

K.P. Lunteren lecture.

Europe in Ferment, August 1931.

Europe has only a few more years to live.

1917-22: Revolutions and Counter-revolutions

1929. Economic Collapse.

1931. Credit crises.

1932 Disarmament Conf. Matters come to a head.

Civilisations moral phenomena.

Significance of technical achievements depends on human ends.

Reality underlying them is "spiritual."

I. What happened to the world?

We have reached the stage at which all human relationships are regarded in the light of moral principles. If what can't be cured must be endured, it is even trued that what can be cured will never be endured and must not be. The cause of this Xtianity. Humanity will never go back upon this step.

Here lies the significance of Fascism. It solves(?) the problem by denying that these relationships should be moral. Only force decides. i.e. an attempt to revive paganism.

II. The State and Minority activity.

The state a primitive being, only able to clutch and kill - in its relationship to other states.

If a state pretends to be other than egotistic, it does so under the pressure of moral forces which have their origin in religion, not in politics.

The problem of taming the state is a problem of constructive thinking, of organisation and adaptation. New concept of the state must be born. The minorities, though small, are signs of forces which are not only in that minority but in the individual conscience of all citizens. This is why the state must take account of them. Every step forward taken only under the pressure of these invisible forces.

III. The first shock

III. The first shock: the war was possible.

Governments had to acknowledge the fact that war and civilisation - Xtian civilisation - are incompatible. Hence "War to end war." This slogan taken up in the 1914 war only under pressure. It was not a trick but a necessity forced on governments.

War was won by the promise that the peace would be just. This pledge made necessary the later contention that the Treaties were just. Up to then it had not been regarded as necessary that treaties should be just.

IV. Second shock: Peace

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IV. Second Shock: Peace was not possible.

The adherents of peace became the opponents of the adherents of the peace treaties.

But the treaties had, on the whole, ~~if~~ furthered the cause of national liberty and self-determination. Reparations bad. Those who stood for disarmament then were not mad idealists, but went to the core of the matter - for all depended on carrying out the disarmament clauses.

Germany's case for disarmament - equality of status. This a realist view - no country can be permanently kept down far less Germany. The L. of N. depended for its very existence on the recognition of this fact

i.e. The key lies in Disarmament of the victors, as a matter of political necessity if the Peace Treaties were to remain.

V. The third shock: All Problems are one

World economic crisis. i. American illusions about everlasting prosperity gone.

ii. Middle East movement for free trade.

iii. Credit Crisis. German banking and industry broken up, and £ sterling gone.

Fateful impact of politics on financial common-sense: e.g. French resistance to Hoover plan. Valuable time lost, and economic reconstruction held up. (Austro-German customs union.)

Formula of "moralising" the world applied also to social classes. Russian experiment, with all its faults, was an "attempt to find a solution on a big scale for the unity of problems, political, economic, cultural, in national and international spheres."