raising of large families, by taxing bachelors and married couples with no or few children; by granting tax reductions and exemptions to workers with at least eight children, and by presenting a medal of honour to all mothers with numerous children; by granting marriage premiums, birth premiums, and family allowances; by giving preference to married men or to women with relatively large families in the allocation of places in the Government services, and in private enterprises, and also in the allocation of cheap houses and flats; and by providing a wide range of services for the protection of mothers and children. Italy also introduced severe laws against birth-control propaganda, deliberate abortion, and any act deliberately producing sterility; she impeded the flow of labour

¹ See, for example, Mario de Vergottini, 'Die Bevölkerungs-politik des Faschismus und ihre Grundlagen', *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik*, Oct. 1938, p. 289: 'Situated in the southern part of Central Europe, with an area small as compared even with that of the other European States, but with a densely settled population lagging behind that of only few European States, with a soil poor in minerals which is but little suited to intensive agricultural exploitation, Italy, in order to preserve her position as a Great European Power and to increase her importance in Europe and in the world, had to aim above all at an increase of her population so as to create through her demographic expansion the basis for the territorial expansion, which is necessary to enable her to maintain within the State the natural population increase which otherwise, as in the past, would have to overflow abroad.'

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from the country to the towns and initiated a movement in the reverse direction. But her efforts to increase fertility were a complete failure. The number of births, which between 1922 and 1925 had declined from 1,176,000 to 1,110,000, has been below 1,100,000 ever since. They averaged 994,000 in 1932-5 and 990,000 in 1936-8. The excess of births over deaths which in 1922 and 1923 amounted to 486,000 and 500,000 respectively, averaged but 409,000 in 1932-5 and 391,000 in 1936-8. The population on 30 April 1939 was 44,105,000,¹ and unless fertility increases again will be below 50,000,000 at the beginning of the second half of this century—including Albania.

German Population Policy

Germany in many respects followed the example of Italy, but in addition granted marriage loans on a very large scale. Events have shown that no other single measure has so affected population trends as this encouragement of marriage. Yet in order rightly to appraise the German population policy it should be realized that the grant of marriage loans was not introduced in the first place with a view to increasing births but rather with a view to reducing the unemployment of men. The device proposed by Herr Reinhardt, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Finance, which came into force in August 1933, consisted in granting loans to working-class and lower middle-class couples provided the women to be married had been employed for at

¹ On 23 March 1919, Signor Mussolini had said: 'In ten or twenty years we shall be 60 millions' (see Benito Mussolini, *La politica demografica*, p. 19, Rome, 1937).

least nine months in the previous two years. The loans, which at the maximum are 1,000 marks, are given in the form of coupons which may be exchanged at shops for certain kinds of household goods—furniture, linen, kitchen utensils, wireless sets, and so forth. No interest is charged, and the couples who borrow the money have to repay it at the rate of 1 per cent. per month. A quarter of the initial loan is cancelled with the birth of each child.

The number of marriage loans granted was at first enormous. In the last quarter of 1933 the assisted marriages far exceeded the unassisted marriages. From August to December 1933 no fewer than 141,559 grants were thus made. In 1934 they numbered 224,619. In the following years the figures were much smaller—136,822 in 1935, 171,460 in 1936, and 183,556 in 1937. The loans were to be discontinued at the end of 1938, after which date repayments were to be used to provide various child-welfare services. Since unemployment had become negligible long before that date,¹ the main purpose of the system had been fulfilled. But the Government had recognized in the meantime that the grant of marriage loans had incidentally been an effective means of increasing births, and in November 1937

¹ The grant of marriage loans in the first years of the régime was a very important factor in reducing the number of unemployed and the expenses for unemployment relief. By the end of March 1936 550,000 loans aggregating 310,000,000 marks had been granted. The reduction in the number of unemployed through the withdrawal of the assisted brides from the labour market and through the increase of workers employed in the household goods industry for the benefit of the assisted couples was then estimated officially to be at least 650,000 and the savings in unemployment relief to be at least 325,000,000 marks a year. (See Kühn, Staemmler, and Burgdörfer, *Erbkunde, Rassenpflege, Bevölkerungspolitik*, 3rd ed., pp. 286-7, Leipzig, 1936.)

cancelled the condition that the bride should forgo employment after her marriage. The number of loans thereupon increased again and amounted to 243,691 in 1938. The total number of marriage loans granted from August 1933 to March 1939 was 1,206,540.¹

German Population Trends

After the monetary inflation the number of marriages had been very low. It amounted to only 446,000 in 1924. It then increased to 597,000 in 1929, but dropped to 517,000 in 1932. It began to rise again in the spring of 1933. (There were 100,000 marriages in June–July 1933 as against 77,000 in June–July 1932.) The increase in marriages was much intensified by the grant of loans starting in August 1933. The total number of marriages was 639,000 in 1933 and 740,000 in 1934. Since, however, the granting of loans led not only to the conclusion of marriages which had been postponed but also evidently induced many couples to marry earlier than they would otherwise have done, the stock of marriageable people was reduced, and the number of marriages began to decline in the latter part of 1935. The total number of marriages was 651,000 in 1935 and 610,000, 620,000, and 644,000 respectively in 1936, 1937, and 1938.

The yearly number of births,² which at the beginning of this century amounted to 1,800,000, had decreased by 1922 to 1,425,000 and dropped to 971,000 in 1933. It then increased to 1,198,000 in

¹ Italy introduced marriage loans in 1937, but granted from 1 July 1937 to 31 Dec. 1938 not more than 61,588 loans aggregating 102,473,000 lire (£1,150,000).

² Present territory, excluding Austria and Sudetenland.

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1934, averaged 1,273,000 in 1935-7, and rose to 1,347,000 in 1938. The fertility of a population is best measured by what is called the gross reproduction rate. This shows the average number of girls born to a woman who lives through the child-bearing age. In Germany the gross reproduction rate decreased from 2.1 in 1901-10 to 1.1 in 1924-6 and to 0.8 in 1933. It rose again to 1.1 in 1938. The increase in recent years was due in part, of course, to the increase in marriages. But there cannot be the least doubt that there has been a genuine rise in fertility. Thus the German Government has been successful in an attempt which so far has failed whenever and wherever other governments tried to reach the same goal. Yet, in spite of the great increase in marriages, the gross reproduction rate of Germany was in 1938 only about as high as in Denmark and much lower than in Holland. Although the total number of married women has increased between June 1933 and January 1939 from 14,498,000 to 16,061,000 or by 10.8 per cent., the number of married women who have borne more than three children has decreased from 3,577,000 to 3,420,000 or by 4.4 per cent. On the other hand, birth control with a view to remaining childless seems to be practised more successfully than ever. Of the 1,338,394 women who had married in 1933 or 1934 as many as 569,088, or 43 per cent., had not a single live or still-born child to their present marriage by 31 December 1936. The effect of the Government's population policy upon fertility has not been negligible, to be sure, but it has not been far-reaching.

Mortality developed favourably until 1934 but

has not improved since, and as the proportion of infants and of old people became larger, the number of deaths increased. The yearly excess of births over deaths, therefore, was smaller than might have been expected from the increase in the number of births. It averaged 478,000 in 1934-7 and amounted to 546,000 in 1938, as against 233,000 in 1933, 528,000 in 1924-6, and 773,000 in 1901-10. The net reproduction rate, which shows (on the basis of current fertility and mortality) the average number of future mothers born to a mother of the period under consideration, had been 1.5 in 1901-10. According to the official German statistics it was in 1926-38: 0.98, 0.91, 0.91, 0.88, 0.83, 0.75, 0.71, 0.71, 0.84, 0.89, 0.904, 0.904, and 0.945 respectively. In Austria the net reproduction rate is much lower. For the present territory of Germany (including Austria and Sudetenland) the net reproduction rate of 1938 was 0.910.

In German propaganda for extending the living-space the fact that the net reproduction rate is below unity is, of course, entirely ignored. Thus on 19 May 1939 Herr Goebbels said: 'It is a pity that the Western Powers conduct an ostrich policy in the matter of colonies. Do they think that fifty years hence, when the 80,000,000 Germans will be 130,000,000, the earth can remain distributed as at present?' But what are the facts? The German Statistical Office recently published an article, 'The probable population development in the German Empire',¹ in which they computed what would be the population of Germany (including Austria, but excluding the Sudetenland) if there

¹ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1938, pp. 971-5.

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were to be no immigration and no emigration, and if the following assumptions were to be fulfilled as to fertility, nuptiality, and mortality in Germany proper (i.e. excluding Austria):

the specific age fertility rates both of married and unmarried women to be constantly the same as they were in 1936;

nuptiality to increase to such an extent as to raise the net reproduction rate by 2.3 per cent.;

infant mortality, which in 1936 was 66 per 1,000 live-born, to decrease to 40 per 1,000;

mortality over 1 year to remain the same as in 1932-4.

For Austria, where the net reproduction rate (in 1935) was only 0.64, it was assumed that fertility and mortality would adapt themselves to the conditions in Germany.

Probable Population of Germany, including Austria, 1 January 1939-2000 (in thousands)

| <i>Years of age</i> | <i>1939</i> | <i>1950</i> | <i>1960</i> | <i>1970</i> | <i>1980</i> | <i>1990</i> | <i>2000</i> |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 0-15 . | 17,346 | 18,229 | 17,122 | 17,136 | 17,117 | 16,565 | 16,440 |
| 15-45 . | 35,903 | 34,185 | 32,700 | 33,186 | 33,344 | 32,555 | 32,158 |
| 45-65 . | 16,139 | 19,147 | 21,988 | 20,077 | 17,886 | 19,020 | 19,101 |
| 65 and over | 5,952 | 7,498 | 8,420 | 10,136 | 11,320 | 9,992 | 9,332 |
| Total | 75,340 | 79,059 | 80,230 | 80,535 | 79,667 | 78,132 | 77,031 |

The assumptions for this computation then were much more favourable than if it had been assumed that fertility and mortality would remain the same as in 1936. Yet, the conclusion was that the total population would increase from 75,340,000 in 1939 to 80,535,000 in 1970 and would thereafter decline

gradually. By the year 2000 it would have fallen to 77,031,000. At the same time the proportion of old people would increase enormously. The number of people between 15 and 45 would increase from 35,903,000 in 1939 to 36,112,000 in 1941, when it would begin to decline. It would have dropped by 1950 to 34,185,000 and by 2000 to 32,158,000. The impending decrease in these age-groups, which from an economic and military standpoint are the most important, is unavoidable, and the Statistical Office insists on the necessity of increasing fertility by at least another 20 per cent. in order to ensure a fresh increase of those between 15 and 45 from the 1960's on.¹

Living-space and Territorial Expansion

Before the conquest of Abyssinia and Albania the Italian Empire comprised 2.0 per cent. of the world area and 2.2 per cent. of the world population. It now comprises 2.8 per cent. of the world area and 2.5 per cent. of the world population. Population density has decreased from 17.1 to 13.9 inhabitants per square kilometre, and the Government does its best to promote emigration from the densely settled mother country to the sparsely settled African colonies.

Germany's position is quite different. Through the annexation of Austria, Sudetenland, and Memel and through the proclamation of a protectorate over Bohemia-Moravia, Germany has increased her living-space from 470,544 to 635,074 square kilometres but has reduced her population density merely from 145 to 135 persons per square kilo-

¹ See *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1939, p. 250.

metre. With the seizure of Hungary and Slovakia her living-space would rise to 777,000 square kilometres and her population density would decrease to 126. Even the return of her colonies (now under mandate) would not change the situation essentially. Her living-space would increase to 3,455,000 square kilometres and her population density would fall to 33. Her share in the world area would still be only 2.6 per cent., while her share in the world population would be 5.3 per cent. She would still be the only 'have-not' amongst the great European Powers. There is, moreover, not the least doubt that the German Empire's share in the total wealth and the total income of the world population would not increase in the same proportion as its share in the world population.

Nor is it to be assumed that the population density in Germany proper would be reduced if the living-space of the German Empire were thus raised from 635,000 to 3,455,000 square kilometres. The argument that the 'surplus population' of Germany would be sent to newly acquired territories in the East or overseas no longer plays a part in German propaganda. Germany is no longer 'overcrowded'; she does not seek an outlet for her population; she recruits labourers from her new territories, and restricts emigration.

Colonies and Tropical Products

There was a time when Herr Hitler visualized an extension of Germany's living-space exclusively in Europe. 'It is not to colonial acquisition that we must look for a solution of this question but exclusively to the winning of territory for settlement

which will increase the area of the motherland.'¹ But immediately after his advent to power he was reported to have announced that 'as for our colonies overseas, we have certainly not renounced our colonial aspirations; there is a large quantity of products which Germany must get from the tropics, and we need colonies just as badly as any other Power'. This demand at first was not taken seriously in England, and though he reiterated it over and over again many British people continued to believe that Herr Hitler had not, in fact, changed his earlier views, and that his real object in pressing the colonial claim was to create a bargaining counter with which to secure a free hand in Eastern Europe. To-day, however, there cannot be the least doubt that even if his wildest dreams of conquest in the East could be fulfilled, Herr Hitler would still consider Germany's living-space inadequate as long as her colonial aspirations were not realized.²

The principal economic argument for the return

¹ *Mein Kampf*, 213th to 217th edition, p. 741 (Munich, 1936). See also *ibid.*, p. 706: 'Our Jewish press always knew how to concentrate hatred against England particularly, and many a good German smgleton eagerly crawled into the snare set by the Jew, chattered about the "resurrection" of German sea power, protested against the theft of our colonies, recommended their reconquest, and thus helped to provide material which the Jewish scamp could then turn over to his clansmen in England for practical propaganda purposes.' Yet the third article of the Twenty-five-point Programme issued by the National-Socialist Party on 25 Feb. 1920 ran as follows: 'We demand land and soil (colonies) for feeding our people and for settling our surplus population.'

² Germany would still consider herself a 'have-not', if not only Hungary and Slovakia but also the Baltic States, Poland, Rumania, and the Ukraine were added to her living-space. Her share in the world area would then be 1.5 per cent and her share in the world population 8.8 per cent. Her population density would be 91 per square kilometre.

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of her former colonies still is that Germany would then have the much-needed access to tropical products. The reply, that the mandates system ensures to Germany economic equality with the mandatory Powers, is rejected by the German Government, who point out that this economic equality exists only on paper, and that even if it were actually put into effect Germany would still find it impossible to secure the foreign exchange with which to pay for those products. Moreover, they say, the German firms in those territories would still be prevented from using the most efficient German methods in the management of their enterprises. As Herr Hitler claimed in his speech to the Reichstag on 20 February 1938: 'There exists no recipe in world economics which can offer a full substitute for the possibility of an intensive economic exploitation within a territory having the same currency.' Let us first see whether there is not perhaps after all a mandated Territory in which the problem of paying goods and services with marks has been solved.

The Germans in British Cameroons

From 1916 to 1924 there was not a single German in the Cameroons under British mandate. In November 1924 the former German plantations were put up for sale by public auction in London. Most of the buyers were the former German owners. They entered into possession in March 1925. By the end of 1937 the white men in the Territory numbered 281, of whom 176 were German and 61 British, while 44 belonged to other nationalities. The Germans are mostly employees of the plantation companies, the British are

mostly Government officials, the others are largely missionaries.

The bulk of the exported goods is produced on German plantations and most of it goes on German ships to Germany. In 1937 the total value of the exports from the Territory was £526,554, of which £419,946 went to Germany, £38,041 to Holland, £33,700 to the United Kingdom, £30,429 to French Cameroons, and £4,438 to other countries. The exports to Germany from the Territory now under British mandate are greater than before the World War when this area was a German Protectorate.

The Germans will say: it may be true that we have access to the raw materials produced in British Cameroons, but we must pay for them in sterling while formerly we could pay in marks. Yet, though sterling, of course, is the legal tender in British Cameroons, the German plantation companies can carry on their business with hardly any sterling at all. Mr. Patrick Balfour, speaking of the manager of the Ekona plantation, described the situation as follows: ‘He is paid in marks, and is therefore obliged to spend most of his money in Germany. The ships which bring German machinery for the plantations bring also German goods for the planters.’¹ Even the native labourers receive their wages only in part in English money. When the Cameroons was under German administration the truck system was forbidden, but to-day it is an almost universal practice of the plantation companies to pay a considerable portion of the wages due to their labourers in credit notes on their own stores.

¹ *Lords of the Equator*, p. 124 (London, 1937).

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Since nearly all the business is in German hands, since the German firms buy their equipment in Germany, and since their employees and labourers have to spend a considerable part of their income on German goods, the share of Germany in the imports of British Cameroons is very large. In 1937 out of a total of £328,943 imports £156,771 came from Germany, £52,782 from Japan, £39,210 from the United Kingdom, £24,712 from the Dominions and British possessions, and £55,468 from other countries. General Ritter von Epp, the leader of the Reich Colonial League, stated recently:

'Germany demands full equality in colonial rights; this implies that after having recovered her colonies she will again occupy in the trade with these colonies the position from which the mandatory Powers have driven her. She must have again the natural predominance in exports and imports which falls everywhere to the State having the sovereignty over the territory. France's share in the imports of Morocco, for example, amounts to 43·7 per cent., Great Britain's share in the imports of Nigeria to 55·2 per cent., Belgium's share in the imports of the Congo to 43·4 per cent.'

And in British Cameroons? Germany's share in the imports of that Territory amounts to 47·7 per cent.

Germany's foreign-trade position, to be sure, is less favourable as regards her other former colonies. But the example of the British Cameroons proves beyond any doubt that Germany, in at least one important case, has gained full access to the products of a tropical area under foreign mandate

¹ 'Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Kolonien', *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jan.-Feb. 1939, p. 35.

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without any essential sacrifice in foreign exchange, and that there she is also the leading importer.

Economic Potentialities of the Former German Colonies

Let us now assume that all exports from all former German colonies went to Germany. Herr Pasemann has just published an interesting table confronting for 1936 these exports with the total imports of the same goods into Germany:¹

| <i>Raw materials</i> | <i>Total German imports (in metric tons)</i> | <i>Total exports from former German colonies</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> |
|----------------------|--|--|------------------|
| Bananas . . . | 125,712 | 72,363 | 57·0 |
| Butter . . . | 75,407 | 3,207 | 4·2 |
| Cotton . . . | 325,025 | 13,040 | 4·0 |
| Groundnuts . . | 313,814 | 37,545 | 12·0 |
| Coffee . . . | 155,409 | 15,286 | 9·8 |
| Cocoa . . . | 76,596 | 49,064 | 64·0 |
| Kapok . . . | 2,047 | 230 | 11·0 |
| Copra . . . | 210,931 | 106,257 | 51·0 |
| Palm-kernels . . | 374,256 | 67,516 | 18·0 |
| Palm-oil . . . | 47,480 | 15,219 | 32·0 |
| Rice . . . | 172,597 | 6,617 | 3·8 |
| Cane sugar . . . | 7,841 | 33,785 | 430·0 |
| Sisal . . . | 31,396 | 81,900 | 260·0 |
| Phosphates . . | 741,000 | 549,600 | 74·0 |
| Hides and skins . | 136,903 | 6,782 | 4·9 |
| Rubber . . . | 82,672 | 1,840 | 2·2 |
| Timber and wood . | 2,576,226 | 35,114 | 1·3 |
| Vanadium ores . . | 7,890 | 5,346 | 67·8 |
| Copper ores . . . | 400,500 | 4,900 | 1·2 |
| Gold (ounces) . . | .. | 390,000 | .. |
| Diamonds (carats) . | .. | 187,600 | .. |

In order rightly to appraise the purport of these figures, three facts should be borne in mind:

¹ See ‘Das deutsche Kolonialproblem in Zahlen’, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jan.-Feb. 1939, p. 159.

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1. The table represents nothing like an exhaustive list of the raw materials and foodstuffs which Germany has to import from abroad, and most goods for which the Territories under mandate could supply all or a considerable part of Germany's requirements are to all intents irrelevant.
2. The table includes the exports from the Territories under Japanese Mandate, return of which Germany does not demand.
3. Germany has already a notable share in the exports of her former colonies (without needing foreign exchange in every case), and even if she should recover the sovereignty over those areas, some of the exports would have to go to other countries.

Moreover, the value of the total exports from the former German colonies amounts to only 4 or 5 per cent. of the value of the now very restricted total imports into Germany.

This argument, however, does not impress the German colonial propagandists. General von Epp says:

'On the basis of exact knowledge experts have computed by means of a very careful calculation that with intensive economic exploitation an export increase from 10 to 30 million gold pounds—that is 600 million marks—is certainly attainable in the course of 8 or 10 years.'¹

¹ In 1937 the total exports from the colonies (including Mandated Territories) to the mother country were (in million marks): France 1,042, Holland 206, Belgium 158, Italy 46, Portugal 29, Spain 27 (see *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1938, p. 148*). The corresponding figure for the United Kingdom is approximately 900. General von Epp thus assumes that the imports from those German colonies into Germany would be three times as large as the imports from the Dutch colonies into Holland.

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Germany would thus, within a very short time, satisfy about 15 per cent. of her import requirements from her colonies.¹

Herr Pasemann evidently referred to the same calculations when he said:

'According to expert examination and opinion the German colonies could furnish to the German economy:

1. **German New Guinea, German East Africa, and the Cameroons**—almost one-half of the gold needed for industrial purposes.
2. **German East Africa and the Cameroons**—about one-eighth of the tin requirements.
3. **German South-West Africa**—one quarter of the lead consumption and at least one-seventh of the necessary copper consumption.
4. **German South-West Africa**—more vanadium than is needed.
5. **German East Africa**—the total amount of mica needed.
6. **Nauru**—all the phosphates needed by agriculture.
7. **German South-West Africa and German East Africa**—diamonds in quantities more than enough to satisfy the needs of the German precious stone cutting industry and the jewellery industry.
8. **Togo**—could probably furnish the largest part of the iron ores which we lack.'

Even this list is not particularly impressive—with the exception of the last item. Germany imported in 1938 22 million tons of iron ore. Could the largest part of that be furnished by Togoland? There is, to be sure, iron ore in Togoland. The most recent report for the Territory under British

¹ The percentages for other countries (1937) are: France 24, Portugal 11, Holland 10, United Kingdom 7, Spain 4, Italy 3.

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Mandate states: 'Large deposits of haematite (iron ore) occur in the hills along the frontier, south-east of Yendi, but owing to their great distance from the coast they are not of commercial importance.' But they may well become 'of commercial importance' once the 'intensive economic exploitation' advocated by Herr Hitler and General von Epp is introduced in Togoland. Mr. Patrick Balfour relates that the manager of one plantation in the Cameroons, 'the young leader of the local Nazis', told him: 'Certainly the native prefers your administration to ours, because you do not make him work. We should make him work.' Why does this Nazi planter not 'make him work'? Because the British administration, which otherwise interferes very little with the plantations management,¹ insists on one point: all labour must be voluntary. But forced labour exists in Nazi Germany and would be introduced in the former German protectorates in Africa if they were to be returned to Germany. To exploit the mines of Togoland so as to furnish the largest part of the iron ores which Germany lacks would require tens of thousands of native miners and a still larger number of carriers and labourers for road and railway construction. Togoland, of course, could provide only a fraction of the necessary hands. The bulk would have to be recruited from other German protectorates in Africa just as tens of thousands of labourers needed in Germany are now recruited from the protectorate

¹ The administration tolerates not only the credit notes system of the company stores but condones also the insufficient medical care and the inadequate sanitary and housing conditions on the plantations.

of Bohemia-Moravia. It is no exaggeration to say that with the introduction of 'intensive economic exploitation' in the former German colonies the death-rate of the natives working for Europeans would again rise to the atrocious level it held under the German régime, and that the number of natives affected would be many times larger than it was before the War.

There remains, moreover, one incontrovertible fact. Even if all the expectations of General von Epp and Herr Pasemann were fulfilled, Germany would obtain only a small proportion of her imports from her former colonies. The supply of foodstuffs, for example, would be negligible.

Colonies and Foodstuffs

To become self-sufficient in foodstuffs is one of the principal aims of the present German Government. They have made in particular great efforts to increase the agricultural acreage. These efforts, however, have so far proved ineffective. The German Institute for Business Research (23 May 1939) described the situation as follows:

'The struggle for an expansion of the German food-stuff productive capacity has entered on a new and decisive stage since the assumption of power by the present German government. All efforts are being made to make a greater acreage available and to secure from the present acreage the greatest possible yield.

'Since 1933 the agricultural acreage has been increased by reclamation in various forms and the yield has been increased, too. Of course, by the construction of roads, industrial buildings, and settlements as well as by the use of land for military purposes considerable stretches of land have been withdrawn from agricultural production,

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so that despite all the above-mentioned efforts the net result has been rather a loss than a gain.'

But the Institute has also published (9 Feb. 1939) a table showing the degree of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs of the various countries of the world:

| <i>Country</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> | <i>Country</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> | <i>Country</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Great Britain | 25 | U.S.A. | 91 | Denmark | 103 |
| Norway | 43 | Chile | 93 | Poland | 105 |
| Switzerland | 47 | Portugal | 94 | Yugoslavia | 106 |
| Belgium | 51 | Italy | 95 | Latvia | 106 |
| Holland | 67 | Japan | 95 | Bulgaria | 109 |
| Eire | 73 | Brazil | 96 | Lithuania | 110 |
| Austria | 75 | Spain | 99 | Rumania | 110 |
| Finland | 78 | Czechoslov | 100 | Hungary | 121 |
| Greece | 80 | Brit. India | 100 | New Zealand | 173 |
| Germany ¹ | 83 | China | 100 | Canada | 192 |
| France | 83 | U.S.S.R. | 101 | Australia | 214 |
| Sweden | 91 | Estonia | 102 | Argentina | 264 |

It appears that for Germany the degree of self-sufficiency amounted to 83 per cent., while (net) imports provided 17 per cent. of all the nutrition calories consumed. In Australia the degree of self-sufficiency was 214 per cent., so that net exports exceeded home consumption. But many countries have a lower degree of self-sufficiency than Germany, and most of these less favoured countries have no colonies at all or have colonies which export hardly any foodstuffs. It seems, however, that Germany insists on supplying her deficiencies in food and fodder from colonies of her own. Professor Obst says:

'We have done all that is humanly possible towards the intensification of our agriculture, and with regard to the yield per hectare we are leading in nearly all products.

¹ Territory of 1937.

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To attain more is absolutely impossible. If in spite of all efforts we cannot produce in sufficient quantities within the German space the products necessary for feeding man and beast, this only proves that the boundaries of our living-space are too narrow. We need most urgently colonies which can provide us with grain and fodder, meat, butter, cheese, and so forth and thereby relieve domestic agriculture.'

This, of course, would imply the acquisition of still other than the former German colonies. Herr Hitler, to be sure, said repeatedly, and again in his Reichstag speech of 30 January 1939, that 'Germany has no other territorial demands against England and France than the retrocession of our colonies', but he also said in the same speech—six weeks before the conquest of Bohemia-Moravia—that 'all the assertions about aggressive intentions of our people against foreign peoples are lies originating either in morbid hysteria or the personal craving for self-preservation of certain individual politicians'. Moreover, this speech, and still more so his Reichstag speech of 28 April, contain unmistakable statements about the necessity of redistributing the riches of the earth.¹

¹ General von Epp in his article in the Jan.-Feb. number of the *Zeitschrift für Politik* declared categorically that Germany did not claim any other than her former colonies. But this article was written before Herr Hitler's speech of 30 January, and a few days later—long before that article was published—General von Epp said in a speech at Würzburg: 'The Führer has told the world that we claim a share in the division of the riches of this earth. We demand the abolition of the ridiculous guardianship over our overseas property. But, *over and above this*, we demand, as one of the leading civilized nations of the world, our share in a coming planned distribution of world space, which is necessary for the future of a nation of 80,000,000 people.' (Quoted from L. S. Amery, *The German Colonial Claim*, p. 127, London, 1939.)

Conclusion

Through the Treaty of Versailles the German area in Europe was reduced by 70,000 square kilometres. The former German colonies now under mandate cover 2,678,000 square kilometres. During 1938-9 Germany conquered or absorbed 165,000 square kilometres in Europe. There is no doubt—and the German Government would be the last to deny it—that from an economic standpoint Germany's living-space is more valuable now without colonies than it was before the War with colonies. She does not want colonies to relieve population pressure in the mother country; she complains rather about the lack of hands at home and uses every means to increase their number. The degree of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is much higher in Germany than in many other countries without colonies, and her former colonies certainly would not be in a position to provide her with foodstuffs. As to raw materials, those colonies could supply her only with a negligible fraction of her requirements unless forced labour were introduced on a gigantic scale. Germany proclaimed a 'Protectorate' over Bohemia-Moravia for military reasons and in order to exploit this country at the cost of the 'natives'. It is for the same reason that she demands the return of her former protectorates overseas. Even if she recovered the sovereignty over those territories, and even if she conquered in Central and Eastern Europe an area five times as large as her present area, her 'living-space', as she defines it, would still be grossly inadequate.