The Queen Looks at the Future

Important Statements of H.M. Queen Wilhelmina on War and Peace Aims

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden

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First Preparations
Excerpt from Radio Address by H.M. Queen Wilhelmina on July 30, 1941

Upon return to our country the present Cabinet intends to tender its resignation so as to enable me to appoint new Ministers of the Crown.

In addition to a strong, purposeful conduct of the State, the main task of this newly created Netherlands Government will be to effect an energetic and efficient general reconstruction pertaining to all spheres of political and social life.

The government will also have to undertake, without delay, a revision of the Constitution, with a view to bringing about changes in the Netherlands proper as well as in the relations between the constituent parts of the Kingdom as a whole.

A committee consisting of representatives from all parts of the Kingdom will be convoked in order to partake in the preparation of this reconstruction of the Realm.
Putting teeth into the Atlantic Charter

Statement by Foreign Minister E.N. van Kleffens at the Interallied Assembly held in St. James Palace, London, on September 24, 1941, demanding that removal of trade barriers stipulated in point four of the Atlantic Charter be carried through regardless of national sacrifices.

‘On behalf of the Netherlands Government I am happy to express adhesion to the declaration of principles which seems destined to be known in history as the Atlantic Charter.

We give our adhesion because it is our conviction that the principles underlying the charter, if properly applied, will go far to advance that better international order which is to bring to all countries international and national security and prosperity. We thank the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for having taken this auspicious initiative.

I should like to add a statement, asking that it be put on record, on one specific point; the fourth of the joint British-American declaration, which says that the United States and the United Kingdom ‘will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.’

The words ‘with due respect for their existing obligations’ appear to be in the nature of a reservation, and in their strictly legal sense these words seem natural enough. But it seems to us equally natural that, if the object expressed in this fourth point of the declaration is to be achieved, such existing obligations should not be perpetuated, even as exceptions, when it is clear that their continued operation would seriously impair or diminish the beneficial effect which is to accrue to all from the application of the general rule. In our present world, which is only the morrow of yesterday's world with its nefarious autarchic tendencies, the very opposite of the spirit expressed in the Atlantic charter, we shall all have to do away, to some considerable extent, with measures designed to protect existing economic units. This will mean sacrifices for all, though these sacrifices will be worth the price if, as we confidently anticipate, greater national and international stability and greater prosperity is the result. Since in the economic field protection engenders protection, there should not be left in being, in our opinion, important exceptions to the general rule of free access to trade and raw materials on the basis of equal opportunities for all. Otherwise this fine principle, to which the Netherlands who has always stood for freedom of commerce professes full adhesion, would degenerate into a fine phrase. It does not seem to us out of place to state this explicitly: at the end of the last war, the same principle found solemn expression in almost identical terms, and we
all know what became of it when the snowball of protection was set rolling until it became so large that it was a serious obstacle in the path of international trade.

My Government therefore takes the reservation in point four to mean that, just as no existing obligation is invalidated by that point ipso facto, so no such obligation is thereby to be perpetuated. Further I should like to place on record the view of my Government that the highly important aims enunciated in point four of the declaration cannot be attained if considerable exceptions thereto are left in being. For that reason we express the earnest hope that, desirous as we are to see trade barriers removed and discriminatory treatment in international commerce abolished, a serious common effort be made to that end for the ultimate benefit of all.'

The Netherlands Government is a signatory to the following international declarations:

1. The Atlantic Charter of August 15, 1941.

2. The Resolution of eleven Allied countries of September 24, 1941 pledging cooperation in the preparation and distribution of relief supplies for occupied Europe.

3. The Resolution of nine Allied countries signed in London on January 23, 1942 pledging the prosecution and punishment of war criminals.

4. The Resolution of twelve Allied countries signed in London in December 1942 pledging punishment of those responsible for the slaughter and persecution of the Jewish people.
Reconstruction by the People and for the People

Statement of the Netherlands Government of January 27th, 1942

announcing the calling of a postwar reconstruction conference composed of representatives from all parts of the Kingdom.

‘The present political structure of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as well as the relations between the Motherland and her Overseas Territories are based on the Constitution of 1922 and the Constitutions of the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçø built thereon.

Since 1922 the spiritual and material development of these Overseas Territories, especially the Netherlands Indies, has been unusually rapid. In consequence, the thoughts of the Motherland and the Indies, in and outside their representative bodies, during the latter years have been especially focused on constitutional measures for a greater emancipation within the Empire of these Overseas Territories.

The excellent attitude and spiritual energy that these parts displayed under the leadership of their Governors and notwithstanding the rupture of their ties with the Motherland, proofs given in these times of their ability to stand on their own legs, have stimulated the processes of spiritual and political emancipation in ever growing groups of overseas populations.

In order to direct these deserving aspirations, aiming at the improvement of relationships between Netherlands territories in accordance with gradually grown circumstances, Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina announced in a radio speech on May 10, 1941 that an Imperial Conference would be convened after the war.

The Crown now has made its decision in regard to calling this post-war conference in order to prepare the way for carrying through political reforms. The conference will be composed of prominent persons from all the four Netherlands territories who will be expected to represent various spiritual movements in these parts.

Participation will be as follows: from the Netherlands, 15 members; Netherlands Indies, 15 members; and Surinam and Curaçø each three. Of the 15 members from the Netherlands Indies, 10 will be appointed by the Government of the Netherlands Indies on recommendation of the People's Council and five by the Government of the Netherlands Indies independently. Members from Surinam and Curaçø will be appointed by the Governor, two on recommendation of the States and one of the Government.

Appointment of the members for the East Indies and West Indies will be made now in order to enable the appointees to study and prepare their subject freely and thoroughly. The Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies and

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the Governors of Surinam and Curaçao have been asked to publish the Queen's decision with all possible speed and to appoint deputies for their territories.

The conference's task will be of an advisory nature and the conference itself will be in the nature of a round-table discussion which will consider all wishes and opinions in regard to the position of the various territories within the structure of the Empire and will make recommendations on the basis of these discussions.'
Problems of War and Peace

H.M. Queen Wilhelmina's address to the Herald Tribune Forum as read by Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, Minister for the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçao, on November 17th, 1942.

Unable as I am, to my regret, to be present at this Forum, I am the more glad to have this opportunity of saying to you, through the medium of our Minister of Overseas Territories, certain things which I have in mind.

I believe that there is general agreement on the need of the United Nations being ready for the moment when hostilities cease. It is quite true, of course, that first the war has to be won and that the best brains and stoutest hearts devote themselves to that primary task. Without final victory planning for peace is useless, worse than useless, because it is apt to create the fatal illusion that winning the war will take care of itself—which it obviously will not.

But without forgetting that for a single moment, we also have to remember that if we do not thrust our mind and our will in time on the problems of peace, those problems will suddenly thrust themselves on us. Chaos would be the result and the beaten enemy would not be slow in taking advantage of it. I believe that this is more and more being realized and that governments and peoples generally are acting accordingly.

It would not be enough if only the governments took these important matters in hand. A well-informed public opinion is indispensable. The free press has a most important duty in this respect. We see here the merit and advantage that the truly democratic countries have over our enemies. We have the benefit of the inter-stimulation between the authorities and people, resulting in real, voluntary support for government action. They have to be content with decisions molded by a few. Consequently there is every chance, as soon as things go wrong, that the people will disassociate themselves from their supposedly omniscient leaders.

It seems to me worth while summarizing briefly what consensus there exists between and among the United Nations on matters of peace and what are the chief problems that will have to be dealt with.

The Axis countries want to destroy human liberty for individual persons as well as for individual nations. Their aim is retrograde in the sense that they want to bring back the old, old form of domination which our ancestors successfully toiled to eliminate-tyranny.

We, on the other hand, want to uphold human liberty and establish a happy balance between the rights and duties of the individual and those of the community. Within each state we want to safeguard the citizen from undue interference by the authorities and, conversely, we want to enable the authorities to

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fulfill their task, too, caused by the excessive assertion of individual rights. And in the family of nations we want to pursue the same ideal.

Our aim, in a word, is the golden mean between private rights and the needs of the community. That is the very opposite of the retrograde—it is a perpetual process of adjustment as new conditions arise, a forward, progressive movement.

Nowhere had this deep conviction of us all been more strikingly applied than in the Netherlands Indies since the beginning of the century. In that island community old government forms had become obsolete. A happy parallelism existed between the aspirations of the native intelligentsia and my compatriots from Holland. Both wanted progressive emancipation of the gifted races living there. It is for that reason that, despite the inertia of tradition, which is so strong in the masses of the east, and despite also the very great ethnographic, linguistic and many other diversities and difficulties, a bi-political unit is being gradually formed there on a basis of cooperation between the Asiatic element and the European element from Holland, under the voluntarily-accepted aegis of the Netherlands Kingdom, of which the Indies are not colonies but a component part—just as the Netherlands in Europe. This process is, as you know, being continued. No opportunity for advancing it is allowed to slip by.

Specific aims were set for the United Nations when your President formulated the Four Freedoms which we seek to attain—Freedom of speech, Freedom of expression, Freedom of worship and Freedom from fear and want. We could all the more readily associate ourselves with these aims since, as I said in my address to Congress last summer, the Netherlands people had long approached—and to a large extent attained—the realization of these Four Freedoms. Nothing illustrates better the retrograde trend of the Axis policies than the fact that the German and Japanese occupation of Netherlands territory meant the end, for the time being, of each and all of the Four Freedoms on our soil.

Further amplification was given to our stated common purpose by the adoption of the Atlantic Charter by all the United Nations. I do not need to recall to your minds the tenets of that charter, which has its place in perpetuity, in the history of personal and national rights and duties. It will be its application which will matter as much as its enunciation and acceptance. Not all of its clauses are equally clear. When it is interpreted in terms of practical measures it will be important to remember that it is an instrument for good. With that touchstone we should never go far wrong.

So far for our fundamental convictions and aims.

I should like to add a few words on our chief peace problems. It seems to me that they are twofold. On the one hand measures will have to be taken in each country to bring it back on a peace footing. The demobilization of the Armed Forces will raise many difficulties, especially in the social sphere. The same holds good in the economic field when it comes to readapting industry for peace needs and reviving commerce. In the occupied countries, where so much has been ravaged, pillaged, stolen and destroyed, the difficulties will be very great. International help will be indispensable.
to rescue those sorely-tried peoples. But many more of these problems will have to be dealt with nationally, and I can say no more about them for that reason.
On the other hand there are many problems which can only be dealt with on international lines. How are we to rebuild the world? How are we to assure international security? How are we to direct international trade? Much thought is being given to these problems in the press and by private agencies, as well as by governments.

You will, on this occasion, not expect many concrete suggestions. There are still too many unknown elements which only time will reveal as being pertinent and relevant. But I should like to point out what to me seems to be a danger. I hear much about machinery which will have to be set up to ensure international security, to regulate exchanges, to direct the flow of goods and to raise the living standard throughout the world, especially in the countries hitherto less favored in that respect. But it seems to me that another problem, so far left very much in the dark, is at least as important and probably even more important. The problem is—what is going to be done with the beaten enemies? What with Germany? What with Japan? What with Italy and the lesser states aiding the Axis? If wise measures are not taken in this respect, the best edifice for international security and trade will be of little or no avail.

The thirst for revenge will be great and understandable. Let us not, however, allow revenge to be our guiding motive. Revenge is barren, except in that it breeds revenge. Let justice be our aim, justice and firmness tempered by wisdom.

Impracticable or exorbitant measures are just as bad as no measures at all. That has not always been remembered. Let us not lose sight of it again. We must be just, firm, realistic and far-sighted. The future of those who come after us is at stake, and for that future we are to a large extent responsible.

The Netherlands Kingdom is situated in Europe, Asia and along the shore of the Caribbean. Our interests are bound up with the interests of other peaceful nations in those vast areas. Our rights there have their necessary corollaries in duties—duties to contribute as much as we can to the security of those regions and let them participate in the economic life of the world at large, to which their natural resources can make an indispensable contribution. You will, therefore, always find the Netherlands on the side of those who are willing to make a genuine contribution towards international safety from aggression, towards the freest possible flow of commerce, as a free and independent state imbued with a sincere spirit of cooperation. We hope that we may count upon the same spirit in the other nations.

Twice in a lifetime we have seen that international peace and prosperity are indivisible. Twice the lack of preparedness has made the waters rise to our very lips. Unless we are prepared to face realities the same waters might well engulf us if they are allowed to rise a third time. For you and for us, as well as for everybody, international cooperation is the only salvation—not only in this war but after it. Every person who shares this conviction must, I think, see to it that it prevails. Let us all, Americans and Dutch, work and strive to that end.
Towards a Netherlands Commonwealth

Text of H.M. Queen Wilhelmina’s radio address of December 6th, 1942, outlining plans for the creation of a Commonwealth of the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam and Curaçao.

Today it is a year ago that the Japanese, without previous declaration of war, launched their treacherous attack on our Allies. At that time we did not hesitate for a moment to throw ourselves into the struggle and to hasten to the aid of our Allies, whose cause is ours.

Japan had been preparing for this war and for the conquest of the Netherlands Indies for years and in so doing sought to follow the conduct of its Axis partners in attacking one country after another. This plan we were able to prevent, thanks to our immediate declaration of war. After a year of war we can bear witness that the tide is turning and that the attacker, who had such great advantages, is being forced on the defensive.

It is true that the Netherlands Indies, after defending themselves as heroically, are, for the most part, occupied by the enemy, but this phase of the struggle is only a prelude. The Japanese are getting ever nearer the limit of their possibilities as our ever-growing might advances towards them from all sides. They have not been able to break China’s courage and endurance and Japan now faces the ebbing of her power in this self-willed war, which will end with her complete downfall.

At this moment my thoughts are more than ever with my country and my compatriots in the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies. After an age-old historical solidarity, in which had long since passed the era of colonial relationship, we stood on the eve of a collaboration on a basis of equality when suddenly we were both confronted by the present ordeal. The treacherous aggression on the Netherlands in 1940 was the first interruption in the process of development; the heroic battle of the Netherlands Indies, followed by the occupation of the major part of this territory in 1942 was the second.

At the time when the Indies were still free and only Holland was occupied, the vigor of our unity became apparent and on both sides a feeling of stronger kinship developed more rapidly than it could have in peacetime. Now, however, this mutual understanding has been deepened still further because the same struggle is shared in all its agony and the same distress is suffered in all its bitterness. In the Netherlands as well as in the Netherlands Indies the enemy, with his propaganda for the so-called new order, has left nothing untried to lure the spirit of the people and to disguise his tyranny and suppression with the lies of his promises for the future. But these lies and this deceit have been of no avail because nearly all have seen through them and have understood that our enemies have as their aim nothing but slavery and exploitation and that as long as they have not been driven out and defeated there can be no question of freedom.
In previous addresses I announced that it is my intention, after the liberation, to create the occasion for a joint consultation about the structure of the Kingdom and its parts in order to adapt it to the changed circumstances. The conference of the entire Kingdom which will be convoked for this purpose, has been further outlined in a Government declaration of January 27th, 1942. The preparation of this conference, in which prominent representatives of the three overseas parts of the Kingdom will be united with those of the Netherlands at a round table, had already begun in the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçao, the parts of the Kingdom which then still enjoyed their freedom. Especially in the Netherlands Indies, detailed material had been collected for this purpose and it was transmitted to me in December 1941 by the Governor General. The battle of the Netherlands Indies disrupted these promising preparations.

We can only resume these preparations when everyone will be able to speak his mind freely.

Although it is beyond doubt that a political reconstruction of the Kingdom as a whole and of the Netherlands and the overseas territories as its parts is a natural evolution, it would be neither right nor possible to define its precise form at this moment. I realize that much which is great and good is growing in the Netherlands despite the pressure of the occupation; I know that this is the case in the Indies where our unity is fortified by common suffering. These developing ideas can only be shaped in free consultation in which both parts of the Kingdom will want to take cognizance of each other's opinions. Moreover, the population of the Netherlands and of the Netherlands Indies has confirmed through its suffering and its resistance, its right to participate in the decision regarding the form of our responsibility as a nation towards the world and of the various groups of the population towards themselves and one another.

By working out these matters now, that right would be neglected, and the insight which my people have obtained through bitter experience, would be disregarded.

I am convinced, and history as well as reports from the occupied territories confirm me in this, that after the war it will be possible to reconstruct the Kingdom on the solid foundation of complete partnership, which will mean the consummation of all that has been developed in the past. I know that no political unity nor national cohesion can continue to exist which are not supported by the voluntary acceptance and the faith of the great majority of the citizenry. I know that the Netherlands more than ever feel their responsibility for the vigorous growth of the Overseas Territories and that the Indonesians recognize, in the ever increasing collaboration, the best guarantee for the recovery of their peace and happiness. The war years have proved that both peoples possess the will and the ability for harmonious and voluntary cooperation.

A political unity which rests on this foundation moves far towards a realization of the purpose for which the United Nations are fighting, as it has been embodied, for instance, in the Atlantic Charter, and with which we could instantly agree, because
it contains our own conception of freedom and justice for which we have sacrificed blood and possessions in the course of our history.
I visualize, without anticipating the recommendations of the future conference, that they will be directed towards a commonwealth in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam and Curaçao will participate, with complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct for each part regarding its internal affairs, but with the readiness to render mutual assistance.

It is my opinion that such a combination of independence and collaboration can give the Kingdom and its parts the strength to carry fully their responsibility, both internally and externally. This would leave no room for discrimination according to race or nationality; only the ability of the individual citizens and the needs of the various groups of the population will determine the policy of the government.

In the Indies, as in the Netherlands, there now rules an oppressor who, imitating his detestable associates and repudiating principles which he himself has recognized in the past, interns peaceful citizens and deprives women and children of their livelihood. He has uprooted and dislocated that beautiful and tranquil country; his new order brings nothing but misery and want. Nevertheless, we can aver that he has not succeeded in subjugating us, and as the ever-growing force of the United Nations advances upon him from every direction, we know that he will not succeed in the future.

The Netherlands Indies and the Netherlands with their fighting men on land, at sea and in the air, with their alert and brave merchantmen and by their dogged and neverfailing resistance in the hard struggle, will see their self-sacrifice and intrepidity crowned after the common victory with the recovery of peace and happiness for their country and their people in a new world. In that regained freedom they will be able to build a new and better future.
Soon after publication of Queen Wilhelmina's address of December 6th, 1942, well-informed Netherlands quarters filled in some of the probable details of the post-war partnership of the various parts of the Netherlands Kingdom as visualized by the sovereign. It was stressed, however, that these details must remain of a provisional nature until they can be discussed and decided upon with the representatives of the people of those parts of the Kingdom which are at present unable to make their wishes known.

It is for this reason that a conference of the entire Kingdom will be convoked immediately after the war, as already announced by the Government's Declaration of January 27, 1942, and it is in keeping with the resolve to settle these vital matters in full consultation with all parties concerned, that the Queen in her speech of December 6 has limited herself to indicating the main lines along which the proposed reconstruction of the Kingdom may be expected to develop.

Another reason why at the present moment no detailed plans could be formulated, beyond those indicated in the Queen's speech, is that the reorganization of the Kingdom must necessarily in some ways be affected by the shape of the international organization in which this Kingdom must take its place. At present, and in spite of the considerable thought that has been given to the international post-war problem, no such well-defined framework is yet available.

Meanwhile, it is nonetheless possible to visualize how some of the outlines for the reorganization of the Kingdom indicated in the Queen's speech may be filled in, the reason being that even before the war certain definite trends in the constitutional development of the Kingdom and of the Netherlands Indies in particular, had already become evident. The proposed reconstruction is not, therefore, so much a revolutionary development as the expression and elaboration of a rapidly developing body of political thought which already commanded a wide measure of agreement among all the constituent peoples of the Kingdom before the war.

As regards the Constitutional reconstruction of the Kingdom as a whole, it may be anticipated, that the post-war conference will recommend the creation of a Commonwealth in which the four component parts of the Kingdom (the Netherlands, the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçao) will have practically complete regional autonomy, while at the same time participating on equal terms, though not necessarily with an equal number of representatives, in the central government which, in all likelihood, will control such matters as defense, foreign policy and international economic relations. This would mean that certain supervisory powers which the Netherlands Ministry and Parliament have until now exercised over internal affairs of the overseas territories, like the budget, would largely disappear.
Even before the war these powers had already been progressively limited, and the Netherlands Indies, for instance, enjoyed a far-reaching degree of self-government in every field of internal legislation, including immigration laws, tariffs, taxes, etc.

What exact form the central government of the Kingdom as a whole is to take, cannot well be foreseen at this stage. Possibly a separate Ministry representing the four territories may be set up for the Kingdom as a whole. Possibly the representation of the four territories in matters of general concern to all may be assured by arranging for their participation in the Government of the Netherlands proper. Again, as regards the procedure to be followed and the machinery to be employed in legislation on matters of general concern, such legislation might be submitted to a special parliament or council composed of representatives from the several territories or it might be submitted directly to the territorial parliaments.

The practical application of the principle clearly enunciated by the Queen that the different territories are to have complete self-government in internal matters, will, naturally, also entail a number of changes in their internal political structure.

As with the proposed central government it is difficult at this stage to envisage the exact nature of the systems to be set up within these territories. What may be said with certainty is that democracy will remain the basis of any system that is to be erected, while it is also safe to say that the systems established on this democratic basis will be designed with a view towards achieving greater efficiency in the conduct of government as well as equality of opportunity not only in the political but also in the economic field.

In the Netherlands proper, the achievement of such political and economic democracy has been greatly facilitated and expedited by the fact that the people of the Netherlands have long since achieved the strong cohesive nationhood which is the first prerequisite for the effective functioning of the democratic system. While it is true that the population of the Netherlands Indies has not yet attained the same degree of nationhood, there are many circumstances favorable to the gradual development of an Indonesian nation, such as a general similarity of language, customs and civilization. At the same time, it must be remembered that it is only since the early part of this century that the Netherlands Indies as a whole have been brought under the stabilizing influence of a government in Batavia, which could make its jurisdiction prevail in all parts of the far-flung Archipelago. Moreover, in spite of the many factors that are working towards a gradual fusion of the different peoples of Indonesia, there remain differences which still exert their influence. In addition it is possible that the Japanese occupation will produce a certain temporarily disintegrating effect.

There is nonetheless reason to believe that the reconstruction of the undeniably efficient administrative and economic organization of the Indies can be carried through without too much difficulty, all the more so since, partly as a result of the notable absence of race discrimination, the cooperation between the
Dutch on the one hand and the Indonesians and inhabitants of Chinese and Arabian origin on the other hand, has long since been very close. In addition it is probably not a case of wishful thinking to say that the misery and the dangers of the Japanese occupation shared by the Dutch and Indonesian inhabitants will prove to have strengthened rather than to have weakened the old bond existing between them.

Looking at the future in the light of the evolutionary developments of the past and the further impetus given to this evolution by the Queen's statement, it is to be expected, therefore, that after the war the representation of the Indonesian population in the governmental body of the Indies will be still further increased. In all likelihood, this governmental body will consist of a House of Representatives with a large majority of Indonesian members, a Ministry responsible to the House, and a Governor General to act as the representative of the Crown. It will probably also be considered desirable to retain, as an advisory body, the existing Council of the Indies composed of highly experienced Netherlanders and Indonesians.

While the Ministry will probably be appointed by the Governor General, it is not impossible that the Governor General will have more restricted powers than in the past and would generally function as arbitrator in differences that might arise between the Ministry and the House of Representatives without whose consent no legislation could be passed by the Ministry.

As to the vital matter of franchise, there has long been a growing desire for elections by one electorate consisting of all citizens of sufficient education and understanding irrespective of race. Naturally, such elections would automatically produce a large Indonesian majority in the House of Representatives. A certain corrective will be necessary to insure the adequate representation of cultural and economic minorities and backward regions. This desideratum will possibly be achieved by the old system of appointing a number of members to the representative body. There is no reason to feel that this will lead to political abuses as in the selection of such appointed members every care has always been taken to avoid the purposeful creation or strengthening of a government bloc.

The broad policies which the Government—as indicated above—might follow would certainly include a great strengthening of defense, an expansion and intensification of education, and a further development of progressive and well-planned measures for social and economic security. At the same time, there is little doubt that these measures could be carried out so as not to conflict with the well-planned policy of maintaining and developing Indonesian civilization and preserving the roots of native life. It is true that the visible results of this basic attitude may be less spectacular than those of a forced westernization. The fact remains, however, that abandonment of this fundamental principle would be incompatible with the best interests of the body politic which can not develop healthily when cut off from its natural foundations.
Finally, it can be said that reconstruction along the lines indicated here will not only consolidate the progress achieved in the past but would also give the people of the Indies—which the Queen has now for the first time officially christened ‘Indonesia’—time and opportunity to recover from their recent misfortunes and to complete their growth towards nationhood. What will happen once this stage has been achieved is impossible to foresee, but if the relations established between the Dutch and the Indonesian inhabitants over a period of centuries count for anything, it is by no means incredible that the association should prove permanent. Such a Commonwealth consisting of widely different races and yet undivided by racial discrimination, might indeed prove to be a valuable asset and stabilizing factor in a world still cleft by racial misunderstanding.
The Netherlands in the World of the Future
Prime Minister Gerbrandy's views on the road towards the Four Freedoms

A cynic has once said that experience is nothing but the repetition of the same mistakes. If this epigram were true post-war reconstruction would be a futile and a tragic undertaking. For it is clear that if we are to have any hopes of building a better world we must learn from our mistakes rather than repeat them. The lessons are clear enough, especially those lessons the world has so dearly bought with the great experiment of the League of Nations. As long as it was possible, the Netherlands-far from standing aloof as an indifferent neutral as is sometimes erroneously thought-supported the experiment fully and unreservedly. They were with the League word and deed, and within the League one cannot speak of neutrality. But as time went on and the great powers followed a policy more and more outside the League-one of the things rendering the covenant virtually worthless-the Netherlands had to find a different path to follow. I am of the opinion that the Rhineland occupation offered the last opportunity for putting collective security into practice.

When this opportunity was allowed to go by default, there was no other possibility for a country like the Netherlands than to return to the policy of neutrality. This does not mean that the Netherlands were not aware of the deadly threat against mankind and human life of Nazism. From the beginning the vast majority was spiritually on the side of the Allies. But there was no basis on which this could have been translated into an effective international agreement, because there was a lack of preparation and collective machinery on the side of the non-Nazi powers: The only existing path, that of the Covenant of the League of Nations, had been neglected. Another could not be improvised.

So much for the past. What lessons can we draw from this experience for the future? If something in the nature of the League of Nations has to be set up again-and I am convinced that this will have to be done-we must choose between the principle of universality and the principle of likemindedness. I choose the latter. Collaboration as conceived by the League is not possible between nations one of which has some understanding of the partnership of might and law, while the other in word and deed glorifies might as a leading principle in the field of international relations.

We have to be modest and realistic. Collaboration in the spirit I have indicated aims at solving quarrels between States in the sphere of growing international law. This is only partly possible. The vast political problems and interests of great powers cannot, at least certainly not yet, be brought within the limits of this growing international law. And in so far as it is possible for the lesser ones, we have to realize that ultimately the choice is not between war and peace, but between arbitrary war and war as a regulated international instrument.

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We shall definitely need to take police measures against the aggressor nations. Perhaps the most obvious of these will be the concentration of aircraft in the hands of a board of the collaborating democratic peoples, combined with control of aircraft in the defeated countries.

If there is to be a grouping of interests in any future co-operative system, it will be asked, of course, who should be associated on the basis of common needs and interests? This question may be answered along these lines. In the coming relations between peoples the urge to prevent aggression, on the one hand, will act with far greater strength than in the years which followed the last war. On the other hand, the lessons of the past will have strengthened the conviction that in the cooperation among peoples one should not overreach oneself. The regulation of future relations within these two poles points in the direction that the Netherlands Kingdom, which is neither an ordinary small state nor a powerful state-such as the British Empire or the United States-will with singleness of purpose seek to link up and find a response for it-those states whose historic and political principles and interests in the international sphere are akin to its own.

A State is not a geographical conception but above all a historic-political unit. Real collaboration can be expected only between those States which have a historic-political similarity. For four centuries the kingdom of the Netherlands has been scattered over four continents, and the interests it defends are worldwide. It is closely knit and its constituent parts cannot be considered separately. Therefore, we would have no use for an unreal conception such as a purely European grouping of nations, a United States of Europe. Nor can there be any question of neutrality as far as the Netherlands is concerned. I hold the opinion that neutrality will be made an atavism in the future framework.

I hope that collaboration in this war will reveal a useful political similarity between most of the present Allies. I assent to the proposition that there is a greater community of interest between the Low Countries-and indeed of most coastal States-and Britain, the United States, and other countries overseas, than with a purely European grouping.

In the economic field permit me to turn to the Middle Ages for an analogy-to the times when, centrally by governments, and locally by guilds, trade was controlled and prices of material and labor fixed according to the concept of 'justum pretium.' We have now to revert to some such system, but in a higher and better form. In Holland, before the war, influences had long been at work, as in many other countries, tending towards the establishment of some kind of planning. Moreover, we, like most of them, had been forced by the economic policy of other countries to take measures such as the maintenance of domestic agriculture, the fixing of prices in the international market, government subsidies, and so on.

After the war we cannot escape from some sort of additional international planning to prevent wild competition between industries in the supplying of Europe with food and raw materials, especially between the pre-war industries striving to regain their old markets and those industries, artificially fostered by the war, striving to retain their newly-acquired markets.
There will be three tendencies leading towards planning and away from what one might call the ‘liberal’ economy of pre-war Europe: the tendency arising from the special conditions prevailing in the post-war world; the tendency already working just before the war, due partly to the international political situation, which seemed to require autarchy; the tendency already working in the nineteenth century which I can best summarize in the words ‘justum pretium.’ The first tendency is passing, the second uncertain, and the third permanent and growing.

In the face of these tendencies the problem is how to find a harmonious combination of freedom and initiative with the necessary organization. It is capable of solution.

It is on occasions contended that national planning must harden into economic nationalism, but planning does not necessarily mean State Socialism, nor does it necessarily bring about tension in the whole field of economics. Planning such as I have in mind consists, first and foremost, in developing and enlarging existing factors. You can but guide and regulate that which flows naturally.

All discussions about future collaboration in the political sphere generally takes for granted many things which are uncertain. There are at work forces which are capable of upsetting seemingly very sound plans. The rate of population growth, for instance, has far-reaching consequences. Consider simply the problems presented by the still rapidly growing populations of Russia, Japan, and the Netherlands Kingdom, the declining birthrate in Great Britain, and the stationary population in France.

The actions of men and nations usually have been conceived in the mind long before. What they do is what they have thought earlier. So it was with Nazism and Fascism. Therefore, the system of higher education in a nation is of the utmost importance. The leading principles in education and thought are decisive. When God and His Word are left out of them, collaboration between nations has failed and will continue to fail notwithstanding splendid organization. Justice is so easy to speak of when we gain by it, so difficult when we have to make sacrifices for it.

It is easier to win this overwhelming war than to maintain peace in justice. Every age needs its leading men. We need statesmen more than economists. Much will depend on whether at the critical moment the world can discover statesmen and whether it is ready to use them. And the statesman must be more than the expression of what is living in his people. He must guide them beyond that, so that when he expresses himself his people will say, ‘Yes, that is what we feel; that is what we want!’
Some American Reactions
Press and radio comments on the Queen's plans for a Netherlands Commonwealth

John B. Hughes over Wor and Mutual Network
December 6, 1942

... It is not probable nor possible that this Netherlands Commonwealth will spring full-bloom into existence the moment the war is over; a period of transition from war to peace, from Colonial Empire to Commonwealth undoubtedly will take place. But the practical working-out of the problem is of less importance at this time than Queen Wilhelmina's desire and willingness to bring about the change of status for her colonial Empire. What is important is her recognition of the vast changes taking place in the world. Her acknowledgement that the Netherlands East Indies has earned, by its suffering and resistance, its right to participate in the decision regarding the form of Netherlands responsibility as a nation toward the world and of the various groups of the population towards themselves and one another.

Herein is recognized one of the primary principles of post-war organization for peace—a principle not yet fully clarified for the American people, who are now being bombarded by a set of misleading statements to the effect that we are going to waste our substance on the world by playing Santa Claus to mankind. Nothing could be further from the truth. Mankind, in the first place, does not want a Santa Claus... What the peoples of the world do want is something every American wants, too—a chance to help themselves—the opportunity to develop their resources, their commerce, their civil and political freedom. It is this opportunity which Queen Wilhelmina proposes to give to all the Colonial parts of her Empire....

WM. Philip Simms in the New York World Telegram
December 7, 1942

Whatever feats of arms may be performed on the world's battlefields on this first anniversary of Pearl Harbor, history is likely to record that it was a woman, Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, who struck the day's most telling blow at the Axis. For her announcement of an equal partnership among the four parts of her realm will do more to give life to the war aims of the Allies than any other single act yet performed by the United Nations. The Atlantic Charter now begins to take on real meaning... .

This announcement of Queen Wilhelmina I am informed on high authority is no mere gesture... . Wilhelmina Helena Pauline Maria of Orange-Nassau, now 62 and a grandmother, will go down in history as one of the world's great Queens.

San Francisco, Calif. Chronicle
December 8, 1942

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
Queen Wilhelmina's promise of postwar partnership for the four divisions of the Netherlands empire stands against a pre-war background of steady Dutch advancement of Holland's colonial subjects and their share in government.

The record of Dutch colonial administration in the last 50 years has represented a vast change from the earlier period of pure exploitation. The Dutch have been bringing the East Indians along toward political responsibility in very sound fashion and probably as fast as it could be done with justice to the natives, the majority of whom never have been and are not now politically conscious.

The present attitude of the Javanese and Sumatrans under Japanese occupation, very disappointing to the Japanese, is good evidence of the large degree of confidence the Dutch had been winning from the natives. The modern Dutch have recognized their responsibility to these Asiatics brought under their charge by events of the past and have been trying to discharge it with integrity.

**New York Herald Tribune**  
**December 8, 1942**

When Mr. Churchill rather brusquely announced last month that he had no intention of presiding 'over the liquidation of the British Empire,' he continued, as
some fail to remember, to define his concept of that empire. To him it is.... a ‘wonderful association of states and races spread over the globe....’ If the British Empire does not everywhere as yet fulfill this ideal of voluntary association for mutual development, support and welfare, the Prime Minister's words clearly show that it must and will continue to move toward that end....

Queen Wilhelmina has marked the anniversary of the Japanese attack by a notable statement, plainly defining a similar development for the Netherlands empire. As she points out, precise plans cannot, of course, be laid down while both Holland and the Indies are gagged and bound by the invader. But the statement envisages as a minimum the reconstruction of the empire into a commonwealth of the dominion type....

The point, however, lies in the precise form which the reconstruction will take than in the Queen's recognition of the principle that the old imperial structures must develop into free and equal associations of the peoples who compose them....

The application of the principle must obviously take widely varied forms, where so many different peoples and groups, so many different conditions and historical backgrounds, so many varied cultures are concerned. It can range from partnership to autonomy or to complete independence as circumstances may dictate. One thing, however, should be remembered. For all their vices, the old empires, as instruments for maintaining order, promoting health, education and trade had a value. The problem of the future is certainly not to disorganize the world but to organize it better than before. In voluntarizing the associations represented by the imperial systems it is important not to destroy the much that was valuable in the association. And in the world after the war the necessities of mutual defense and rehabilitation will force a closer association in many ways between peoples, whether they are legally independent or not....

Holyoke, Mass. Transcript Telegram
December 8, 1942

Queen Wilhelmina is out ahead of Winston Churchill announcing the creation of a post-war Netherlands that must certainly sound good to Wendell Willkie.

The Dutch Empire would become the Netherlands Commonwealth.

There would be four parts-Holland, the Netherlands East Indies, Curaçao and Surinam.

The plan as stated by the Queen would ‘give the kingdom and its parts the strength to carry fully their responsibility both internally and externally.’

The Queen doesn't want to state any precise form for the political reconstruction of the Netherlands. She wants both Holland and the Netherlands East Indies to state their views first.

If Winston Churchill could in some way get at the same intellectual and political position that Wilhelmina has attained he might find the going easier in Burma, Malaya and India.

... There is no question but that the Queen's statement will give cheer to the conquered peoples of the Dutch East Indies and Holland both.
She has found time to give serious thought to the new world order that is going to be and she has shaped it in the way that Mr. Willkie advocated when he was leaving China and had talked with the Generalissimo and Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and those representatives of the Asiatic peoples who are looking to China as their deliverer.

**Louisville Courier JNL.**  
**December 8, 1942**

A second great commonwealth of nations is in the making according to Queen Wilhelmina's prophecy of a four-part Netherlands commonwealth which will succeed the old Netherlands Empire in the post-war world. Plans for the commonwealth are a logical development of the enlightened colonial policy of the Netherlands and are, according to Queen Wilhelmina, merely a continuance of discussions looking to the same end which were inaugurated before the war.

It is significant that the new arrangement will be neither clarified nor ratified before the people of the four countries concerned can express their opinion. There is to be no coercion, and no decisions will be made in advance by rulers presuming to speak for people unable to voice an opinion.

The promise of such a development, leaving, according to the Queen, 'no room for discrimination according to race or nationality, only the ability of the individual citizens and the needs of the various groups....' as determinants of public policy, is a heartening example of the anxious willingness of the world's great democracies to make the Atlantic Charter a living reality.

**Chicago, Illinois SUN**  
**December 9, 1942**

... The Dutch today realize that there must be changes after the war, and the Queen has proposed a Netherlands Commonwealth of Nations....

*Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future*
We do not doubt that Queen Wilhelmina speaks in good faith. We hope, nevertheless, that a much more convincing program for elevation of Holland's old empire to freedom will be devised by the United Nations and guided by an association of free nations after complete victory in the war has dislodged Japan from the East Indies.

Certainly the Netherlands East Indies, which contain most of the humanity and treasure of Holland's empire, are not ready now for genuine independence. It will not make them independent to call them that.... The overwhelming majority of the people are political infants, admirable human beings but unable to take over the full task of government and defense....

We believe that the Indies and all other politically backward regions should be speeded on the way to independence. If that is to be accomplished it is necessary that their people be educated for it, rapidly. An international organization can far better accomplish that purpose than any single ruling power. Since the success and speed of the education of the ward means a progressive lessening of the privileges of the warden, it is too much to expect Holland or any other imperial power, acting alone, to bend its maximum effort to the task.

Des Moines, IA. Register
December 9, 1942

Queen Wilhelmina's radio address promising a new ‘Commonwealth’ type constitution for the Kingdom of the Netherlands and its overseas possessions is no tardy repentance of a deposed ruler. It is a project toward which she and her advisers were working long before the Dutch empire was even threatened.

Back in 1922.... the Netherlands Indies and the two American colonies of Surinam and Curaçao were declared equal in rank with the Dutch Netherlands in Europe, as parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

This was a symbolic act rather than a real transfer of power, for governors from the European Netherlands remained the real rulers of the ‘equal’ territories. But at least it represented a trend.

Advisory legislatures in the overseas portions of the ‘Kingdom’ have since been given more and more functions, and the power of the governors to override the legislatures has been used less and less. By the time of the Japanese conquest, Dutch were still over-represented in the East Indies legislature in proportion to population, but they were definitely a minority....

A year and a half ago, before Japan came into the European war, Queen Wilhelmina outlined the steps which would be taken as soon as the war was over to revise the constitution of both the ‘Commonwealth’ and its component parts-in order to make it a Commonwealth in fact as well as on paper. Now the Queen is merely reassuring them that the Japanese conquest will not affect the promise in any way.

Washington Post
December 9, 1942

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
While the doctrine of self-determination is recognized as one of the great United Nations war aims, the fact cannot be ignored that not all peoples are ready for freedom and self-government. In addition, the fact must be considered that no good end would be served and much evil might result if through a drastic implementation of this clause in the Atlantic Charter the world were Balkanized to the point where effective international society becomes impossible.

For this reason we must regard as a great contribution to constructive statesmanship the proposal made by Queen Wilhelmina regarding the future government of the far-flung Netherlands empire.

The key to this forward looking plan will probably be found in the phrase ‘Combination of independence and collaboration.’ That key can unlock the door to a constructive solution of the colonial problem. It is also the key to an orderly world society. If the world of the future is to be a better, happier, more peaceful world than the world of the past, the emphasis upon internal freedom must be counterbalanced by an equal emphasis upon external collaboration. The rule which Queen Wilhelmina hopes to see established in the future Netherlands Commonwealth of Nations has implications for the entire world.

**Christian Science Monitor**  
**December 9, 1942**

The statement by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands on the post-war status of the Dutch ‘kingdom’ (empire) is profoundly democratic.

That in itself is significant for the native populations now tasting Japanese ‘co-prosperity.’ But also for peoples now fighting to combine freedom with security Queen Wilhelmina's statement is meaningful. The plan she outlines would not only greatly advance self-government but would set up in the world one more closely integrated system of collective security which could
take its place as part of that broader system which must defend world peace after
this war. The Dutch kingdom would become a second Commonwealth of Nations
similar to that which has evolved from the British Empire.

Thus Queen Wilhelmina's statement helps to light two indistinct phases of postwar
development. It shows how the principles of the Atlantic Charter can be applied in
the Pacific and promises that the benefits of that document will not be limited, as
some of its critics have feared, to a favored group of nations. It also illuminates the
unfolding pattern of the world beyond the war....

Queen Wilhelmina's statement is not so revolutionary as it may sound to those
unfamiliar with Netherlands colonial policy. In the first twenty-five years of
Wilhelmina's reign-she has ruled the Dutch kingdom for some forty-four years-the
Hollanders' attitude toward Indonesian natives underwent a fundamental change....

This is not to say that Dutch attitudes have kept pace with native demands. But
the Dutch have shown a readiness to educate the natives for political leadership and
responsibility, and have permitted them to acquire experience in government through
councils so organized as to provide important places for native leaders.

Whatever the shortcomings of colonial rule by the white races in the past, we now
know that a mere relinquishment of control of colonial areas could only lead to
something much worse. Yet it is encouraging that two great colonial powers, Britain
and the Netherlands, are alike committed to something more than a return to the
status quo after the war.

British opinion has long recognized such a return to be impossible. Its pledge of
freedom to India and its surrender of extraterritorial rights in China are proof of this.
Queen Wilhelmina's statement shows that what is happening in the British Empire
is part of a world trend. It helps to assure all peoples that the trend will be well
established before this war is over.

Hartford, Conn. Courant
December 10, 1942

A recent speech by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands indicates very clearly that
she and the members of her government do not expect the postwar world to be
anything like a mere restoration of the world that preceded the war.... The Dutch
Queen resolutely welcomes changes that she regards as inevitable.

Although wisely disclaiming possession of any detailed blueprints for the future
of her still-enslaved kingdom, the Queen was emphatic in her assertion that the days
of the pre-war colonial system were definitely numbered. The reason for that
conviction could perhaps never be put in more felicitous words than those of the
Queen herself when she said; 'I know that no political unit nor national cohesion can
continue to exist which is not supported by the voluntary acceptance and the faith
of the great majority of the citizenry....'

In affirming the contemplated abandonment by the Netherlands of its former
colonial system, the Queen did not, however, indicate any complete severance of the
ties with the Dutch East Indies, or the Dutch possessions in this hemisphere. In the
world that she and her ministers now contemplate, the Netherlands still will have a

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, *The Queen Looks at the Future*
peculiar and intimate connection with its former colonies, even though they are transformed as internally autonomous members of a globe-girdling Netherlands Commonwealth of Nations, similar to the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nor is there much reason to doubt that such an arrangement may be far more advantageous to the people of the Netherlands East Indies, to mention only the most important of the colonial possessions, than any absolute independence, for which they presumably are none too well prepared.

Youngstown, O. Vindicator
December 11, 1942

No United Nations leader has given more thought to post-war planning than has the exiled Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. Her temperate voice is an inspiration to men concerned with the peace, and a tacit rebuke to others who think first and foremost of revenge against defeated peoples. The Queen's recent statements, at the Herald Tribune Forum in New York, and from London on the first anniversary of the Pacific war, are sane and far-sighted contributions to the discussions of war aims that must precede victory.

In her broadcast address from London, Queen Wilhelmina outlined the creation of a postwar Netherlands ‘Commonwealth.’...

Queen Wilhelmina's vision in proposing these postwar changes for her empire may have a salutary effect on Allied peace discussions everywhere. It is in line with her
message read to the Herald Tribune forum, warning against revenge as a guiding
motive in dealing with the defeated Axis peoples....

This voice in the midst of war, is heartening to those who recognize the terrible
suffering Queen Wilhelmina's country has endured at Hitler's hands. If she can plan
her people's future and discuss the fate of her enemies 'with malice toward none,' it
is the best of all proofs that the United Nations aspire to a better world cleansed of
past social and political inequities.

**Time Magazine**  
**December 14, 1942**

Mightier democracies continued pussyfooting on postwar plans, but last week the
squareheaded Dutch went on record. Their good Queen Wilhelmina flatly rejected
Empire, plunked for Commonwealth....

To the Atlantic Charter Wilhelmina thus gave bone, meat, flavor....

**Washington Star**  
**December 15, 1942**

The announcement by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands concerning the future
status of Holland's empire shows once again the validity of the old saying that 'you
can't beat the Dutch.'

In the midst of war the Queen and her Government have taken a long look into
the post-war world and projected a globegirdling Netherlands 'Commonwealth’ in
which Holland, the Dutch East Indies and the two new world regions of Surinam
and Curacao each will be the ‘partner’ of the other. The yearning toward political
freedom and freedom from want both are to be satisfied as much as possible. The
roots of local life in the thickly populated Indies are to be preserved. Educational
advantages for the Indonesians are to be augmented. Apparatus for giving each of
the territories political control over its own domestic affairs is to be set up... The
Netherlands Government is providing a model in action....

**Philadelphia Record**  
**December 15, 1942**

Queen Wilhelmina of Holland has made an important contribution to United Nations'
strength in Asia by her statement on the future of the Dutch Empire.... Queen
Wilhelmina's statement is a hopeful indication that we are beginning to approach the
problem and willing to consider the best interests of native populations.

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, *The Queen Looks at the Future*
Appendix I
The Constitutional Relationship between The Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies from 1814 to date

In the course of one century (1814-1925) radical changes in the relationship of the central organs of Dutch government to the overseas territories have occurred. According to the Constitutions of 1814 and 1815 the King was vested with exclusive power to direct the administration of the overseas colonies and possessions of the State. The government exerted in the colonies an authority completely free from the control of Parliament. Under this arrangement the Governor General was directly responsible to the King only, his position within the framework of the East Indian Government Act being rather independent. With the liberal-democratic revision of the Constitution in 1848, a new trend of Colonial Policy made itself manifest. The principle of ministerial responsibility was introduced, while the regulation by law was required of the various subjects pertaining to the East Indies, resulting in 1854 in a new East Indian Government Act. The dominant position of the Crown, however, was partly retained, until the realization of full ministerial responsibility in 1860 and the introduction of the Accounting Act for the Indies in 1864, entailing a strongly increased parliamentary control over the colonial budget which put an end to the independence of the King and his colonial minister in matters regarding the Indies.

This situation lasted until 1903 when the first steps were taken towards a more democratic government in the local sphere in the Indies (municipalities and other local councils were established), and on the basis of these experiences more thoroughgoing reforms were introduced from 1916 on, when the People's Council, the ‘Volksraad’ was established, meeting for the first time under the Governor General, Count van Limburg Stirum, in 1918. The latter's policy was focused upon giving the Indonesians a greater share in the Indian body politic. The ‘Volksraad’ was originally an advisory-representative body, composed of thirty-nine members and with a chairman appointed by the Crown. In 1921 the membership was enlarged to forty-nine. Its main task at that time was the discussion of the budget and concepts of regulations. It was given the right of free expression, of petition and questioning.

In 1918 a Commission for the Revision of the Governmental structure of the Netherlands Indies was appointed which brought out a report in 1920 urging the transfer of the center of gravity in both administration and legislation from the Netherlands to the Indies. By the revision of the Constitution in 1922, the expression ‘colonies and possessions in other parts of the world’ was removed from the colonial articles. Henceforth the Indies, Surinam and Curaçao, having become equivalent constituent parts of the Dutch Realm, were referred to as the ‘Overseas Territories of the Kingdom.’ Under this revision a large amount of legislative autonomy was granted to the Indies, as the principle was introduced that the regulation of the internal affairs was left to the East Indian Government.
However, a right to suspend all ordinances passed by East Indian organs when judged in conflict with the Constitution, the law or the general interest, was granted to the Crown, while the States General received on the same grounds the right of vetoing East Indian ordinances. Though Parliament retained also the right to legislate on subjects regarding the internal affairs of the overseas territories, it must first consult the representative body of the region concerned. Following this revision of the Netherlands Constitution, in 1925 the East Indian Government Act was likewise revised.

The ‘Volksraad’ became a co-legislative body, obtaining the right to initiate legislation as well as the right of interpellation, its membership being enlarged to 61, including the chairman appointed by the Crown. In conformity with an act of 1929 the 60 ordinary members were distributed as follows: 30 Indonesian members, 25 Netherlanders, and 5 non-native Asiatics, of whom generally 4 were Chinese and 1 an Arabian; 20 of the Indonesians, 15 of the Dutch and 3 of the non-native Asiatic members were to be elected. As a correction to the franchise, in order to give a voice to minority groups, the remaining members were to be appointed by the Governor General upon consultation with the Council of the Indies.

The Crown was given the power of legislation in case of deadlocks between the Governor General and the People's Council (Volksraad). Primary control over the budget has been shifted from Holland to the Indies, and is now in the hands of the Governor General and the ‘Volksraad,’ whereas the States General retained secondary control over the East Indian budget.

Between 1926-1930 new administrative reforms in Java enlarged the task of the Indonesian officers of the internal administration, giving them a more independent position, while in the same period, new democratic institutions were created in Java in the form of regency councils and provincial councils, to which a part of the task of the central government (irrigation, agricultural enlightenment, roads and bridges, later on health and education) was entrusted. These reforms were followed by similar measures in the outer provinces in 1938, resulting, among other things, in the creation of so-called group-communities (Minangkabau and Bandjar).

In the meantime it became more and more apparent from the discussions in the Volksraad, that there was a strong desire for new constitutional reforms, the general trend of which was complete administrative and legislative autonomy for the N.E.I., while at the same time, the creation was suggested of an imperial council composed of representatives from the four parts of the Kingdom ultimately to be endowed with legislative power for imperial affairs with an imperial ministry responsible to it. The Governor General would then no longer be an official of the Netherlands proper but of the Kingdom as a whole. Many of these and other wishes may be realized in the creation of the new post-war Netherlands ‘Commonwealth’ as recently outlined by Queen Wilhelmina.
Appendix II
The Constitutional Development of the Kingdom of the Netherlands 1813-1940

After the collapse of the Napoleonic domination Holland regained its independence in 1813, when William I was proclaimed Sovereign-Prince of the Netherlands. According to his promise the Sovereign-Prince appointed a commission to draw up a Fundamental Law. This new Constitution was accepted in March 1814 by an Assembly of six hundred notables. Under its provisions the Sovereign was exclusively vested with the Executive Power while sharing the Legislative Power with the States-General. He had the control over finance and governed the overseas possessions. The Ministers of the Crown were responsible to the King only. The States-General, consisting of 55 members, were elected by the nine Provincial Estates. Their members had the right of legislative initiative and of veto. They had no control over the ordinary expenditures. Equal protection was given by the State to all religious beliefs. The Sovereign, however, was to be a member of the Reformed Church. A striking feature of this aristocratic-autocratic Constitution was the predominant position of the nobility and its oligarchic character. In the towns, the colleges of electors for the Provincial Estates consisted of those who paid the highest contributions in taxes. The larger masses of the population, including the greater part of the middle-class bourgeoisie were excluded from the franchise.

In conformity with the decisions of the then Allied Powers, Holland and Belgium were united in 1814 in one strong Netherlands State, much to the resentment of the overwhelmingly Catholic Belgian population, which was strongly opposed to the predominant position of the northern Protestant provinces. The Union of the two countries called for a revision of the Constitution of 1814. In 1815 William issued a proclamation in which he assumed the title of King of the Netherlands and Duke of Luxemburg. A commission of twenty-four members, half Dutch and half Belgian, with an equal representation of Protestants and Catholics accomplished the necessary modification. The Fundamental Law retained its autocratic character. The executive power remained entirely in the hands of the King. Two parliamentary Chambers were created, of which the First was a nominated Chamber. The Second Chamber comprised 110 members. The franchise remained very much restricted.

Owing to the religious and cultural divergencies as well as to the political, financial and economic conflicting interests of the two parts of the Kingdom a longstanding political controversy ensued which finally led to a full political and territorial separation between Holland and Belgium in the years 1830-1839. The subsequent partial revision of the Constitution granted only few concessions to the rising tide of liberalism. On his accession to the throne William II encountered a demand for a further thoroughgoing constitutional revision. The growing political emancipation of the middle class, the new liberal and progressive

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
trend of thought, the precarious religious situation, the very bad state of public finance, the political evolution and events in other European countries were some of the causes and conditions which gave rise to this demand. Under the leadership of Johan Rudolf Thorbecke, at that time a professor of jurisprudence at Leyden and in later years three times Prime Minister, a body of nine members of the Second Chamber drew up a definite proposal for a moderate liberal-democratic revision which obtained the King's approval in 1848. Under the provisions of this Constitution full ministerial responsibility was introduced. The King, whose position became inviolable, could henceforth legally do no wrong. The executive power, i.e., the right of dissolving the Chamber, the administration of the overseas possessions, the conduct of foreign affairs, etc., was left in his hands. He shared the legislative power with the States General whose competency and authority were largely increased. The Second Chamber was given the right of initiative, amendment and investigation. It acquired full control over the now annual budgets. Its members were elected by all citizens of full age paying a certain sum to direct taxation. The First Chamber was elected by the Provincial Estates. Freedom of assembly, liberty of the press as well as freedom of worship to all denominations were guaranteed. The provincial and municipal administration was made dependent on the direct popular vote. Primary education in the public school came under State control; private (denominational) schools were not interfered with. From 1848 on the Netherlands Kingdom was a constitutional monarchy patterned on an ever widening democratic foundation. Henceforth political party life crystalized around the liberal-secular, the conservative, the Protestant and Catholic, and (in later years) the rising socialist trends of thought. The main political issues which dominated the subsequent years were the correct interpretation of the constitutional relationship between the Crown, the Ministers and the States-General; the extension of the franchise; the State-control of public or private, secular or confessional education; tax reform; social legislation; the military service and the colonial policy. These found their expression in the various attending organic laws from 1848 on as well as in the constitutional revision of 1887, when the First Chamber became limited to a membership of 50 and the Second Chamber to 100 members; in the electoral law of 1896 containing an additional extension of the franchise and in the important constitutional revisions of 1917 and 1922.

These last revisions were essentially in conformity with the changes in the social, economic, and political structures of the Netherlands, which, in the course of fifty years had developed into a modern, well-organized industrial and agricultural state with high cultural standards and a politically, fully emancipated population, dominated by strong, though divergent, principles. The revision of 1917 had already been announced in 1913 in a speech from the throne but was in 1914 interrupted by the outbreak of the first World War. Under this arrangement universal active and passive (compulsory) suffrage was granted, except for some restrictions, to all male persons of not less than 23 years on a basis of proportional representation. Female suffrage was introduced in 1922. At the same time the long-standing burning educational question was settled. Henceforth public-secular and private-denominationaleducation were given equal rights and duties. This revision was completed and perfected by the general revision of
1922. It included a new regulation on the succession to the throne, granting this right to the direct descendants of Queen Wilhelmina only; universal female suffrage; proportional representation for the First Chamber and important changes in the colonial articles. Together with the various laws pertaining to social legislation, etc., and apart from a minor constitutional revision in 1937, determining the incomes of the Crown Princess and the Prince Consort, the arrangement of 1922 remained the basic pattern of Netherlands constitutional-parliamentary life till the German invasion in 1940.
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Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands has been invited by Members of the Senate to be our guest this morning and to deliver an address. We have also asked the Members of the House of Representatives informally to be our guests on this occasion.

Therefore, I move that when the Members of the House shall have assembled in the Senate Chamber the Vice President appoint a committee of three Senators and that a similar committee be appointed by the Speaker pro tempore of the House of Representatives to escort Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands into the Chamber when she appears to address the Senate within a few moments.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I also move that, following its delivery, the address itself and all the proceedings connected therewith be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a part of the proceedings of the Senate of today.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Members of the House of Representatives will be here presently, and, I suppose, we may be at ease until they arrive.

At 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m. the House of Representatives, preceded by the Sergeant at Arms, Kenneth Romney, and the Doorkeeper, Joseph J. Sinnott, and headed by the Speaker pro tempore, Hon. ALFRED L. BULWINKLE, of North Carolina, entered the Chamber.

The Speaker pro tempore was escorted to the chair to the right of the Vice President, and the Members of the House of Representatives were escorted to the seats assigned to them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In conformity with the motion of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], heretofore agreed to, the Chair appoints as members of the committee on behalf of the Senate to receive Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Speaker pro tempore appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House of Representatives to escort Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands into the Chamber the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN], the gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM].

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.) the Senate stood in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
At 12 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m. Her Majesty, Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, entered the Chamber, escorted by the committees of the two Houses and the Secretary of the Senate [Edwin A. Halsey] and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate [Chesley W. Jurney], and accompanied by Jonkheer George van Tets van Goudriaan, principal private secretary; Maj. Gen. L.H. van Oyen, aide de camp; Baroness Ethel van Boetzelaer, lady in waiting; Lt. K. Krediet, equerry to Her Majesty; His Excellency Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands; His Excellency Alexander Loudon, the Ambassador of the Netherlands, and Madam Loudon; Maj. Gen. Jay L. Benedict, United States Army, aide to Her Majesty; Rear Admiral Monroe Kelly, United States Navy, aide to Her Majesty; and Hon. George T. Summerlin, Chief of Protocol, State Department. Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands was escorted to a seat on the rostrum in front of the Vice President and the Speaker pro tempore of the House of Representatives, and the distinguished visitors accompanying her were escorted to the seats assigned to them at the left of the Vice President's desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives and distinguished guests, Her Majesty the Queen of The Netherlands. [Prolonged applause, Senators and their guests rising.]

Address by the Queen of the Netherlands

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Congress of the United States, it gives me great pleasure to appear in your midst.

Seeing this great democratic assembly, renewing itself at regular intervals and meeting under self-made rules of law, seems to me a sure guaranty that liberty is forever young and strong and invincible, whereas the autocrat, incapable of rejuvenating himself, is every day nearer to his end, his regime doomed to die with him.

Moreover, where and what would the world be today were it not for the United States of America, whose legislators you are?

Such thoughts warm my heart in this hour, and I know that my people everywhere feel as I do.

I stand here as the spokesman of my country, not only of those nine million of my compatriots in Europe, but also of some seventy millions in Asia and in the Western Hemisphere, whom I know to be at one with me in the spirit.

The Netherlands were, like the United States, like all the United Nations, a peace-loving country.

At present, both in Europe and in Asia, that country is under enemy occupation. A cruel fate has overtaken its inhabitants.

Imagine what it means for a liberty-loving country to be in bondage, for a proud country to be subject to harsh alien rule.

What would be the American answer if an invader tried to cover his wholesale systematic pillage with the firing squad, the concentration camp, and the abomination of the hostage practice?

Having come by first-hand knowledge to know your national character better
than ever, I doubt not that your answer would be: resistance, resistance until the end, resistance in every practicable shape or form. [Applause.]

This is exactly the answer my people have given, and are giving every day. If in the material sense they have been ruined by the enemy, their spirit grows with their hardships, and they keep their unflinching belief in their liberation. They see their families go without what they most need in food and clothing, their workers enslaved by the oppressor.

Yet ‘no surrender’ remains their constant motto.

Inside occupied territory and outside the fight goes on.

We use our resources to the best of our abilities.

In the Indies, where our forces won fresh laurels together with yours, stubborn resistance continues locally.

Surinam helps the United Nations with its bauxite, Curacao with its oil products; our soldiers, sailors, and airmen are on duty in both these territories, and they guard them in alert and cordial cooperation with your own forces stationed there when the war in the Far East prevented us from sending reinforcements to the Caribbean area.

Our Navy is on duty every day.

Our mercantile marine, still one of the largest, has been completely integrated in the navigational effort of the United Nations, fighting off Axis submarines and raiders, in close companionship with your own brave seafaring men.

Those of us who have the inestimable privilege of being free feel that it is our holy duty toward our enslaved compatriots in east and west to do whatever we can to hasten the day of victory.

Democracy is our most precious heritage.

We cannot breathe in the sullen atmosphere of despotic rule.

The people of the Netherlands have developed their free institutions in their own progressive way, in accordance with their high regard for personal and national liberty.

They had long approached the complete realization of the ‘four freedoms’ which the President of the United States has set as one of the aims of our common war effort. There was of old in our whole kingdom freedom of religion and of speech; there also was freedom from fear, and constant forward steps, designed to insure freedom from want, were in ever-expanding evolution.

Throughout my reign, the development of democracy and progress in the Netherlands Indies has been our constant policy.

Under Netherlands stewardship a great number of peoples and tribes are being systematically merged into one harmonious community, in which all these elements—the Indonesians in their rich variety of religions, languages, arts, and customary laws, the Chinese, the Arabs, and the westerners—feel equally at home.

Careful consideration has constantly been given to the particular characteristics and needs of the peoples concerned.

Confronted, as we found ourselves, by highly developed forms of civilization to which the population is deeply attached, we strove not to uproot these, but to promote their adaptation to the exigencies of the modern world.

The voluntary cooperation in mutual respect and toleration between people of
oriental and western stock toward full partnership in government on a basis of equality has been proved possible and successful.

Increasing self-government, keeping pace with the rapidly broadening enlightenment and education of the native population, has been enacted ever since the beginning of this country, and especially since the revision of the constitution in 1925.

The steady and progressive development received new emphasis and momentum by my announcement last year that after the war the place of the overseas territories in the framework of the kingdom and the constitution of those territories will be the subject of a conference in which all parts of the kingdom are to be fully represented.

Consultations on this subject were already proceeding in the Netherlands Indies when the Japanese invasion temporarily interrupted their promising course.

The preparation of the conference is nonetheless being actively continued, but, in accordance with sound democratic principle, no final decision will be taken without the cooperation of the people once they are free again.

What are our war aims and what are our peace aims?

We have adhered to the Atlantic Charter, and our lend-lease agreement with the United States points the way to wise international economic planning.

We want nothing that does not belong to us.

We want to resume our place as an independent nation on the fringe of the Atlantic, on the dividing line of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and to remain your good neighbor in the Caribbean Sea, and we accept the responsibilities resulting from that situation. [Applause.]

And, above all, we want to see suitable measures taken in order that henceforth no nation may think it can, with impunity, break its pledged word or attack others.

When speaking of war and peace aims, I do not forget, were it only for one brief moment, that first of all there is a war to be won.

In that war we are with you and the other United Nations to the last. [Applause.]

It is not the first time that the Netherlands has been associated with the United States in common warfare.

In the days of Washington we were at one time comrades in arms, and it gives me pleasure to recall that the first salute given to the American flag on behalf of a foreign government was rendered by guns of my country.

That ancient partnership we see revived today.

One of your great men who stood at the cradle of American liberty, Benjamin Franklin, once wrote to John Adams, your first Envoy at The Hague:

I believe neither Holland nor we could be prevailed on to abandon our friends.

That was in 1782, and I think it still holds good today. We cannot be prevailed on, either of us, to abandon our friends.

That is why we considered the first Japanese bomb on Pearl Harbor as a bomb on ourselves.
That is why we never wavered in our resolve to be with the United Nations until the end.

United we stand, and united we will achieve victory.

[Prolonged applause, the Members of the Senate and their guests rising.]

At the conclusion of her address Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands, and the distinguished visitors and guests retired from the Chamber; and (at 12 o'clock and 48 minutes p.m.) the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr LUCAS in the chair).

Queen at Washington

Extension of Remarks of Hon. Sol Bloom of new york in the House of Representatives Wednesday, September 9, 1942

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of August 8, 1942, relating to the recent visit of Her Majesty, Queen Wilhelmina, of the Netherlands:

Queen at Washington

Queen Wilhelmina didn't need to say or do anything more to endear her and her people to Americans, but her 2 days at Washington have had that effect. Busy days they were. She made a speech to Congress that was a model of clear statement, eloquent without rhetoric. She made a short speech in acknowledgment of the submarine chaser given her, bearing her name and flying the flag of her country. Somehow on that same Thursday she laid a wreath on Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon, and on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery, lunched on the President's yacht, dined at the Dutch Embassy, held a press conference for the women correspondents.

Yesterday at the President's press conference she read a statement to the reporters. At the embassy she decorated certain American officers. Everything she did and said was news. The constitutional ruler of a democratic people, she made herself at home, competent, cordial, dignified in a strange environment she immediately made her own.

Queen Wilhelmina referred to the early association of her country and ours. Hers was the first country after France to recognize our independence. We at once negotiated a loan. We negotiated other Dutch loans when we could. Impotent financially, the Confederation made a few payments of interest. In 1785, when installments of principals as well as arrears of interest were due, Congress couldn't raise the money. If ultimately the debt was paid, remembrance of help given in our day of small things should add gratitude to our respect and admiration of Queen Wilhelmina and her people.

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
Friendship of the United States and the Netherlands was further cemented yesterday by the ceremonies at Washington in which President Roosevelt turned over to Queen Wilhelmina a submarine chaser to be added to the Dutch Navy and to bear her name, followed by a speech of thanks and appreciation by the Queen to Congress.

Between the United States and the Netherlands there have been cordial relations ever since the American flag was saluted, for the first time in history, by the guns of Holland. Now that the two nations are united in the
enterprise of winning the war and defeating tyranny and aggression, both in the
Atlantic and the Pacific, the ties are closer than ever before, and a friendship has
been formed which can never cease.

The subchaser Queen Wilhelmina, built in American yards, but to be taken into
battle by valiant Dutch sailors, is a symbol of that friendship. Long may the
Netherlands tricolor wave triumphantly at her staff!

Congress Hears a Queen
[Editorial from the New York Times of August 9, 1942]

For the first time in its history the Congress of the United States was addressed last
week by a reigning Queen. Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, a taller and more regal
figure than many of the legislators had been led to expect from her pictures, read her
speech in the Senate Chamber. In the name of her 9,000,000 subjects now under
German domination in Europe, of her 69,000,000 subjects now under Japanese
domination in the Netherlands East Indies, of her 280,000 subjects still free in the
Netherlands West Indies, she uttered the Netherlands answer to aggression:
‘Resistance, resistance until the end, resistance in every practicable shape or form.’

The 61-year-old Queen, who ascended the throne when she was 10, came before
Congress as part of her official visit to Washington. She was entertained at a state
dinner in the White House, received the gift of a 173-foot steel submarine chaser for
addition to the Netherlands Navy, visited the tomb of George Washington, attended
the President's press conference. As conclusion to her 3-day visit she decorated five
American naval officers for gallantry in the battle for the Netherlands East Indies.
Before coming to the Capital she had stayed with her daughter, Princess Juliana, and
her granddaughters at Lee, Mass.

The Queen's Address
[Editorial from the Washington Evening Star of August 8, 1942]

A keen and incisive comprehension of the elemental character of representative
government in the United States was manifested by Queen Wilhelmina of the
Netherlands in her address to the Congress on Thursday. No other foreign visitor in
recent years has demonstrated a truer understanding than she when she said: ‘Seeing
this great democratic assembly, renewing itself at regular intervals and meeting under
selfmade rules of law, seems to me a sure guaranty that liberty is forever young and
strong and invincible.’

Her Majesty left no doubt as to her meaning. She stipulated: ‘The autocrat,
incapable of rejuvenating himself, is every day nearer his end, his regime doomed
to die with him.’ The systems of tyranny which Hitler and Mussolini have built, she
might have explained, are inverted pyramids, destined to fall when they themselves
are snatched away by the unseen hand of fate. Fascism, let it be called by whatever
name, is a synthetic creation. It is assembled arbitrarily, adventurously, to serve an

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
immediate, expedient purpose. Nothing of natural growth is to be detected in the perverse dogmas of national socialism. The alleged ‘philosophy’ of Mein Kampf is a hideous hodgepodge of hysterical greed and hatred. A man frustrated, disillusioned, desperately sick produced that vicious book, and the utterances of his Black Shirt partner constitute a symptom of a like disease.

Queen Wilhelmina, had she wished, might have quoted from the poet Shakespeare in illustration of the ephemeral quality of dictatorships. She is familiar with the words put into the mouth of Mark Antony: ‘O mighty Caesar! dost thou lie so low? Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils, shrunk to this little measure?’ The answer to his questions he himself returns in his
funeral oration in the forum: ‘But yesterday the word of Caesar might have stood against the world; now lies he there. And none so poor to do him reverence.’

It is not thus with the nation for which Her Majesty spoke. Her people ‘cannot breathe in the sullen atmosphere of despotic rule.’ They ‘have developed their free institutions in their own progressive way, in accordance with their high regard for personal and national liberty.’ Freedom of religion and of speech, freedom from fear, and measurable freedom from want they had achieved by the slow processes of honest labor over the years. Now, momentarily, they are ruined by their enemies, but ‘their spirit grows with their hardships and they keep their unflinching belief in their liberation. * * * ‘No surrender’ remains their constant motto. Inside occupied territory and outside, the fight goes on.’ It could not be otherwise. Queen Wilhelmina has contributed to eventual victory by her exposition of the basic endowment which all civilized communities share.

**A Royal Visitor**

[Editorial from the New York Times of June 24, 1942]

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, who arrived in Ottawa last week, went yesterday to Lee in western Massachusetts to visit her daughter, Princess Juliana, and her grandchildren. In time she will be a guest at the White House. It is to be hoped that the people of this city, founded by Netherlanders, will have the pleasure of seeing a woman and a ruler whom they have learned to admire and respect. She came to the throne when she was not yet 10. Until she was of age in 1898 the Queen Mother was Regent. In the fall she will have been Queen 44 years.

She is the oldest living sovereign. She can remember the accession of Wilhelm II, later and so long her country's guest. Before the German savages despoiled it, the Netherlands was one of the most fortunate of lands, a country in the city, with prosperity and content widely distributed. Quiet, pious, cultivated, simple, averse to show, a friend of the bicycle, the Queen was faithful to every duty and exercised at times such a just influence as a constitutional monarch may. She was an admirer of Queen Victoria and won much of the legendary popularity of the earlier Queen.

From the treacherous onslaught of Hitler she took refuge in England, following the advice of her Cabinet. In the dark days of the overthrow of her kingdom and her empire we have come to know her. We have been privileged to hear her voice. Her tranquil courage has never abated. Americans honor her and her subjects, whether they are enduring hardship and oppression with stout hearts in the home country or in the vast island possessions they have lost for a time; whether they are fighting in the forces of the United Nations or sailing on the submarine-infested seas or exiles here or elsewhere. The Dutch have played a great and heroic part on the world's stage. They have been trained of old in calamity and resistance. They will hold out till the hour of victory.

In this persistence they can only gain by the example their Queen has set. A symbol who is also an admirable person in her own right, she is a rallying point for freedom.

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
The Fighting Spirit of a Queen
[Editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of August 9, 1942]

The American people have sensed in Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands a combination of common sense, shrewdness, and wisdom that rank her as a person of distinction in her own right. We know only too well how often the heads of royal houses have had a
one-sided training. Their lives have been so full of pageantry that they have had little sense of realism. They have been so dependent on others that they have had little occasion to develop their own individualities.

Queen Wilhelmina, although very much of an individualist, and known for her forthright views, has never in any sense ruled as a personal monarch. But she has been a Queen whose advice and opinions have been sought and welcomed by her own constitutional administrators. A fine intelligence, backed by the determination and tenacity traditionally associated with her people, have made her a power in world affairs in her own name. She knows in intimate detail the fate that awaits the world if Germany wins. This is why in her address to Congress on Thursday she called for ‘resistance, resistance until the very end, resistance in every practicable shape or form’ on the part of all the United Nations. In the days that lie ahead this advice will have to be often repeated.

The fact that Queen Wilhelmina is not the first Dutch ruler to see an all-powerful enemy apparently irremovably entrenched in the Netherlands is, of course, in itself an element of encouragement. The Dutch have previously driven out invaders in the face of overwhelming odds. They will do it again. And they will do it because the fighting spirit which their present Queen displays is in every Hollander worthy of the name.

Welcoming Queen Wilhelmina
[Editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of July 15, 1942]

In welcoming Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, the people of New York are at the same time paying tribute to the distinguished ruler of a brave people and renewing the sentimental tie that binds this city to the country of its first settlers. It is two and a half centuries since the Dutch flag last flew officially over the little port of New Amsterdam. Only a few names of families and streets survive as reminders that Dutch was once the language of Manhattan. The descendants of the Dutch have for generations intermarried with the descendants of other racial stock. Their cultural ties have long been more with England and France than with Holland.

But New Yorkers, regardless of origin, are proud of the modest Dutch beginnings of this enormous polyglot metropolitan center. When, two years ago last May, the Nazis followed up the rape of Norway with the crushing of Holland and Belgium, New Yorkers felt that the war had come even closer to them than before. As they read of the brutalities perpetrated in the Low Countries, and the magnificent resistance of the Dutch during and after their defeat, they realized that a Dutch heritage is something to be proud of. In the person of the Queen of the Netherlands they see the embodiment of that determination never to yield and that readiness to look upon adversity as merely a transitory evil which are characteristic of the Dutch people. Her Majesty has long been recognized as one of the ablest and shrewdest of Europe's sovereigns. For the moment her people are helpless and their fighting strength is crippled. But their spirit is still stanch, and the time will come—we hope in the not-too-distant future—when Dutch soldiers with their allies of the other United Nations will bring home a crushing defeat to the Axis powers.

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
No Surrender!
[Editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of August 7, 1942]

In a year when nations give visiting rulers submarine chasers instead of gold keys or ornamental fetes, it was both fitting and useful for the Netherlands' beloved Queen to stand Thursday on the rostrum of the United States Senate to address America's lawmakers.
‘Inside occupied territory and outside, the fight goes on,’ she reassured the American people. And it is no secret that after 2 years of occupation the Nazis feel less secure than ever in the country they had thought would readily become part of their colonization scheme. Quietly, persistently, doggedly, the people of the Lowlands have so hamstrung the plans of the invaders that the chaos in Holland is such as has never been known before. Yet the Dutch underground movement is well organized—so well organized that the German commander now threatens the death penalty to anyone found on the streets in case of an invasion.

It has become quite apparent that archflattery cannot cajole nor ruthlessness conquer this sturdy nation. From the East Indies to the West, incidents accumulate to prove their motto remains ‘No surrender.’ And from Batavia to Rotterdam Queen Wilhelmina’s words spoken from Washington will be found strengthening and supporting individuals in their determined fight for democracy. Support is felt, too, in her message that ‘liberty is forever young and strong and invincible.’ The United States is proud to be united by friendship and in its war effort with this brave people.

The Queen’s Speech
[Editorial from the Indianapolis (Ind.) News of August 7, 1942]

A forthright queen spoke forthright words before the United States Congress yesterday. Wilhelmina is beloved in her native Holland because she, like all true Hollanders, loves freedom. ‘Seeing this great democratic assembly,’ said the queen, who was the first woman sovereign ever to appear officially before Congress, ‘renewing itself at regular intervals and meeting under self-made rules of law, seems to me a sure guaranty that liberty is forever young and strong and invincible, whereas the autocrat, incapable of rejuvenating himself, is every day nearer to his end, his regime doomed to die with him.’

The queen then graciously added, ‘Where and what would the world be today were it not for the United States of America? My people everywhere feel as I do, those 9,000,000 of my compatriots in Europe and the some 70,000,000 in Asia and in the Western Hemisphere. Imagine what it means for a liberty-loving country to be in bondage.’ She then pledged: ‘Resistance, resistance until the end, resistance in every practicable shape or form. If in the material sense my people have been ruined by the enemy, their spirit grows with their hardships. Democracy is our most precious heritage. We cannot breathe in the sullen atmosphere of despotic rule.’

Queen Wilhelmina traced the development of free institutions and the guaranties of freedom, which has paralleled their coming into being in the United States and England. She proudly linked Holland’s military performances with those of kindred United Nations, and well she might, for the world will always remember the heroism of the Dutch, not only in their homeland but in the Pacific.

Holland’s honest peace aims were unequivocatingly and brilliantly presented. ‘We have adhered to the Atlantic Charter, and our lend-lease agreement with the United States points the way to wise international economic planning. We want nothing that does not belong to us. We want to resume our place as an independent nation, and we accept the responsibilities resulting from that situation. Above all, we want to

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, The Queen Looks at the Future
see suitable measures taken in order that henceforth no nation may think it can, with impunity, break its pledged word or attack others. United we stand, and united we will achieve victory.’

Wilhelmina prinses der Nederlanden, *The Queen Looks at the Future*
Visit of Her Majesty, Queen Wilhelmina, of the Netherlands
[From the Washington Evening Star of August 5, 1942] Welcome Guest

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands is assured of a cordial welcome in the Capital of the United States. She comes to Washington as the lawful representative of a people with whom great numbers of Americans are affiliated through ties of blood. Her presence here testifies to the understanding which exists between her government and that headed by President Roosevelt, himself a Hollander by descent. She speaks for what was once ‘the happiest country in Europe,’ the republic sponsored by William the Silent, a martyr in the cause of human freedom. Her right to her throne is unaffected by the occupation of her inheritance by ruthless enemies. She is a reigning sovereign, a personification of the principle of constitutional monarchy. In that role and in her own personal character as one of the truly great women of modern times she will be received.

The Queen was born August 31, 1880, and succeeded her father, King William III, when she was 10. She was educated under the direction of a noble mother—the beloved Regent, Queen Emma. Her ‘inauguration’ occurred on September 6, 1898, and she wedded the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin on February 7, 1901. One child—the Crown Princess Juliana—was the issue of her marriage. The royal family always has been deservedly popular with Netherlanders of all classes. Americans who have traveled in Holland can testify to Her Majesty's leadership of her people. She wears the crown by merit, not merely by accident of inheritance. When the German armies crossed her boundaries on May 10, 1940, they disturbed an administration which had lasted longer than any other then extant upon the Continent. Wilhelmina was the senior ‘chief of state’ on that tragic date. She remains the legitimate ruler of the Dutch nation and its dependencies. Her American contemporaries greet and applaud her as such, and they particularly salute her for the courage and the fortitude which she demonstrates in the prevailing crisis.

[From the Washington Post of August 7, 1942]
Queen Wilhelmina

We are accustomed to talk of the people in the occupied countries as the ‘silenced’ folk. But the Hollanders, whose Queen is now in Washington, are far from silent. Judging from the latest reports, they are making life most unpleasant for their Nazi overlords. Deprived of arms, unable to organize in the open, they must keep up the good fight either individually or in groups. Dutchmen are apt to loiter near the canals, waiting for night to come, when they might settle accounts with strolling Germans. A push, and the dark waterway swallows up the hated oppressors.

The hostility of the womenfolk cannot perhaps be so final, but it carries such a whiplash that Seyss-Inquart, the Nazis' civil administrator, in an outburst of anger, once called them ‘courteous scoundrels.’ No doubt girl shoppers in the stores are still making way for the German customers with the elaborate and sarcastic explanation that ‘they must be in a hurry to get to England.’ Perhaps there is more organized revolt underground than we think. At any rate, the Dutch are being prepared
for the establishment of a second front, so that, when the army of liberation appears, they can fight at its side. That they will fight, and fight with all their strength, is the common testimony.

The respect and affection of the Dutch people for Queen Wilhelmina has been intensified now that she is in exile. She commands this high regard because she is the
symbol of the living sovereignty of the Netherlands. But the Queen has earned it, too. Not for her any exemption from sacrifice when the people in the early days of the war were deprived of comforts and conveniences. She felt that the higher the position the more should be the sense of responsibility and of example. To her, privilege consisted in the denial of privilege. So she rode a bicycle when the people were called upon to be sparing with gas. No wonder the House of Orange has thriven on this kind of leadership principle. If the good Queen were questioned about her role, no doubt she would explain her conduct, with her accustomed simplicity, by saying that she was only a true daughter of Holland. She is, indeed. And Holland has grown great on the virtue and the quality that the royal house has exemplified.

These characteristics are forces which no Nazi occupation can overlay. On the contrary, they provide the strong right arm of Holland in adversity, and the pledge of deliverance. ‘Peace,’ said one of her greatest sons, Spinoza, ‘is not mere absence of war, but a virtue which arises from strength of soul.’ Holland drew upon this strength of soul to bring up her ‘lebensraum’ from the bottom of the sea. She drew upon it to make the tiny herring yield one of the highest living standards in Europe. So will she draw upon it one day to get rid of the Nazi yoke, and then she will once again enjoy a true peace.