



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AND
TUTORIAL CLASSES COUNCIL :
TUTORIAL CLASSES COMMITTEE

SYLLABUS

FOR A TUTORIAL CLASS ON

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The International System—Political and Economic

FIRST YEAR :

Inter-War Period : The Foreign Policies of the Powers

BY

KARL POLANYI, DR. JUR.

METHOD OF CONDUCTING TUTORIAL CLASSES

University Tutorial Classes are based upon the principle of comradeship in study, and students are expected to co-operate in every possible way to secure the success of the Class and of the educational movement of which it is a part.

Regularity of attendance is essential if full benefit is to be derived from the Class. The cause of any unavoidable absence should be notified to the Class Secretary.

The Class meets weekly twenty-four times in each of three consecutive winter sessions. Each meeting lasts two hours, at least half of the time being given to discussion, or other work, in which the students take an active share. Occasional informal meetings between sessions are also commonly arranged.

Regular practice in written work, normally every week or two, is part of the training offered by the course. This work varies according to the subject studied and the needs of different students, and may include simple exercises or the preparation of notes or diagrams as well as the writing of essays. Elaborate productions are not expected from beginners.

University Tutorial Classes are established to help working men and women to gain knowledge for themselves and their fellows on matters in which they are specially interested. The effort of the students as well as the tutor should be to consider disputed questions with calmness of tone and from every aspect in order that a scientific attitude and method may be acquired.

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM—POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

First Year :

Inter-war Period : The Foreign Policies of the Powers.

Second Year :

Economics in International Life : The ideological and the geographical factor.

Third Year :

International Organisation : Sovereignty, League, Federation and Regionalism.

The aim of this Course is to introduce the student to the study of international affairs. It assumes a live interest in world problems and a readiness to view the international system both in its political and its economic aspect.

In the first year we will undertake a survey of world problems. The best approach to the actual issues appears to be given through a study of the foreign policies of the Powers in the inter-war period during which the so-called Versailles system was in force. This will enable the student to get acquainted with the requirements of an international political system and also with the manner in which the actual issues of world politics arise out of the different attitudes of the Powers. These attitudes should be understood as being determined by more or less permanent causes inducing definite policies and coming to a head in historical events. Much of what might appear on the surface as a mere juxtaposition of accidents may then reveal itself as the fairly rational outcome of the interaction of the underlying factors.

In the second year the economic institutions of the Nineteenth Century will be more closely surveyed. Some acquaintance with this chapter of economic history seems indispensable for an understanding of the manner in which the international political system worked during the period. The

geographical and the ideological factors which between them account for much of the history of economic institutions will be emphasised.

In the third year a review of the field of international organisation might be undertaken by the class, in contemporary terms.

First Year.

Inter-war Period : The Foreign Policies of the Powers. Part I.—Hundred Years' Peace.

Absence of general wars during the period 1815–1914. Contrast with the two preceding centuries, as well as with the last three decades. Innumerable minor, mainly exotic wars occurred during that period. By what means were these conflicts isolated? The role of the balance of power and of high finance.

Balance of power as a historical law. David Hume on balance of power. Treaties of Muenster (1648), Utrecht (1713) and Vienna (1815). Independence, not peace the predominant interest of states. Balance of power as a policy, as a principle and as a system. The emergence of a specific peace interest in the Nineteenth Century. High finance, the organiser of wars but also an instrument of their isolation.

The Concert of Europe and its disintegration. Two counter-balancing alliances not constituting a balance of power system.

FUETER, E. : *World History, 1815–1920.*

FYFEE, C. A. : *A History of Modern Europe, 1792–1878.*

HAWTREY, R. G. : *Economic Aspects of Sovereignty.*

HOBSON, J. A. : *Imperialism.*

LENIN, V. I. : *Imperialism.*

MAHAN, A. T. : *The Influence of Sea Power upon History.*

MAHAN, A. T. : *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793–1812.*

MOON, P. T. : *Imperialism and World Politics.*

MOWAT, R. B. : *The Concert of Europe.*

MOWAT, R. B. : *European History, 1878–1923.*

MUIR, R. : *The Expansion of Europe.*

MUIR, R. : *Nationalism and Internationalism.*

PHILLIPS, W. A. : *The Confederation of Europe.*

RICHMOND, SIR W. H. : *Sea Power in the Modern World.*

SCHUMAN, F. L. : *International Politics.*

SCHWARZENBERGER, G. : *Power Politics.*

SEELEY, SIR J. R. : *The Growth of British Policy.*

Part II.—The Versailles “system.”

The international political system in the inter-war period. Permanent unilateral disarmament of the defeated without occupation. The fictitious nature of the League. Art. 16 on sanctions and Art. 19 on revision not implemented. The self-liquidating character of such peace treaty issues as reparations and disarmament. Territorial questions the hard core of revisionism. The revisionist and the anti-revisionist camp. Policies of the Powers in regard to the Versailles “system.”

1 THE U.S.A. AND VERSAILLES.

The Senate “veto.”

The two party system.

The Monroe doctrine, its history and meanings.

Business and politics in America.

“Defensive imperialism.”

2. THE U.S.S.R.

The “cordon sanitaire.”

Wars of intervention.

The “world revolution” period.

The rise of Fascism.

The new League policy of the U.S.S.R

The U.S.S.R. and Munich.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty.

The change to “defensism.”

3. GREAT BRITAIN.

The balance of power policy.

British “revisionism.”

The meaning of appeasement.

The Munich period.

Britain's stand.

4. FRANCE.

The French system of post-War alliances.
 Anti-revisionism and "security" policy.
 French internal dissensions.
 Laval's policies.
 The meaning of the French Renaissance.

5. ITALIAN POLICIES.

Italy, psychologically a defeated country.
 Treaty with the Soviets, Korfu, the patronage of Hungarian and Austrian Fascism.
 From the Four Power Pact to the formation of the Axis.
 Abyssinia, Spain and the Anti-Comintern Pact.
 The Fascist débâcle.

6. GROUPS OF SMALL NATIONS.

Scandinavia.
 Low Countries.
 Little Entente.
 Baltic States and Poland.

7. FAR EAST.

Japanese imperialism.
 U.S.A. between two oceans.
 China's struggle for unity.
 The Indian and Malayan independence movement.

ARMSTRONG, H. F. : *The New Balkans.*

BEARD, C. A. AND M. : *The rise of American Civilization.* New edition.

BROGAN, D. W. : *Politics and Law in the United States.*

BRUCK, W. F. : *Social and Economic History of Germany.*

BUELL, R. L. : *Democratic Governments in Europe.*

BUELL, R. L. : *Europe : A History of Ten Years.* New edition.

BUELL, R. L. : *New Governments in Europe.*

CARR, E. H. : *International Relations Since the Peace Treaties.*

CARR, E. H. : *Britain : A Study in Foreign Policy.*

CARR, E. H. : *Conditions of Peace.*

CARR, E. H. : *The Future of Nations.*

- CARR, E. H. : *The Twenty Years' Crisis.*
 CHAMBERLIN, W. H. : *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921. Christianity and the Social Revolution.*
 COLE, M. I. AND SMITH, C. : *Democratic Sweden.*
 CRANE, J. O. : *The Little Entente.*
 ECKART, H. V. : *Russia.*
 FAY, S. B. : *The Origins of the World War.*
 FINER, H. : *Mussolini's Italy.*
 FISHER, L. : *The Soviets in World Affairs.*
 GEDYE, G. E. R. : *Fallen Bastions.*
 GOOCH, G. P. : *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy.*
 GORKY, M. (ed.) : *History of the Civil War in U.S.S.R.*
 GUESHOFF, I. E. : *The Balkan League.*
 GUNTHER, J. : *Inside Europe.*
 HALL, S. KING- : *The World Since the War.*
 HARDY, G. M. GATHORNE- : *A Short History of International Affairs.*
 HUDDLESTON, S. : *France.*
 HUDSON, C. F. : *The Far East in World Politics.*
 HUDSON, C. F. : *Hungary Yesterday and To-day.*
 HUTTON, G. : *Danubian Destiny.*
 JACKSON, J. H. : *Europe Since the War.*
 JACKSON, J. H. : *The Post-war World : A Short Political History.*
 JARMAN, T. L. : *Turkey.*
 JASZI, O. : *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary.*
 KOHN, H. : *Nationalism in the Soviet Union.*
 LOCKHART, R. B. : *Memoirs of a British Agent.*
 LOWRIE, D. A. : *Masaryk of Czechoslovakia.*
 MACARTNEY, C. A. : *Problems of the Danube Basin.*
 MACHRAY, R. : *Poland, 1914-1931.*
 MEDLICOTT, W. N. : *British Foreign Policy Since Versailles.*
 MERRIMAN, R. B. : *The Monroe Doctrine.*
 MIRSKY, PRINCE D. S. : *Lenin.*
 NAUMANN, F. : *Central Europe.*
 NEVINS, A. : *America in World Affairs.*
 REED, J. : *Ten days that Shook the World.*
 R.I.I.A. : *The Balkan States : (i) Economics.*
 R.I.I.A. : *The Baltic States.*
 R.I.I.A. : *British Far Eastern Policy.*
 R.I.I.A. : *Information Department Papers : South Eastern Europe.*
Russia : Communist Party. History of the C.P. of the S.U.
 RUTTER, O. : *The New Baltic States.*
 SCHONFIELD, H. L. : *The Treaty of Versailles.*
 SCUDDER, E. S. : *The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace.*
 SPAULL, H. : *The Baltic States.*
 TAYLOR, A. J. P. : *Germany's First Bid for Colonies.*
 TROTSKY, L. : *The History of the Russian Revolution.*
 URCH, R. O. G. : *Latvia : Country and People.*
 WATSON, R. W. SETON- : *Britain and the Dictators.*
 WATSON, R. W. SETON- : *Britain in Europe.*

Part III.—The Grand Alliance.

1. ORIGIN OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

Maginot Line and Dunkirk.
 Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R.
 Pearl Harbour.
 Moscow and Teheran.

2. THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS.

Vichy and Darlan.
 De Gaulle and Giraud.
 The F.F.I.
 The Tito Army.
 Czech, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch and Belgian resistance movements.

3. GERMANY.

The meaning of Hitlerism—

- (a) up to 1933,
- (b) from 1933 to 1939,
- (c) from 1939 to 1944.

BRAUNTHAL, J. : *Need Germany Survive ?*
 DAVIES, J. E. : *Mission to Moscow.*
 HEIDEN, K. : *A History of National Socialism.*
 HINDUS, M. : *Russia Fights On.*
 HITLER, A. : *Mein Kampf* (unexpurgated edition).
 NEUMANN, F. : *Behemoth.*
 RAUSCHNING, H. : *Germany's Revolution of Destruction.*
 RAUSCHNING, H. : *Hitler Speaks.*
 RAUSCHNING, H. : *Makers of Destruction.*
 R.I.I.A. : *Great Britain, France and the German Problem.*
 R.I.I.A. : *The Problem of Germany.*
 SHIRER, W. L. : *Berlin Diary.*
 WERTH, A. : *The Last Days of Paris.*
 WILKIE : *One World.*
 WOLFERS, A. : *Britain and France Between Two Wars.*

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AND TUTORIAL CLASSES COUNCIL:

TUTORIAL CLASSES COMMITTEE.

TUTOR'S REPORT FORMS AND REGISTER OF WRITTEN WORK

Session.....1944/45..... Year of Course.....FIRST.....

Tutorial Class.....Barnet.....

Subject.....International Affairs.....

Total Number of Pieces of Written Work.....

Tutor.....Karl POLANYI.....

INSTRUCTIONS TO TUTORS

Detailed instructions are issued to Tutors.

If from illness or other cause a Tutor is on any occasion unable to conduct his class, he should at once communicate with the Secretary for Tutorial Classes, University of London, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, W.C.1, as well as with the Secretary of the class.

Notes on Written Work

Based on the suggestions of the London Group of the National Association of Tutorial Class Tutors

No uniform or standardised method of annotating essays is laid down. The method is bound to vary with each Tutor.

Written comment reasonably full and detailed, and dealing with specific points as well as with the paper as a whole, is generally desirable, but not in every instance. Comments may be written on the student's paper or on a separate sheet or on both.

Written comments should in many cases be supplemented, and may in exceptional cases be replaced, by conversation with the student individually.

In many cases it is also desirable to comment in class on the written work, or to ask students to read passages from their written work to the class.

It is regarded as bad in principle to mark on the several essays any symbol indicating a specific standard. It is impossible to adopt a uniform standard of marking in face of the widely differing standards of composition among students, and the adoption of a personal standard for each student is also objectionable.

Moreover, some of the same objections apply to grading essays by marks as to adopting any form of competitive examination in connection with Tutorial Classes. All that is needed can be done by verbal and written comments without any form of marking or grading of written work.

Each Tutor, however, will probably find it desirable to keep for his private information such a record of the written work of each student as will indicate his progress.

Register of written work done by the Students

This Form is provided for the convenience of the Tutor. It need not be returned to the Committee.

| Names of <u>all</u> Students | 1st Paper | 2nd Paper | 3rd Paper | 4th Paper | 5th Paper | 6th Paper | 7th Paper | 8th Paper | 9th Paper | 10th Paper | 11th Paper | 12th Paper | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 1 Barnett K | F | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (9) 9 18 |
| 2 Berloe G | M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | <i>dropped out</i> | | | | (0) 8 8 |
| 3 Bock K | F | / | | | | | | | | | | | (0) 1 1 |
| 4 Booth A | M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (7) 5 12 |
| 5 Booth J | F | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (3) 4 7 |
| 6 Field E | F | / | / | / | / | / | / | | | | | | (2) 3 5 |
| 7 Ford E | F | / | / | / | / | / | / | | | | | | (7) 6 13 |
| 8 Ford RC | M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (0) 7 7 |
| 9 Gooding F | F | / | | | | | | | | | | | (2) 5 7 |
| 10 Gooding J | F | / | / | / | / | / | / | | | | | | (3) 1 4 |
| 11 Holm B | F | / | / | / | / | | | | | | | | (1) 1 2 |
| 12 Hamani E | M | / | / | | | | | | | | | | (6) 10 16 |
| 13 Jones E.G. | M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (1) 2 3 |
| 14 Kingley F | M | / | / | / | | | | | | | | | (0) 3 3 |
| 15 Morris F M | F M | / | / | / | | | | | | | | | |

Carried over ... 77
(48) + 119

| Names of <u>all</u> Students | 1st Paper | 2nd Paper | 3rd Paper | 4th Paper | 5th Paper | 6th Paper | 7th Paper | 8th Paper | 9th Paper | 10th Paper | 11th Paper | 12th Paper | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|------------|------------|----------|
| 16 Rawlings A. F | / | / | / | | | | | | | Brought over ... | | | 119 |
| 17 Rawlings H. M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | | | | 77 |
| 18 Reid H. M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (1) 2 3 |
| 19 Shaw V. F | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (3) 6 9 |
| 20 Stoddard J. M | / | / | / | / | / | | | | | | | | (2) 1 13 |
| 21 Thomas E. M | / | / | Fores paper returned in class | | | | | | | | | | (0) 2 2 |
| 22 Yetton E. M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | (0) 5 5 |
| 23 Yetton L. M | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | | | | (1) 1 2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | (5) 7 12 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | (3) 6 9 |

Total ... 117
 (15) 155
214

Barnet:

National foreign policies.

~~United States foreign policy.~~

Some factors determining the foreign policy of a country are permanently given by geographical ~~fact~~ facts- (e.g. England's island position). This made her more vulnerable as long as she was not united, less vulnerable when she became united-- but was a factor all the time. ^(effects) The Norman conquest formed the turning point. ^{organized in nations. 16th}

These factors usually determine the principles of its foreign policy i.e. the rules of behavior ~~consistently~~ ^{consistently} followed, such as the balance of power policy or isolationism or neutrality (Switzerland) i.e. they are an other formul. of

Such principles are self-regarding by definition. ^{interests.}

The more or less narrow formulation. (including or excluding the interests of others), makes no difference in this respect. While an individual ^{own} may consider a course of action which involves his annihilation in the service of transcending claims, this is ~~unnecessary~~ not possible in respect to a community. **No leaders of a community can consider in advising a course of action which would sacrifice the community to other interests.** ^{This would amount to the dissolution of the}

~~eliminate~~ or interests from community.

Does this make ideal values, ~~unnecessary~~ international life? ^{or interests}

Not at all- ~~The reason is that~~ such values/ may play an essential part in ~~securing the~~ preconditions of the safety and security of a community. (Take a religious or a social ideal of a community: it may be part of its way of life without which it would lose its identity-- and be destroyed. The same applies to a mission with which a community has identified itself: social, religious or national, The interest of the self then involves the mission, and then interests ^{those} ~~of the self~~ ^{then} are inseparable from the 'interests of the mission.') i.e. its requirements, and demands. (//). The country may have an

interest in the maintenance of the principles of international law, of international fairness, of national self-determination. To formulate these

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

1. Hundred Years Peace.

The basic ~~background~~ fact: The Hundred Years Peace.

- 1. 18 months of War plus 24 months .
 six months, plus six weeks, plus 9 months.
 60 to 70 years in the comparable periods.
- 2. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 Quincey Wright
 Fuller .. continuous wars.

No absence of causes for wari.e. major dislocations ..

- a. In the first half : 1815-1846 (31) (1846-1871)
- b. Second-half 1871-1914. (43)

Holy Alliance: *Continuance* ~~continuous~~ interventions.

- Spain 1823
- Greece 1822 ?
- Belgium 1830
- Switzerland 184?
- Germanies
- Luxembourg
- Hungary 1849.

NNNNNNN
Barnet.

French Foreign policy.

100 years: 14 & 15th
1337-1413
1689-97; 1701-1713; - 1713
1717-1763; (2 years)
1792

The traditional enemy of this country was first France
then Spain, then Holland, then France again, before Germany became
that country. Since 1648 (The Treaty of Westphalen) France was in
the ascendant, and this country was for/ ~~abundantly~~ engaged in wars
1700-1815. followed by sharp rivalry.
with France/ .During Charles II reign France threatened the internaal
peace of this country. Louis XIV and Napoleon Bonaparte, ~~monarchs~~
and, finally, Napoleon III represent the high lights. Upto 1900
(precisely 1898) this enmity/continued, covering approximately two
centuries.

The first German War was part of Bismarcks national unity policy,
and was actually brought off by ~~the~~ Bismarck. He had been very moderate
in his ^{peace} terms towards Austria (after 1866) , because he rightly ^{feared} ~~was~~
~~French~~ aggression. He forestalled this by the 'Ems telggram' which
~~provoked~~ ^{provoked} French Absolutists (Roman Catholics),
~~persuaded~~ King William of Prussia to declare war. on ~~France~~. The
War was won by Germany which proceeded to establish the new Empire.
For in this war Bavaria, Saxony, Baden Thuringia were its allies, ~o
So that in Versailles in 1871 the Empire could be proclaimed.

Peace conditions were failry reasonable , but not generous.
Though colonies were not accpeted , huge reparaations ^{5,000,000,000 g.fy} were stiupated
and more over Alsace Lorraine which is French in feeling though not
quite so much in nationality. (Bismarck acted under the pressure of
the military against his own better judgment). Napoleon III lost his
trhone and the so-called Third Republic was established , under
Thiers. The Constitution of 1875 dates from that time.

1/ Fear of Germany- revanche- rivalry with England- 'France is
Europe'. (since Louis XIV and ~~Napoleon~~ French Revolution , including Na-

France

poison, France felt she was Europe). England was not a continental power, nor did she wish to be regarded as 'Europe', Spain had faded out, Russia was distant and backward, Italy helpless and divided, Germany did not exist, Prussia was new and crude: so France was Europe

But France was not only a great military power, she was also a great financial power, consequently she could make it worth while to Russia to become ^{her} ally. 22,000,000,000 gold francs were lent for/strategic the building of railways to Russia before 1914. The alliance dates from 1891, and was the starting point of the Entente which eventually countered the Triple Alliance.

The second German War was precipitated by the Habsburgs to save their crumbling empire, but in this they had the blank check of the German Germans. Actually it was Germany's policy which made the war unavoidable in 1914. She thought too much prestige would be lost if she withdrew and accepted a compromise-- arbitration on Serbia-- which was quite possible. So this War was definitely forced upon France by Germany ... By this time Germany was obviously the growing power, and militarily stronger than France with her falling population. (However it is not true that Germany therefore followed a peaceful policy' because she had nothing to gain by war ' as the Germans sometimes argue). On the contrary she followed a provocative and aggressive policy; on the other hand, she was a late comer and the other did not invite her to ~~share~~ deal out the world a new as between Germany and themselves. The 1914 War though Germany was at no pains to avoid it which establishes the responsibility of her rulers, was still a War in the old conservative sense of limited aims and shifting the balance in favour of the growing new comer. However, during the War Germany's appetite grew, and she began to nourish much more ambitious a

aims. This is true in respect to Belgium and the metropole of Lorraine, ^{-Longwy and Bri} coveted by the Langnam Verein- as well as in respect to Mitteleuropa and the Ukraine.

Ultimately Germany lost the War and France was now not only stronger but also deeply alarmed on account of 1. the second War upon her in 50 years, 2. Germany's ambitious plans.. ~~Germany's plans.~~

France now became the militarily preponderant power on the continent. Russia had dissolved. Germany was disarmed. Italy was weak. England was letting her armaments fall into abeyance in expectation of some measure of disarmament, And the USA had withdrawn from Europe.

And yet it was the USA which had won the War. But for her it might have been lost...

France now started out on a system of alliances:

1. Eastern European alliances: Czech, Yugoslav, Polish, and Roumanian.
2. She was keeping Germany down, mainly with the help of reparations which had been fixed too high.
3. Trying to ~~convince~~ ^{persuade} this country to guarantee the peace. This we did not do
 - a. on account of Poland's Eastern frontier.
 - b. on account of the absence of America from the ~~guarantee~~ ^{guarantee.}
4. As to Italy France made no concessions although Italy's claims were both moderate and not unreasonable (Tunis Italian nationality)
5. The League of Nations was built by France into an instrument of military domination of the Europe.

Conflicts with Great Britain :

| | |
|----------------|------------------------------------|
| Ruhr affair | January 1923 |
| Italy | Tunis |
| America | War debts |
| Russia | Intervention and anti Soviet drive |
| Hungary | Little Entente support. |
| <u>Germany</u> | on everything. |
| | reparations |
| | disarmament |
| | Poland |
| | Austria etc.. |

After the rise of Hitler France remained just as intransigent on Germany but at the same time she became more and more disunited. The cleavage between 'left' and 'right' was patent since 6 Febr. 1934.

France is the great instance of a country cleft by the social conflict of our times. The Alliance with Russia was never implemented nor did France really support us in the last minute. True, our appeasement

The social factor in French foreign policy.

1. France is the country with the oldest tradition on foreign affairs on a European scale. Louis XIV, even more Napoleon thought to them think in European terms. *International Law, League - Sanctions*

An intensely patriotic people, who know nothing outside France. Right or wrong my country - No: My country - and that 's the end of it.

Most ^{students'} papers rightly expressed astonishment over France's downfall. But it is the same factor which dominated the history of

1. Spain
2. Italy.
3. Germany
4. Russia
5. USA

6. At present Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, ^{Belgium} ~~France~~, ^{Finland} Austria (esp. 1933)
7. And Great Britain during the appeasement years. behind which there was much distrust of Communism leading to Spain, to favouring Mussolini, the appeasing of Hitler, and the whole ~~of the~~ appeasement policy of ~~the~~ Neville Chamberlain.

2. France upto 1934 seemed absolutely impregnable. Her military allies together with her army and indeed air force, added to ~~to~~ her immense financial strength made her appear so. *that*
- a England twice saved financially by France. 1931
 - b The gold of Europe in her coffers.
 - c Her foreign policy showed steadfast straight consistent lines.
 - d No disunity about foreign policy. ~~nothing~~. None of any importance. Laval made the agreement with Stalin. And that after 1934!

3. Yet France was in for the same type of cleavage as other countries. France extremely individualist. Small peasant's psychology. ever since the French revolution. *No TR Unions of Nat. scope*

Petit rentier more investment minded than the British.

La boutique.. 40,000 francs and then retire.

He goes fishing on a very small sum. Very parsimonious. Very family minded. One child. Incredible high level of education.

This makes for great prestige of banking. The ~~the~~ 200 families. are the Banque de France families.

The gold standard ~~was~~ ^{even} more strongly upheld than in England.

The Church and the military associated with the wealthy (Dreyfus).

4. The rule of high finance. Ruling by panic. "The currency in danger!..." The left under the shadow of inflationism. Exactly like here in 1931 Macdonald waving a German billion mark note.. Actually there was a bankers ramp.

Same banker's ramp in France.. Incessantly. Left governments habitual ly thrown out of office by a slump on the stock exchange managed by the Banue de France. ' which is much more than the Bank of England a class institution...) The Bank of England has ceased to be anything of the kind. With us it would be the Treasury, which would declare that there must be annn a ' cut' etc...

As long as gh high fianone has the strings, they can anytime overawe democratic government. It is an external system like the Church, or like the Army which does not bow to democratic parliamentary majorities, but makes and unmakes them.

5. France broke when the country could only be saved at the price of handing power to the people. Then the ruling classes perferred in capitulation to Germany, They gave away Czechoslovakia. etc.

The Communists did not ~~follow~~ consistently a national line. They did only until war was declared and Germany sided with Russia. Then the socialis ts split on the pancifist issue (pretty much as the Labour Party had on Abyssinia). The Bonnet's (with Daladier) simply forced the country to go with Hitler, hoping for the best. After WWN Munich Great Britian could not rely on France. But we had forced her hand on Spain.

-rightly- disarmament proposals to Germany..

6. Consequently we first made ~~arrangements with Germany~~ France made the Jan. 7th 1935 agreement with Mussolini over Abyssinia.

We made the Naval agreement with Hitler.

France wanted a stand on Spain.

We truned that down.

France turned defence of Czechoslovakai down.

We went all the way to appease Hitler

Finally France failed us on the day of declaration of wWar.

7. This country followed a gold standard strategy. So did France .. So did and does the USA...

8. The idea that class antagonisms are not vital is unreal.

1 Spain Franco

2 Italy Musso Italin Thyssen: Analdo

3 Germany Thyssen etc.

4 USA: Ford Now- Jones vs Wallace.

5 Russia : Her united nation now strong.. Look at Tsarism..

6. Greece etc.

7. Great Britain's policy almost destroyed her. In the next perio we may fail unless we solve our problems.

8. France potentially very strong. Reason: more or less planned economy a head..

Barnet.

German foreign policy. (first lecture)

A. Background (uptil Versailles)

I. Germany like Italy is an entirely new and recent state; altogether only 3/4 century old.

Here lies the ~~essence~~^{keys} of her history. The German peoples of the Middle Ages ceased to have a history by the time the modern age began. The same events which started the Atlantic seaboard states on their development to nations -- the discovery of America and the consequent importance of the Atlantic and of seapower -- made the Germanies into a backwater.

(1618-48) By the time of the Reformation, Germany did not as a power exist any more. During the counter-reformation Spain, Sweden, France, Austria, disported themselves on German territory which was ~~unannihilated~~ devastated to a degree comparable only to the present Nazi ravages in Russia and Poland.

to the German nation in the 18th Century.

The rise of Prussia (Frederick the Great 1740-1786) made no difference. Frederick hardly spoke German and actually did not possess a German book in his Sans Souci library. He was entirely dominated by the ideas of the Enlightenment and was more of a Frenchman than a German. Still the struggle for supremacy between Prussia and Austria in the Germanies was of great importance, since (1740-1866) ultimately Germany was united under Prussia in the three national wars of Bismarck (1864, 1866 and 1870).

in a few hours battle 1813-1815

However, Prussia had ^{not} in the mean time been ~~acquiring~~^{Hobbes, 7 nearly a Franco-Prussia} power, at all. Not Prussia but Austria was the Great Power in the Germanies between the death of Frederick the Great and the Battle of ~~Sadowa~~^{Sadowa} (1866.) Prussia was beaten in 1806 by Napoleon at Jena and simply faded out ~~after that~~. She played a ~~minor~~ small part in the great wars of liberation against Napoleon (in spite of Bluedher's help at Waterloo); and it was Austria which dominated the scene during that ~~whole~~ period. It was Austria, not Prussia that led the Holy Alliance (1815-1848) and again it was Austria, not Prussia that presided in the Germany Bund founded in 1815 in Vienna in the Bundes Akte. Metternich, not ~~the~~ (unknown statesmen of Prussia) Prussia were Castlereagh's and Canning's opposites in that ~~long~~ period.

entirely original

(main feeling)

II. German unity arose in stages.

The dynasties felt threatened by ~~it~~^{German patriotism}, and hardly dared (make use of nationalist ideals. They were thoroughly anti-nationalist as much as Frederick the Great and Metternich had been. ~~The~~ ^{to} patriots were imprisoned, and for every one Napoleon had ~~shot~~^{put to death}, the German Princes--Prussian and Austrian ~~put to death~~ two. This is true of students and poets, university professors and youth leaders alike.

(dilemma)

against Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, Hanover

Prussia tried to make her way with the help of the liberal ideals of Free Trade, since she felt that this would weaken Austria-- a country industrially backward which could not compete with the more advanced Germanies. Moreover, free trade was ^{also} an agrarian slogan in the 18th century, and in Prussia both manufacturers and landowners supported free trade. Bismarck up to 1878 was a convinced free trader. ^{Understandably:} Free Trade meant primarily ~~free~~ freer trade with the neighbouring German States, who gradually drew together in the German Customs Union. This was not a patriotic endeavour. When in 1848 the German Crown was offered by German democrats to Frederick William IV of Prussia he refused to accept the Crown, since he did not wish to pass over to constitutional and democratic ideas. No German patriotism existed yet in Berlin.

1818
1832

III. Bismarck himself only very gradually became ^{a national figure} ~~an empire builder~~. He was essentially a . a conservative Junker (true-blue) b. intensely loyal to the King, a strong monarchist; c. he hated constitutionalists and democrats. ^{But} his service of the King almost inadvertently made him a servant of ~~the~~ German unity. Once ~~it~~ was established, he was glorified as the united of the German nation. Actually he merely wished to serve his king and did not feel a German at all... But by this time industrialism was rampant and Bismarck turned protectionist, in 1879, and colonialist about 1882. From that time onward Germany was in for an entirely new type of race. The people of dreamers and poets i.e. a non-nation of cosmopolitan attitude developed nationalist traits as intense as those of any other country.

Germany

(even after 1871)

IV. Still, Germany was not a united people. A. Federalism was really a remnant of the 300 Germanies. B. The Catholic South continued to be ultra-montane. To sabotage the Empire which was Protestant and to look towards the Pope in Rome and the Emperor in Vienna. The various Catholic dynasties, (The Wittelsbach in Bavaria and the Saxon dynasty in Dresden) meant an element of weakness. C. The social problem was not resolved. Although Bismarck had consciously made social legislation and social insurance into an element of state building, his persecution of the Social Democrats had failed. and the ban against them had to be withdrawn. Prussian restricted franchise - drei klassen wahlrecht - was a hidden weakness of the nation.

Kulturkampf

"Diet voting in curial"

V. Imperialism was the driving force behind the William II regime, Bismarck was dismissed, the Army was made the most important constitutional factor, the building of a big Navy was envisaged, and most important of all, a blustering and dragooning tone was introduced which very soon turned all Great Powers against Germany (except the helpless Austrian Empire and Italy which had established itself on the fence).

VI. The first World War did not stop the development of German to national unity. Weimar was at least as united as William's Germany. But the great chance given to the middle and working classes to rule Germany was lost.

why?

GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

(secret letter)

The Versailles Treaty

(a) territorial clauses Much complaint with little good cause. The English Left was utterly mistaken about this and although the balance of power policy required some such attitude it was taken on the wrong points.

(b) reparations. An utterly thoughtless piece of self delusion. J.M. Keynes: The Economic Consequences of the Peace. 132,000,000,000 ~~pounds~~ gold marks. later reduced to something like 125,000,000,000 over 65 years.

Actually America had not even considered taking the steps that would have allowed Germany to pay. Consequentially it meant investing in Germany that sum and then taking the imports necessary to pay for the interest ...

1932 reparations were liquidated, but not without having caused immeasurable damage. Since the gold standard was never meant to be used as a means of paying sums of this amount,

(c.) disarmament. Even more important. If reparations were not understood, permanent unilateral disarmament was even less. The pacifists hailed it as an instalment on universal disarmament. The Tories never for one moment even considered anything of the kind, but cynically pretended they did. The Labour Party was naive enough (and irresponsible enough) to indulge in the illusion that this was practical politics. actually slow down armements on this account and more over rule out German rearmament to the point of eliminating it from public discussion...

(a) The territorial changes healed up in time...

(b) Reparations were paid by America. But the USA was unconscious of its responsibilities. When loans were halted and later short term loans were withdrawn, everything collapsed...

(c) Disarmament was made a matter of international action, without a shadow of chance of success... It was a mere pretence.

(A) WEIMAR

German policy upto 1923 -- the Ruhr adventure -- was sabotage of fulfilment. The French intervention was not successful in producing reparations, but it was, in convincing Germany that resistance was useless. Stresemann instead of Helfferich. The German inflation was deliberately made..

guarantee

Stresemann-Briand: Locarno policy : British guarantee might give Germany some sense of security...

The charge of secret

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------|------|------|---------|-----|---------------|
| Sordani | 1920-1922 | 1928 | 1832 | Nazi | 12 | 13.7 mill etc |
| | 1928-1932 | 153 | 121 | 1928 | 230 | |
| | | | | 2. 1932 | 196 | 54-100 |

Third lecture: The Nazi.

We are discussing the ways in which national and social forces interact in the field of foreign policy.

A. National force can be weakened by internal dissension on social lines. The best examples are France of 1940, but also the U.S. during the isolation period and, in a lesser degree, Great Britain during the appeasement period, including the Spanish Civil War.

War was complicated by Civil War. In present day France the trouble is that the ~~whole nation~~ wealthy classes/were traitors to their country, and something ^{fairly} similar happened in Belgium, in Greece, in Yugoslavia and in some other countries, (though not in all, e.g. Holland ~~or~~ Denmark).

B. The social factor may ^{strengthen the} ~~have powerful effects~~ national forces. This happened in Germany in the early Hitler years, and in the USSR in the later Stalin years.

In Germany there were two problems of major character: (1) the national-international problem mainly ^{set} ~~given~~ by Germany's lack of equality of status. This involved: (a) Reparations and also Germany's commitment to the Gold Standard by the Dawes and Young Plan. (b) The permanent unilateral disarmament of Germany which put her internationally into a lesser ^{category} ~~status~~ of safety than the rest.

^{or industrial} problem which was essentially not different from the unemployment problem in the USA or for that matter in Great Britain. Certainly it was greatly complicated by the ^{restricted} ~~lack of~~ sovereignty of Germany on financial and economic matters. She was still under the Gold Standard obligation and more ^{time} over reparations had not been scotched before 1932 and by that ^{time} the harm was done.

Hitlerism was the conjuncture of the strongest fascist movement ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the world ^{at that time} with the strongest nationalist movement. This ~~the~~ ^{was} the ~~ratio~~ ^{key} degree.

explains the degenerative form of Fascism

~~which is known as Nazism.~~ which is known as Nazism.

Socialist
Communist

In 1931 it was ~~regarded as~~ a toss up whether Germany would go or fascist. The crisis of the financial system in the Summer 1931 was so great than it had become clear that Germany would not be able to continue on the liberal capitalist basis.

The Hoover-moratorium in June 1931 had been sabotaged by Laval who refused to accept the American offer of a year's suspension of payments because he wanted to ruin Germany. Here ^{his} ~~you see~~ the connection between inferior international status and the aggravation of home problems caused by it.

And yet ~~the~~ German political circles, especially parliamentary circles ^{still} were unconscious of the chances of Nazism. In December 1933 a prominent member of the Reichstag visited Vienna and ~~spoke~~ addressed the Politische Gesellschaft there. He said Hitler had now lost all chances. He had been weakened at the elections. ^{lost 2 million votes.} He had insulted the President. He ~~was~~ no danger any more. A month later he was chancellor of Germany and six month later the German constitution had been made a camouflage for the Nazi dictatorship.

Actually, Hitler's movement combined two features: (1) inhuman brutality against the working class movement, ^{especially the Communists} whose leaders were murdered publicly. This ^{gained the boundless confidence} of the capitalist class in Germany ^{and} in some cases (e.g. Henry Ford) in USA or ^{also} Kruger in Sweden or ^{Planine} ~~in~~ France ^{unboundedly} (Just as Mussolini had become ~~popular~~ popular with "Daily Express readers and, unfortunately, not always with them alone ~~on an equal~~ ~~account~~ during the Twenties).

(2) The second point was his ~~potent~~ ^{ruleless} nationalism, which dreamt not of an equal standing for Germany but of German world domination. To this factor also his rapidly rising popularity with the Thyssen etc ^{was due} ~~was due~~. He promised not only Brie and Longwy but the Ukraine and Belgium and the rest of the world as their hunting ground. 8000000 secretly armed men...

The

Had socialism been ^{in the lead} victorious it is very probable that ^{its victory} the ~~revolution~~ ^{had successfully} would either have ~~been prevented by~~ foreign intervention or if ~~victorious~~ ^{withstood} ~~against~~ that intervention, would have also, incidentally ~~solved~~ ^{solved} the problem of Germany's status by reorganising the ~~League and so on,~~ ^{international Council, and}
 Actually, ^{the} ~~Russian~~ ^{revolution} also was faced with the alternative of ~~human~~ ^{human} defeat at the hands of intervention or ~~forming~~ ^{come back as a state} a ~~new human order~~ through a victorious revolution, ^{regaining the territories lost to Germany, as detailed after their defeat by Germany. (Scotland, Ireland, & Wales "liberated"!)}
 As a matter of fact, socialism had no chance, fascism was on the ascendant everywhere. ~~And so~~ ^{it is} ultimately Germany to ~~its~~ own destruction and ~~to the~~ terrible danger of the world, carried through a national-international revolt under Nazi leadership.

It is no use saying that ~~Germanism~~ Nazism is simply fascism, for fascism is a tendency inherent in the capitalist system of society, and may take on ~~the most~~ ^{appearing peaceful} harmless forms, while Nazism is an aggressive ~~and~~ extremely radical religion consciously set up to counter Xty. If anybody regards Mr. ~~Foot's~~ ^{Hitler's} plans for Coal ^{as} fascism, ~~he may,~~ ^{so} But it would be ridiculous to argue that Mr. ~~Foot~~ ^{Hitler} is consciously undermining the Xtian foundations of Western civilization. And that ~~precisely~~ ^{precisely} was what the Nazi were ~~doing.~~ ^{out for} A fascist dictatorship is possible in any country, ~~and~~ especially a fascist type of organisation of industry under huge corporations based on private property and ~~yet~~ ^{and} wielding tremendous powers in the administrative and ~~even~~ ^{fields} judicial ~~way~~ over the industrial employees. But Nazism ~~that~~ is different. And ~~indeed~~ ^{indeed} one cannot deny that ~~the question~~ ^{it} is justified ^{to ask} ~~what~~ what predisposed the Germans to allow such a creed to become ~~the~~ ^{the} State religion ~~of~~ ⁱⁿ ~~Germany~~ ⁱⁿ their ~~country?~~ ^{country?}

~~However,~~ ^{However,} the point is not what caused them to become Nazis, but the consequences of their having become such. These are ~~very~~ ^{very} great indeed. And it is not realistic to expect an other change to come about soon, for changes like these take extreme ~~human~~ ^{conditions} ~~to come about.~~ ^{to develop.} For all intents and purposes young Germany is Nazi, and that must have the most far reaching Consequences.

Barnet

German Foreign Policy. *(Fourth Lecture)*

show

Hilterism

social

I have tried to show how ~~Nazianism~~ was partly fascist and partly nationalist. The social and the national factor mutually informing ...

Tomight I wish to complete the German picture.

The history of post-War Germany consisted not in two but in three trends.

1. Nationalist

2. fascist (Nazi)

3. Counter-revolution

These must be and can be clearly distinguished. Essentially they have nothing to do with one another. But the Nazi movement as a whole tried to serve both the counter-revolution, the nationalist movement and the fascist.

A. The counter-revolutionary trend in Europe

a. before the War (1789 - 1906)

b. after the War (1917 onward)

aa. violent -- failed

bb. peaceful -- was successful

B. The nationalist trend

a. before the War (1854 to 1918) Wilhelmian imperialism

b. after the War (post-Versailles) tremendously reinforced by Germany's anomalous position.

C. The social or fascist trend.

a. before the War (Dint, company unions etc)

b. after the War (1923 -- world movement starts. Party in answer to USSR. and success of socialism)

Hitler gains ultimately power on the nationalist wave, but his international policy is based for a long time on the fascist idea. (Cf. appeasement; a la Mussolini and Franco).

4

B. ~~The~~ Versailles Treaty and Social tension.

- I. The Versailles Treaty suddenly deprived Germany of equal status amongst the Powers. This was the problem which dominated European situation since 1918. However this was not realised, neither inside nor outside Germany for a long time.

The German "Left" was ~~panna~~ pacifist in outlook, believed in the League of Nations formula and was fascinated by democratic Western ideals.

The German Right was the representative of the national idea and since the Left did not succeed in solving the national-international problem it fell to the Right to do so. That this ultimately happened through a fascist revolution of tremendous scope and most virulent and poisonous ideology, was to become a tragedy for (of a) Europe and, of course, for Germany ~~herself~~.

What enabled the German fascists to play for a time so successful a part -- think of the period of the rise of Hitler and the first year of the War which almost finished the free world- was this:

a. the weaknesses of the democratic countries which had no answer themselves to the industrial problem of the age (cf, France which broke, the USA which was paralysed, and even Britain the appeasement policy of which was largely due to the fear of Bolshevism on the part of the Tories)

b. the imminent break down of the world economic system which the Germans, being on the rough side of things, more easily foresaw than the conservative victorious powers.

aa. the gold standard system

bb. absolute sovereignties of the small states

cc. liberal capitalism.

The Nazis simply made use of their ability to discount the coming events and to prepare for a War under the conditions which could be foreseen.

c. most important of all, the struggle between socialism and fascism gave fascism a chance to make Germany her protagonist (with many secret allies in all countries) and gave ~~the~~ Germany a chance of making fascism her protagonist ..

No greater tragedy could be conceived. Fascism is a degenerative solution of the industrial problem of our time, and Nazism is an utterly evil and poisonous variant of fascism.

These conditions made Germany practically Nazi. And that raises terrible problems for us.

.....

armaments is injudicious, in my opinion.

- (a) The Austrian example. Arsenal case 2nd March, 1927. Vaugoin-Deutsch 'Orgesch', Baltikum, Organisation 'Consul', 'Schwarze Reichswehr'
- (b) The Panzerkreuzer A. case. What year? Social democratic victory at the polls. Actually, public opinion regarded them as playthings
- (c) Rheinland separatists. Agents in foreign pay. In France or Britain unimaginable, but for Mosely crowd or the French 5th Communists (but that presupposes a social cleavage e.g. Mosley's crowd..) or Communist espionage, insofar as such might have happened at a time when the Communists were opposed to national policy).

Rosbach
1928

This can easily be exaggerated and then one gets it quite out of proportion. But it is difficult to explain to a foreigner. (a) This House will not fight for King and Country - motion of the Oxford Union. Nobody was able to explain to a stranger that this did not mean precisely what it appeared to mean.

(b) "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt" ought to be then über alles. Actually it is a confession of love (Ich liebe meine Frau über alles. Translation like the l' Anglais avec son sang froid: The Englishman with his bloody cold.)

The more serious part of such a national policy which is yet fairly harmless is the tendency not to shift the key people who carry on represent continuity of military policy: Minister of Home defense, Schacht, the Reichsbank president and the Secretary of the President of the Republic, Meißner. Actually Gessner and Schacht were Democrats Meißner was a non-descript, who served under Ebert, under Hindenburg and installed Hitler. (like Lord Hankey and the permanent civil service in this country, e.g. Lord Vansittart..)

on the basis of plans

This might then allow some mild conspiracy with the Soviets, but it would always be limited, i.e. the USSR would not give away its secrets, nor would the German's commit themselves too much..

In this country there is an example which no other country can vie with: Every Englishman travelling abroad-- and nobody travels as much-- naturally regards himself as being ready to pass on information to his Government. No other people would care to do so. This played quite a role in the Monkhouse trial in Moscow... Quite apart from industrial espionage which all firms instinctively indulge in, military information may be indistinguishable from it in a country with State industry.

Still, this did also provide the Nationalists and especially heavy industrialists with a hold on politics and in high places. Hindenburg e.g. was never really expected to make an end of Hitler, because this mass movement seemed to offer to many a hope of national renaissance
IN CASE OF AN ALTERNATIVE FOREIGN POLICY,

(B) OPPOSITION

The Deutschnational Foreign policy -- non-fulfilment, inflation, rejection of the Young Plan, support of para-military formations, extreme anti-Communism, ~~friendship~~

(S.)

anti-Bolshevism, freidship with Russia, rearmament on the Treaty basis -- was of course based on a revisionist outlook, hostile to the League, to Disarmament Conferemes (denounced as eye wash), to Kellogg Pact, to international co-operation in all its forms.

This foriegn policy ~~was~~ formed the opposition to Stresemann's fulfilment policy and was ready to point out the futidity and the illusionary character of such a policy, since it could nto overcome the problem of Germany's status.

On these lines Germany was a revisionist power- keeping in with Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria and Turkey. and, later, with Italy. This was the main alignment upto 1935 when Russia vered raund and very soon the Axis was formed. on an anti-Communist basis.

Germany was non- League
anti-Little Entente, (on Austria)
suspicious of the French
freindly to Italy (except on Austria after 1934)
Freindly to Russia (upto 1933)
hostile to Poland (upto 1934)
sympathetic towards England. (vide Ruhr 1923)

{ Corridor and
Upper Silesia
Anschluss, hardly ever mentioned in Germany.

(C) NAZI : In order to gain power.

Hitlerian foreign policy. in 'Mein Kampf.'

Germany's must keep in with Italy and England, and seek a grandizemen in Western Russia. No Colonies to be sought. France the enemy which has to be finally brken and eliminated.

The means to this ^{on a} lay in an internal revolution ~~of~~ religious level, for Bolshevism could not otherwise be fought. This Religion was racialist, and combative. If the Globe was conquered the Solar system still remained to be conquered, ...

The German people must be forcibly united by the elimination of the other half. How could otherwise a secret army of 8 million be set up? Dusseldorf Speech. 1932. Before the Heavy Industry of the Ruhr..

Germany must not allow any state to conslidae itself on her frontiers which might develop into a military power.. Conquest was at this stage sought for settlement. The extneion of the frontiers, of German proper was not necessarily sought. May be a new Reich' III. Reich) was preferred. Möller van dem Bruck. Roseberg, the philosopher. Dietrich Eckhart, to whom Mein Kampf is dedicated. The racialism came in as a surprise and was an Austrian inheritance. It made the nationa idea into a religio s one. and also into a political one. making the peræcution of the Jews into a national building activity

(Example of

2 referar

Hitler's

Joseph
Example of ~~NNNN~~ Smith, the founder of Mormonism, who much later added polygamy to his system, though the Book of Mormon does not contain it. His disciples happened to be happily married, but otherwise it proved quite popular with some..)

The fascist trait very definite: Leadership principle implies despotic powers. Working class declared sub-human. The Marxists ostracized. The industrial and political influence of the working class eliminated.

But the fascist trait was original, not taken from Mussolini.

D. HITLER IN POWER.

German foreign policy under Hitler took the most definite form of a conspiracy to attack and subjugate the people of the world.

They were misled about Germany's aims, about Germany's methods.

The German's deliberately set out to establish themselves outside of the Gold Standard, the world credit system, world trade. Yet they pretended that they needed help to restore them;...;

They deliberately followed a policy of strategic outflanking.

Austria outflanked Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia outflanked Poland, Poland outflanked Rumania, this outflanked Yugoslavia, and Greece, this put Russia into a very dangerous position, and the African West coast, Actually, if England had been taken, the USA would have been outflanked strategically...

This is an adventure policy, i.e. a policy of swift turns, and in this respect similar to Frederick the Great's.

The psychology of terror and intimidation very well applied. Chamberlain was a veritable dupe of Hitler's, this is shown by the fact that Neville Henderson was sent to Berlin.

The conservatism of the City was played upon by Hitler. The hope of restoring the Gold Standard actually induced Simon to return the Czech gold to Germany... That was not appeasement help to on his part but genuine belief in the Gold Standard.

Hitler made use of every one of these factors.

However, the underlying strength of the democracies was never realized until it was too late. Even less the strength of socialist patriotism and efficiency.

Four Power Pact period.

1. The Four Power Pact was more an idea ^{or plan} than a document, it implied that
1. the ~~League~~ ^{League} had failed, it would have to be either radically reformed or set aside (silently)
 2. that the Great Powers, excluding Russia were to rule Europe (the small Powers had proved a nuisance of the first order in the League)
 - a. Czech-Polish Conflict. (never solved)
 - b. Lithuania and Poland over Vilno (never solved)
 - c. Bulgaria and Jugoslavia
 - d. number of Latin American states. Chaque
 - e. Hungary and its neighbours.
 - f. remember the sanctions issue (unanimity rule)
 3. that some revision of treaties would have to be made outside the League (unanimity rule)
 4. Great Powers could provide effective sanctions, without the League machinery obstructing action.
 5. a return to realism, and power politics, but actually to a much improved B. of P. system.
2. It was directed against Russia
3. It could be worked in very many different ways:
- a. different groupings
 - b. peacefully pressing for it or forcing Germany out right.

Suggested by Britain and Italy, supported by Germany but at once opposed by France and Poland, also Little Entente. Signed in emasculated form in July 1933--buried.

Since April 1933 turned against Germany, This was the basis of all 1933-1939 appeasement moves but also

Barnet
Lecture

League of Nations and
Balance of Power.

The weakness of the Concert of Europe

1. rare meetings,
2. no procedure to arrange for collective action
3. no procedure for changes of the status quo
annno

The League of Nations was an improved Balance of Power System.

1. guarantee of sovereignty and independence Art. 10
2. regular meetings of the Council and the Assembly
3. procedure for sanctions art 16
4. procedure for revision of treaties. art 19

It allowed for change (peacefully) and for change through wars.

Its greatest weakness was that Germany had been ^{ntly} permanently and unilaterally disarmed, while she was neither occupied nor administered ~~in~~ internationally

1. permanent disarmament
2. unilateral
3. no authority on the spot which could permanently enforce it.

How had such an absurdity come into being?

Anglo-Saxon war aims - strongly pacifist.
American illusions about her "interest edness".
France out for unlimited power. Balance of Power..?

Anglo-American guarantee given and then with/drawn.

French policy since then justified. British policy and French divergence on the question of how to get out of the non-existing Versailles system?

1. Revision

The Birth of the Four Power Pact idea.

1. Mussolini's fatherhood
2. Macdonald and Simons idea..
3. To serve revisionism.
4. Shove the League aside and build up a Four-Power -
Directorium,
 1. no small-power ~~veto~~ veto
 2. force France to accept revision
 3. then rule Europe at the cost of Russia..

Nothing came of this , Nazi - April 1st...

The Four Power Pact served many purposes

1. Stre~~sa~~sa.
2. Appeasement policy (in Neville Chamberlain's hadn)

Sound element: Reform of the League

1. No small-power veto
2. Restore the Balance of Power
3. Some measure of German rearmament

Weakness: A tacit anti-Soviet Pact.

British policy never dropped the idea that an arrangement of the Four European Powers is needed. - and Chamberlain wanted by all means to win Hitler's assent to it...

1. Nazi was not a normal country, but a revolution
2. Germany never agreed to general settlement..
3. Britain non-rearmament was a fatal mistake...
4. Gold standard strategy was behind ~~the~~ *the hidden weakness:*
 1. limited wars
 2. Navy
 3. silver bullet/s: *ie* sound credit ~~the~~ point...

Britain before and after Munich: TO force Germany into the Four Power Pact. 'Peace in our time..'

The Russians now suggest a Three Power Pact , against Germany
Similar idea to Four Power Pact... Small nations must be coerced.

D. P.

Lecture The attempt at the restoration of the B.of.P.

6

during the post-War decades.

Balance of power system tends to

- 1 maintain the independence of the units
 - 2 the integrity of the small states.
 - 3 to make avoidable wars avoided
 - 4 to limit the aims of ~~ambitious~~ aggressive states.
 - 5, as a peace system dependent upon federalism or high france.
- but at the cost of wars and threat of wars.

League of Nations an attempt at restoring the b. of p. system and improving on the Concert of Europe:

1. regular meetings
2. process of consultation
3. procedure of arbitration
4. collective action made easier. sanctions (\$16)
5. economic and financial sanctions proposed.
6. peaceful revision of treaties proposed (art 19)

The non-occupation of Germany plus permanent unilateral disarmament made a b. of p. system impossible.

England and France.

France claimed security (art 16) imperialism plus farsighted policy
 England demanded revision (art 19) l. b. of p. policy plus farsighted policy.

England could not agree 1. all-round commitments
 2. Navy
 3. freedom of the seas.

France could not easily agree, because no further commitments were promised by Britain.

Consequently France built military alliances...

England followed revisionist line,,,,,

Crucial point: Disarmament. If failure patent, then lack of system apparent and crisis on.

Labour party pacifism was fatal. 'Revolutionary' justification as bad as Tory hatred of League.

League of Nations (cont.)

European politics grouped around revisionism.

^{si}
 Revisionist powers: Germany 1. frontiers
 anti-status Bulgaria 2. other provisions.
quo Hungary a. reparations
 Turkey b. minorities
 Austria. c. disarmament.

RUSSIA (against L. of N.)
 later ITALY. (psychologically ' defeated')
 tacitly: England (not appeasement).

Completely distinct from 'appeasement'

^{si}
 Meaning of Hungarian revisionism.
 1. territorial integrity
 British for Horthy 2. legitimate complaints.
 3. minority issues.
 4. social reaction...

Meaning of Bulgarian revisionism.
 British for Zankoff 1. Macedonians.
 2. Stambuliisky
 3. Autnomists and federalists.

Meaning of Turkish revisionism
 1. Neuilly
 British for Greeks 2. Greek war Tschaldsha
 3. Lausanne.

Meaning of Austrian revisionism
 1. Anschluss issue
 2. dependent upon class forces.
 British for Seipel. 3. The Geneva Sanierung

Meaning of German revisionism.
 1. For Weimar.
 1. Insufficient clarity of the German Left (pacifist)
 2. insufficient support for Left
 Fear of Bolshevism.
 3. Lack of realization of true issue

British...

Revisionism that liberal capitalism, once restored, would all...

USSR foriegn policy (continued).

The second phase of Russian foriegn policy was her adheence to collective security. This was an attempt to libk up with the capitalist system of international politics as embodied in the Keague of Nations and to seek safety from fascist agression in it.

This period lassts from 1933 to 1939 . Litwinow's ("peace is indivi sible ")dominates the scene. How far Russia had given up her world-revolutionary outlook,would not be easy to say. Stalin insisted on the danger of ultimate capitalist encirclement , and one can not deny the justification of this fear... While on the one hand, the Western democracies proved wrong and hopelessly shor5 sighted in hoping that the appeasement of Germany would eventually save them, on the other, it cannot be said that Russia was giving or even offerdng to give safegards against a revolutionary line of policy. Indeed, it is doubtful whether she could safely do so, unless she was given safeguards by us that she would not be sudenly faced with an overwhelmg colation after she had ~~announced to the world~~ the weapon of ~~revolution~~ relighished.

Popular Front(1934--)

The ~~BBBBBBBBBBBB~~ was the instrument of this Russian policy. On the one hand,it meant a colation of all anti-fascists, and in this sense it ~~pnnn~~ offered to protect democracy against her deadly enemies; on the other , the popular front was ~~openly~~ ~~acting~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~device~~, a manoeuvre of the party, which did not cease to stand for the violent overwatrof of capitalist governments some time in the future.. It was for this reason that the popular front was not very successful in spite of the external danger th eatening the Western countries from Germany. ~~4~~ Actually in 1939 the Communists suddenly switched the popular front off and declared the war off defence against Germany ~~see~~ an 'imperialist war' thus showing that Russian national interests had been primary in the orientation of the Communist Party.

.g. Spain!

Neither side therefore offred real guarntees. The Western powers showed that their real aim was appeasement and that they would leave Russia out in the cold any day, while the Russians showed that they were no reliable allies aganst fascism since they would make a truce with it if necessary and let down the democracies.

than we.

Still , in the retropsect, the Russians seem to have seen matters clear ~~xxxxxxx~~ . Nobody defcends seriously appeasemtn over here, while the Russians may still believe that ~~in~~ it was wise to have a truce with Hilter thus winning time to improve their armaments. (They had not made the misake Neville Chamberlain committed to make the suspension of rearment a part of his appeasment policy...)

However it is very doubtful whether Russian friegn policy today is still on the lines of collective security.

Third period. Since 1939. Russians present foriegn policy.

a. The U.S.A. are very reluctant to join in a collective security policy. They are - literally- consitttionally unable to do so..

3

b. Russia herself tends to be isolationist. The new order of things is emerging, and Russia is very much inclined to take the lead in it.

The new system is the result of ^{two} ~~three~~ great changes:

- a. the disappearance of the gold standard. (world capital markets)
- b. the supercession of ~~national~~ absolute sovereignties, at least of the smaller states, which do not contribute to international security.

non

a) balance of power system
b) world economy

Regionalism is both an economic and a political system. The two are closely interlinked.

- a. definite interest in inregional agreements as opposed to universalist ones. This is given by the wish to have full employment and to be able to plan national economy. at least ~~ann~~upto a point.

(Relative selfsufficiency of empires).

The gold standard is incompatible with full employment, and free trade is incompatible with any reasonable ~~man~~ of planning measure.

- b. direct interest in peace on one's borders, Regional collective security. Monroe doctrine, Egypt and the Sudan. (Even the League was experimentng with it).

Opposite policy: Universalism. (World revolutionary, capitalist or even racialist).
Germany. Russia I. USA

The advantages of regionalism in ~~the~~ Eastern Europe.

America -from inside.

Will the loan come off?

In New Mexico: Las Vegas: Mexican boots- going into 'Politics'
He is the average Representative: 2 years, Tom,
Dick and Harry...

Denver, Colorado: The College President and the Senator.

The President of the U.S.: Two hours on the Denver Congress
hill. The cheap bunting.. the 'local'

What is the House of Representatives for? The MOB written small...

The PRESIDENT 's powers-- The most powerful man in the world.

Except that he has to keep in with Hague of
Jersey City... And Tammany Hall. And Kelly from
Chicago--(recently) here over here to boost his
home town. The citizens of the town are
parading the town as sandwich men. This is
the only town of the United States that has
an approximately equal number of cats and dogs..

Corruption? Non existent? New York Cleared up. New York State, too,
La Guardia Lehman
Bi-partisan policy
Non-partisan groups...
No tips in the US.

General education

In principle it is a steak Sir..
Gunnison Colorado, where the silver barons built
a mushroom hotel and only salmon fishing remains
today Kipling

Jobs--the hobby. Even today. No ostracism of
manual work. Utterly and completely unknown.
A nation of educated people. High average
education...

is
The Job changing

The service station... The boy behind the counter.
the road party leader.
Instruments, accountancy, correspondence, checking
methods dealing with outsiders.. MUCH LESS
OVER HEADS. No control personnel. In England
the municipal expenditure is enormously increased
by the expenditure on checking and control.
College boys taken in engineering. as
being more inventive ...

Trade Unions methods are partly very English (e-g. Brotherhood of Railwaymen or the A. F. of L.

But the C. I. O. are industrial , not craft,

Trade Union Rackets. Gangsterism--avertint strikes The 20 ies. But in palces like Chicago it is not a matter of the past... Upto Al Capone 's death.

Tremendous increadse of influence on government. Created by Wagner Act and New Deallegilsation.

Government and Labour

Taking over of plant(since the War) hange of anttidute as in England.

Recalctratnt employers-- the most powerful managers in the country- would be arested for contempt of court.

Justice

Only State juries corrupt or'politia l& Federal courtts safe. Income tax or mail offesnes.... Ton Dewey's Gradn Juries. O' Dwyer and the Murd/er Inc.

Negro

Fair Employment Boards. Infinte power of the democraic system.. Dollar philosophy? Changing America.

Stability

Extpanse.

Change.

Rapid ,Intelle gient. The common people count...

FACTORS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

(NG) U.S.A. Foreign Policy (Monroe Doctrine)

the for. pol. of
Of all ~~great~~ ^{that of} countries the ~~foreign policy~~ of the USA is the most puzzling. And yet in the interests of the world in general and this country is particularly nothing seems to be more important than to achieve some measure of understanding of this policy in ~~this country~~.

The policy of a country is, of course determined by its interests. As we will see this is exactly why the policy of the USA is so ~~problem~~ difficult to follow. For these interests were changing faster in her case than in that of any other great country.

But ~~besides~~ ^{three} apart from interests ~~from~~ other factors enter in the case of the USA which are less prominent in the case of other countries. Three of them is the peculiar treatment of international questions by under the American constitution; American public opinion; the existence of so-called doctrines of foreign policy.

A. The treatment of international questions under the Constitution.

treatment
a. This is entirely and completely unchanged in the course of ~~the~~ the whole history of the USA. **An amazing fact, which takes away very much from the charge of instability which we will have to level on other accounts.**

The President who is head of the state and of the government - King and Prime minister - in one person "He shall have power, by and with the consent and advice of the Senate, to make treaties, provided 2/3 of the Senators present concur" For the rest: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America". Sect. 2, Al. 2. *The Senate-rule is, however, necessary.*

(a.) James Bryce said (1912): "Had the people of the United States left the control of foreign affairs and the treaty making power entirely in the hands of the executive, they would have given it a power greater, because unchecked by the legislature, than the Cabinet enjoys in England". Practically and for the purpose of ordinary business, the President is independent of the House, while the Senate, though it can prevent him settling anything, cannot keep him from unsettling everything."

(b) "He or rather his secretary of State (for the President has rarely leisure to give close or continuous attention to foreign policy) retains an unfettered initiative, by means of which he may embroil the country abroad or excite passion at home".

Incidentally: The President is commander in chief of the army and navy of the U.S. and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the US... Section 2 Al. 1.

On England: "In all free countries it is most difficult to define the respective spheres of the legislature and executive in foreign affairs for while publicity and parliamentary control are needed to protect the people, promptitude and secrecy are the conditions of diplomatic success". Practically however cf. above....

The "great complaint" against the US: the repudiation of the Peace Treaties and the Covenant of the League of Nations by the Senate of the U.S.A.

Complaint: **difficult to understand; unreliable, inefficient, clumsy & spasmodic.**

Incidentally this is the same complaint which was raised against this country in the 12th century. Condé (France): "Who was secretary of State in England by that post?"

Hyphanten: Public opinion P.T.O.

B. The rule of public opinion.

The real ruler is public opinion. This is the meaning of ^{democracy} American ~~democracy~~. Division of powers makes it inevitable that the seat of sovereignty should be located in the general public. ^{since it must be loaded somewhere!} But American public opinion is all-~~powerful~~ ^{powerful} when it is united. It is less easy to influence than any other, ~~but~~ because it is more complicated. It does not rely on the press to the degree it does in England.

- Its factors: Press,
- Parties (machines)
- Churches,
- Colleges and Universities,
- Congressional opinion.
- Big Business, Commerce, Wall Street, ("Washington")
- Lobbies, ^{Chambers of} President (White House)

*Sectional:
Tenn (MW)
Silver States
Cotton (South)*

When they concur and support the President, then he is practically all powerful of the executive in case of the oil-sanctions. Putting pressure on the Standard Oil company to ~~stop maximums~~ restrict to Italy to the average pre-war level without congressional warrant.

oil for

Public opinion supports both the President and Congress in their check and balance obstruction. That which to us appears as sabotaging the national life, appears to them as the safe guarding of liberty. **The constitution expects the President and the Congress to disagree. Their struggle is the accepted normal constitutional procedure. Government by deadlock.** But when public opinion wishes to them to agree, then they are very quickly brought to agree and the force and decisiveness of Presidential action is ^{less} very great, indeed. (The English effectiveness of executive action is **in emergencies** characteristic of the USA. **Important in foreign affairs**). *The supreme importance of public opinion is thus established.*

C. The Doctrines of foreign policy.

The doctrines or principles on which international affairs are carried on in the U.S.A. are peculiar to that country and are a puzzling feature of their foreign policy.

These Doctrines

They appear, and disappear and reappear with the ^{most} ~~most~~ disconcerting rapidity. *(i.) No foreign entanglements. (No entangling alliances)*

These doctrines have the most varied origin. The farewell Address of George Washington is responsible for the advice (penned by Al. Hamilton) that - 1796 -

"Europe has a set of primary interests which ~~she~~ have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities". *(insidious wiles of foreign influence)* and against entangling alliances. It is true policy to

our

steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world ... Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies".

Summed up in: "No entangling alliances" But what is "entangling?"

A great number of words used, each of them implying various qualifications. A subtle and elastic document, far from any rigidity of doctrinarism. And yet: A **Doctrine!**

A small group of settlers - no strong fleet - no land army. But Remote. Tendency: keep out, if possible. - But anything but 'isolationism'. Such will have been Utopian.

b. The doctrine of the freedom of the seas: Consistently maintained from the War of Independence to the 14 points of Wilson as an interpretation of maritime law favorable to a country that regards herself as a permanent neutral.

c. Open door in the Far East d. Good Neighbor Policy *in Latin America*

e. the Monroe doctrine: the most puzzling of all ~~the most important~~ because the one most closely affecting the interests of other powers. And yet the elucidation of the Monroe doctrine is more like the hunting of the Snark than anything else. *Message of President Monroe 2. XII. 1823.*

1. the non-colonisation principle:

"The American continents are .. not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers".

In view of Oregon and Cuba? But America's geographical limits were actually unknown. No wonder that Canning rejected the claim ... Apparently directed against the Holy Alliance, actually against England which while protecting America against the Holy Alliance (especially France) was the real danger to ~~the~~ American ~~interests~~ especially Cuba.

2. Status quo principle:

"With the existing colonies and dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere".

An important limitation. A safeguard of the independence of the other ~~South~~ American States - as long as others do not interfere with them

A declaration of a political system different from that of Europe.

3. "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety".

An answer, on the face of it, to Emperor Alexander's manifesto of Absolutism, but in reality a challenge to monarchy and to Spain in special. *The Holy Alliance to be kept out of America. Ideological war.*

4. Non-interference into the affairs of Europe:

"In the Wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so". It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence."

Restricted to a "wars" and b to "no rights infringed".

Foreign address

Background of the Monroe Doctrine

C.1: The Siftlychanging interests of the USA. and its interrelations.

a. The USA were born out of an international ~~life~~ ^{conflict}: The War of Independence. Like all small nations born out of a revolution they remained very much dependent for their very existence on a clever use of the interplay of world forces. Without Benjamin Franklin's clever manipulation of the French situation and the double-crossing of the French in making a separate peace with England, the USA might have never been born. "He had been guilty of violating good manners but hoped that the great work would not be ruined by a single indiscretion". April 1782 Franklin had secretly negotiated peace with England, although he was allied with France... 1783 Peace Treaty signed.

1795
no permanent alliances
restraint
action

Washington's Farewell address expresses the needs of the time

b. This federal republic is born a pigmy. A day will come when it will be a giant; even a colossus formidable to these countries". Thus the Spanish ambassador. - The pigmy's foreign policy very different from the giants. **USA continued to be entangled against their will in the Napoleonic wars.** At war with England openly 1812-1814 unofficially and without declaration of war with France 1798-1800 and then again from 1807 onward. Exports dwindled from 22,5 Mill pounds in 1807 to 1,4 Mill. by 1814. No less than 1400 American warships and merchantmen, flying the American flag, were captured by British cruisers. Napoleon seized between March and May 1809 no less than 2 mill pounds worth of American cargoes in French, Spanish, Dutch and Neapolitan ports. Freedom of the Seas.

How to remain unentangled? To be able to trade in spite of war? To isolate themselves? To build up a special American interest? To make their position as free Republics into an asset of foreign in foreign policy? All this was behind the Monroe doctrine when it started. Its original meaning. **Less concerned about its independence than about its living space on the Continent.**

1823

Farmers' imperialism

c. "Manifest destiny" : The Westward move. Agrarian imperialism. Imperialism without sin. The Norman's land of the Indian. Fear of colonial forestallment by other nations: Russians in the Pacific coast, the British in Oregon, Cuba and California, the French etc.

At the same time the Spanish Latin American nations were rising, increasing in strength, they needed to be considered.

d. America enters world finance and commerce, bankers and capitalists have a say. The solidarity with Europe is very obvious.

Revolutions in world powers

e. **no defeat Republicanism any more Much British capital in USA!**
Dollar imperialism - not the solidarity but the aggression. The Caribbean and Central America overrun. The Pacific invaded. The open door stormed. **Up to the Great War.**

Return strategy ~~isolationism~~ isolationism gone.

the Monroe

D. The Changing Interests and their influence on Doctrine.

1. The first thing about the Monroe doctrine was that it was promptly forgotten. *It was the diplomatic respect to the war with England. A small country on a vast continent trying to enlist the sympathies of the ex-colonies of Spain.*
 From 1826 to 1841 there is simply no mention of it, not even ~~in~~ from any responsible American statesman. England occupies the Falkland Islands (1835). No mention. France occupies posts in Brazil - no mention. In fact it was Great Britain which safeguarded South American States from interference by the strength of her fleet.

President Bolke in his message to congress once quotes (phrase from it (1845) on the Oregon dispute. But next year the dispute was settled without any reference to the Doctrine. (In fact the "Times" ridiculed the American idea of such a doctrine "As a matter of fact nothing could be more untrue **in US!** At this period Gr. Br and Fr. actually maintain a European Bal. of Pow. D. That the Monroe Doctrine was and actually was intended to be forgotten is best shown by the fact that when serious interference started it was not even mentioned by the American Secretary of state. In 1861 the Powers decided on intervention ~~in~~ in Mexico. Sec. of State ~~William~~ Seward protested, but without any mention of any doctrine of the kind. The American Civil War which followed // of course // made it even more expedient for the USA not to provoke any of the great Powers in view of the ~~own~~ impotence of the government to resist interference. **Seward: "Why should we gasconade about Mexico when we are in a struggle for our own life"?** In effect March 12, 1867 Napoleon III withdrew his troops from Mexico, mainly because the United States now began to be uncomfortable. This might be regarded as a victory for the Doctrine - if it had been ever mentioned by the Americans...

1877 The Island of St. Bartholomew transferred from Sweden to France. But Hamilton Fish (Secr. of State) does nothing about it...

Panama Canal Treaties: **The USA herself disregarded and contravened it**

1846 Columbia Treaty

1850 *she had lost the whole of the doctrine.* The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain: "neither should obtain exclusive rights over the Canal (if and when built) and that in case of war between the contracting parties the Canal should be neutralised". **This was the complete disregard of the Monroe doctrine by America herself.** 1901 Hay-Paynefote Treaty abrogates the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. US free to build, police

1901 and protect the Canal....

1895: First Venezuela crisis

voluntary limitation of the doctrine
 Over an unimportant tract of land between Br. Guyana and Venezuela. Richard Olney, Sec. of State July 20, 1895 **The first overt reference to the Monroe Doctrine.** Its birth from the point of view practical politics...

state
 America's financial expansionism. Increasing indep. of S. D.
 A number of important qualifications were made to bring it into the scope of practical politics in an age of **increasing world finance and economic interdependence.**

a. No protectorate of the US. over American States.

b. "Merited punishment for the breach of financial obligations"

- c. No interference into the internal affairs of any ~~united~~ American state implied in the relations between two American states...
- d. No justification of any attempt to change the established form of government of ~~any~~ American state.. or altering the form of government at their ~~own~~ will and pleasure.

"The rule in question has but a single purpose: and object: "It is that no European power or combination of powers shall forcibly deprive an American state of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies".

Most significant text!

Salisbury flatly denied that the Monroe doctrine could be an article of international law. But President Cleveland took action on it.

In England people wished to know "what this blessed Monroe doctrine really was..." But Joseph Chamberlain and William Harcourt and others took a mediatory line.. Great Britain agreed to arbitrate.

After the Kaiser's intervention in the Krueger telegram (1896) Balfour said "that between English speaking peoples war is impossible" and added that this would be pronounced by a statesman even greater than Monroe. (A friendly acceptance of the principle).

Imperialist expansion - Power politics

Spanish War . 1898

Overboard!

MacKinley does not invoke the Monroe doctrine. But this time England supports America. Philippines annexed. The doctrine thrown overboard.

Second Venezuela episode 1902

Germany out to challenge the doctrine? Anglo-German intervention in Venezuela. No protest from Washington. Prather, German gunboat, bombarding Venezuelan parts. Jan 1903 The English now accept the doctrine. But America insists that Venezuela has to pay. Arbitration...

(Was there an Ultimatum to Germany. Roosevelt asserted this in 1916.)

1903-1913 Theodor Roosevelt : Imperialism.

The Monroe doctrine as an imperialist doctrine. Corollaries added: "To see neighbouring countries stable, orderly and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count on our hearty friendship. ... Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America as elsewhere ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe doctrine may force the U.S. however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence to exercise of an international police power.

Theodor Roosevelt
Dec. 6 1904

power
the

1901-1909
Tuph:
1909-1913

From 1903 onward intervention became "a part of that international duty which is necessarily involved in the assertion of the Monroe doctrine".

Thirty years of this interpretation made the US the police power in every single Caribbean state. San Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama occupied and parts of Mexico. Warship to Cuba 1933.

Was this a gross distortion? Or the Doctrine?

Taft and Wilson continued this Rooseveltian policy. Instead of the Holy Alliance the opponent had changed:

Against the professional revolutionaries, corrupting concessionaires, corrupt dictators.

so the US became the Holy Alliance herself!

Wilson made constitutionalism the moral doctrine of the USA.

The Monroe doctrine is of course, not part of international law. It is a unilateral statement of principles of policy.

"..If certain things happen, the Us will do certain things."

In fact she did not keep to it herself. But she might have.

South Americans:

Gas ton Nerval for Panamericanism of the ^{Franklin} Roosevelt the ~~Franklin~~ type
Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine "

Manuel Ugartea 'Destiny of the Continent.'

With the growing strength of the Latin American States the Doctrine is bound to disappear " Latane: American Foreign Policy

Britain accepts a Monroe Doctrine, (1928) but neither accept the Japanese Monroe doctrine of the Far East.

Febr. 1939. Fascist penetration into U would be resented and resisted!

Whether we will have a disappearance of the Monroe doctrine in view of the South American States - foremostly the Argentine - or the opposite, a reassertion of this doctrine in the 1823 sense - we do not know. The Spanish development may be a powerful factor in this respect, now that Spain goes Fascist.

II. The Interests in the Great War, post-Treaty and Present.

a. The Great War. Reasons for participation: impossibility of remaining neutral. Newton D. Baker in Foreign Affairs 1936 Quote.

b. The post-War period. Repudiation of the League of Nations.

c. The Great Depression - Violent isolationism. Finance blamed. Wall street.

Active Contradictions. Clearing out: Philippines etc.
Pan-Americanism

d. The impossibility of isolation realized.
Panamerican harmed neutrality .
Organising economically for neutrality.
Using neutrality as a weapon.

e. The Fascist danger.

Nazi influence in South America.
Spanish Fascist influence in Argentine etc.
Distrust of Great Britain, but greater distrust of Germany.

f. "New Deal" - American call - *in grants all.*
.....

Main event in British foreign policy 1933. March - 1939
Sept.

14 Oct. 1933. Germany leaves the League and the Dis. Conf.
Disarmament Revision Security
March 1934, Barthou rejects arms compromise
Eastern Pact: parallel projects in Berlin regarding pact of mutual guarantee

1934

Sept. '34. Germany rejects Eastern Pact

3 Feb. 1935: Anglo-French declaration offers G. equality of armaments in exchange for security agreement.

16th March 1935. ^{4. III. Br. White Paper on} ^{5. III. Hitler's re-armed} Germany announces reintroduction of conscription.
Rearm: 7. I. 1935: Caval + armor

1935

25-26th March: Simon + Eden in Berlin! Eden in Moscow

9 April: principle of mutual ass. pact agreed

(ratified 27. III. 1936) 2nd May: Franco-Russ mutual ass. pact signed.

11-14th April 1935: **HEA** 13 May: Statute on Disarmament: French binding British commitments unaffected. (Simon) under Locarno

Starts France: 18th May 1936

7th March 1936: Rhineland reoccupied
Locarno denounced: England refuses to move.
Locarno Powers meet in London

Main events of British foreign policy: March 1935 - Sept 1939

Britain continues her revisionist policy (Reform of the League; disarmament + security) while increasingly appeasing Germany. The restrictions of Germany ineffective on account of appeasement, the latter ineffective on account of Germany's increas. aggressiveness.

GERMANY

Hitler leaves the League
 Polish treaty, Rejects Eastern Pact
 16.11. Conception
 I-III Rhine land!
 17. Jan. Proclaimed
 11. March Austria
 12. Sept. Czechs!
 30. Sept. Poland

1933
 1934
 1935
 1936
 1937
 1938
 1939

Ady SS inia
 Spain
 Munich

Retraining moves
 IV. Stresa
 9. Oct Oil sanctions
 7-20 March London Locarno powers
 14. Sept. MYON. (and Subs)

Russia
 18 Sept '34 League!
 15 May Stalin on Fr. Com. Dismissed
 Aug? Trial
 Jan 37
 June 1938 Trials

France
 Popular Front policy

The role of the League 1933-1937
 1933-1937
 1933-1935
 1933-1939
 French policy
 Austrian
 British
 Revision vs. Appeasement 1933-1939