

## Elements of foreign policy.

Foreign policy is not a mere tangle of personal ambitions, rivalries and popular emotions. ~~It is~~ <sup>the</sup> pattern of international life may change from time to time, some general principles ~~nevertheless~~ <sup>remain</sup> unaffected. The aim of this course is to familiarize the student ~~with~~ <sup>both</sup> with the pattern of our time and the traits it may have in common with past periods of history.

*Topic 1, year*

### 1. Hundred Years Peace, 1815-1914.

War-years through three centuries.

~~THE BALANCE OF POWER AS A LAW OF HISTORY. HOW DOES IT SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITS INVOLVED? WHEN DOES IT ACT AS A GUARANTEE OF THE SURVIVAL OF SMALL STATES? THE TREATIES OF MUNSTER AND WESTPHALEN, 1648. THE TREATY OF UTRECHT, 1713. THE BALANCE OF POWER AS A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE CONCEPT OF EUROPE AND THE BALANCE OF POWER SYSTEM. THE FORMATION OF COUNTER-BALANCING ALLIANCES.~~ . The balance of power as a law of history. How does it safeguard the independence of the units involved? When does it act as a guarantee of the survival of small states? The Treaties of Muenster and Westphalen, 1648. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713 . The balance of power as a principle of international law. The Concert of Europe and the Balance of power system. The formation of counter balancing alliances.

### 2. The emergence of the 'peace interest'.

The comparatively recent character of this interest. Liberal capitalism and the nineteenth century organization of world economics. The existence of world markets for commodities, capital and currencies. The investment habit. The dependence of the so-called gold standard on the absence of general wars. incessant small wars, colonial wars and short wars remain localized .

### 3. The Versailles 'system'

4. *The emergence of regional systems.*

5.

{ Hitler's speech  
 Two worlds  
 Opposite philosophies

THE OBERLIN INN  
 OWNED AND OPERATED BY OBERLIN COLLEGE  
 OBERLIN, OHIO

What are the actual practical questions

Economic life needs Finance & Commerce

Capitalism: Reform of the capitalist system

(A)

- (a) Business cycle leveled out
- (b) leveling of income

Insider: (c) Regulation of incomes.

(B)

Profit and Exploitation } Lack of justice  
 Waste } ethical dignity  
 } subordination

(C)

requires: change in property system, but with (B) and  
 incidental with (A).

Actual changes under socialism: Profit not private;  
 Property system changed, profit obsolete abolished, not profit;

The functions of the market:

- (a) money - consumer's choice
- (b) price - subordination of calculation
- (c) gauge of demand

Today:

Income distributed by prices  
 Capital accumulated out of profits  
 Investment amount regulated by interest  
 ... .. direction " & profits  
 Extension of production  
 (overproduction)

Finance:

Corporations state: Nothing industries in charge  
 Syndical stage }  
 Cooperative stage }

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS IN POST WAR TIMES.

### INTRODUCTION.

A./1. The extent of the territories involved: about 500 Mill.  
130 USA, 170 USSR, 100 Japan, & 60 Germany, 40 Italy  
35 Poland, 30 Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece  
45 France. *250 Turkey 600*

2. England and island, not only geographically, but politically and culturally.

3; That you will not be able to remain isolated, but must adapt yourself. Everything will depend on whether this country is prepared to face the tasks in such a change especially the common man.

B./ The nature of the changes. Political and economic,  
The relation of the state to economics.  
i.e. to industry.

Fascism, Socialism, New Deal.

Our task is to become clear about what these are, to discover the dangers involved, how to meet them.

### FASCISM.

Preconceptions. : a/ Fascism is only an outcome of defeat.

That explains Fascism in Germany, in Hungary, Bulgaria, in Austria, but does not explain it in France, in Poland, in Italy, in Japan, or in the USA!

*r the Turkish*  
The Young officers Movement in Japan, the Iron Guard in Roumania, the Finnish, the Spanish, the Irish, for for that matter the English Movements cannot be explained in this way.

b/ Fascism is the outcome of the national psychology of a people, other than the English

But what is there in common between the psychology of the Magyar and the Roumanian, the Prussian and the Middle West, Father Coughlin, Huey Long's Louisiana world. Nothing more absurd and unscientific than this psychology affair.

The slogans the methods, the manner depends on psychology, but not the thing

c/ There is no such thing as Fascism. Only National Socialism, and Mussolini's Fascism, and Catholic Fascism in Austria, and Spanish Monarchism and Greek General's ambitions, and Social Crediters and so on.

This is quite ~~incorrect~~ incorrect. Federalism differs in England and France, in Persia and Japan, still identical.

Capitalism differs in USA and England, in Germany and Japan still it is the same system in different forms.

FASCISM A MOVEMENT OF OUR TIMES IN ALL COUNTRIES, whether victorious or defeated.

WITH ALL PEOPLES, what ever their psychology;

WHERE EVER INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION penetrated.

The difference between the Fascist Movements and Fascist institutions

F. fighting for power F. in power

F. in democratic countries. F. countries.

This is not the usual difference between a party out of power and in power. The effects of government, of power are well known: less keen in pursuing their programme. And so on. The two are different things caterpillar and altogether. As different as a ~~moth~~ butterfly.

I. Fascist Movements.

1./ *"irresponsible elements"* *convinced*  
Civilians, using force and violence, with the silent support of the Government, the police and the judiciary. Financed and supported by the heavy industry and the big business press.

Black and Tans, Awakening Magyars, Italian Fascio di combattimento, Officers detachments, in Finland, Hungary, [*Griditti, Papen, Seipel, etc.*]

2/ Always directed against ~~the~~ representative democracy and working class institutions, as long as these are under the leadership of the union man.  
Against political and party system.

- comprehensstatement of aims( programme)
- 3/ Never a ~~comprehensstatement of aims( programme)~~, or, if so it is declared as unimportant, usually it is vague, and it is never a reasoned programme. instead it is emotional, patriotic, race prejudice;  
*proud of it.*  
Very often anticapitalist, in a vague way, but never really socialist. It may call itself "true" socialism, but never accept the communal ownership of the means of production as against private ownership; it will stress banks instead of (industrial) ownership of the means of production; talk of finance instead of industry. Often "revolutionary" slogans, but making it clear that the upper classes need not fear anything.
  - 4/ Semi-legal character; wishing to gain power by winning over the constitutional parties; important events of the civil service, esp. army, police, gendarmerie; navy. etc. never using force against the authorities so long as these are conservative. actually offering to support them " law and order ".

II Fascism in power.

- 1/ Fascism in power behaves in a thoroughly revolutionary manner. i.e. force and violence are used wholesale.  
anti-capitalist *Totalitarian state.*
- 2/ Its "programme" is totally discarded, in fact it is never heard of any more. Italy, at once and radically,
- 3) Dictatorship an end, not a means. Germany, social credit and chain stores.
- 4/ Corporative state organised: "warehouses".

Capitalist trusts to run society :  
legislation, ineconomics,  
taxation m social insurance factory legislation  
Representative institutions abolished;

Parity of vocational representation.  
Denial of human equality.

■■■■■

■■■■■

■■■■■

■■■■■

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS IN OUR TIME.  
USA and New Deal.

c

Out of the depression 1929 a great transformation in the USA is growing out.

- Views :
- 1/ Fascist stunt, capitalist tendency;
  - 2/ Means ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~, or has been destroyed by Supreme Court little, anyway.
  - 3/ A great change in the USA, an important ~~XXXXXXXX~~ change in the working class position in the USA; perhaps important to the whole world e.g. programme of the Popular Front in France influenced by it;

I. The USA before the New Deal.

- 1/ No central government
  - a. No government President, (called Congress Courts; Governor)
  - b. No central government. Constitution. Powers of central government ~~XXX~~ interstate commerce clause;
- 2/ No social legislation; The very idea abhorred; Child's labour restriction clause declared unconstitutional because it infringed the liberty of the subject;

on the other hand:

- 3/ Social democracy to a very high degree (only income difference but no other difference)
  - English ideas of a/ distrust of the State.
  - b/ rugged individualism.
  - c/, snobbery.

4/ ruled by Wall Street.

II. The depression 1929.

The greatest trade depression ever ~~witnessed~~ <sup>experienced</sup>.

Hoover another Coolidge.

Roosevelt came in 1933 when all banks had to close down. Unemployment reached 15 Millions. Production fell to 11% of capacity in the steel industry.

The New Deal: Currency. Going off gold; But no inflation

National Recovery Act.

Codes in Industry .  
 Prices fixed, wages regulated.  
 unfair competition eliminated

Agricultural Adjustments Act.  
 Henry Wallace. ;  
 Restricting production, indemnifying the farmer for it  
 PROCESSING TAX on wheat and cotton;

Collective bargaining allowed.  
 A.F. o. L. small, reactionary, exclusive, craft, inefficient; non-political.

T.V.A. Tennessee Valley Authority.  
 Electricity ( power production )  
 Public utilities.  
 Railways private.  
 Gas and Electricity, private  
 Water: municipal.  
 Telephone and telegrams private  
 Post Office : Federal.  
 Supreme Court do not allow price fixing agreements with the Distributing companies

<sup>and</sup>  
 The Supreme Court decisions.

The N.R.A. What had been the matter with the codes?

The T.V.A. decision.

The Gold Clause .

The A.A.A. ~~REFORESTATION; REFORESTATION~~. Reafforestation, ~~REFORESTATION~~  
 Land reclamation Resettlement

Social insurance. ( Railway men's superannuation etc.)

Fight for the amendment of the Constitution. Two kinds of changes  
 Reform of the constitution  
 Amendments.

Roosevelt will amend;

Lunatic fringe. Huey Long: Share the wealth scheme

Father Coughlin: Social Justice

Townsendites. 200 dollars monthly after 60

Labour moving into politics

Industrial Unions formed

John Lewis

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ROOTS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS :  
NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

Decade 1925-35. War, Treaties, post-war disturbances <sup>WWE</sup> of 19th century type. New political-economic units emerging middle of Twenties. Italy (1925), ~~USSR~~ Russia (1927), Japan (1931), Germany (1933), U.S.A. (1933). International currency, credit and investment system passing away (1931).

Beginnings of new historical epoch? Origins of the crisis. National or international, political or economic? Interactions. Importance of right answer.

- 1/ Process in Central Europe starting from national sphere. A/ Economic dislocation due to a. War and Treaties; b. trade cycle. B/ Political dislocation ("Crisis of democracy") due to a/ War and Treaty problems as in defeated countries. Social Strain. Germany. Hungary. Bulgaria, Austria.

bb. in victorious states. Internal racial strain. Poland. Rumania. Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia etc.

b/ Extension of states functions. Protective. Regulative. Pressure of trade cycle. Dangers from sudden extension of international division of labour.

c/ Interaction of economic and political dislocation. "Interventionism". Antidemocratic tendencies in Capitalism.

- 2/ International effects. a/ Gold standard affected. Premature return in Central Europe (1922), subsequently in Western Europe (1925), partly responsible for U.S.A. crypto-inflation 1926-1929. b. Rigidity of wages. c. Impaired international mobility of labour and capital.

- 3/ Factors rooted in the international sphere. Contradictions inherent in Versailles system latent between 1920 and 1931. Japan keeps to Washington system. U.S.A. withdraws credits in war panic (1931). Defeat psychosis starts agrarian autarky in Central Europe. Gold standard becomes unworkable. Managed currencies, foreign trade control perpetuated. Internal crises aggravated. Autarky in Germany, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. precipitated.

Post-war tension in the international <sup>ational</sup> sphere, ultimately, an inheritance of pre-war times.

- 4/ Conclusions.