

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	To
FITZGERALD, W	(MISS)	/	/	/										Brought over ... 6
STOPHAM, D.	(MISS)	/	/	/										
WILKINSON, R		/	/	/	/	/								
KAISER, G	MISS	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/					
													Total ...	6 5 11

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TUTOR'S REPORT FORMS AND REGISTER OF WRITTEN WORK

Session 1945/6 Year of Course.....

Tutorial Class Lambeth 17.

Subject International Affairs

Total Number of Pieces of Written Work 116

Tutor KARL POCLANYI



[1946]

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AND
TUTORIAL CLASSES COUNCIL;
TUTORIAL CLASSES COMMITTEE

SYLLABUS

FOR A SESSIONAL CLASS IN

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Foreign Policy of the Great Powers

BY

KARL POLANYI, Dr. JUR.

METHOD OF CONDUCTING SESSIONAL CLASSES

Sessional 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. As a rule 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.

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.

Sessional 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.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.**The Foreign Policy of the Great Powers.**

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 in all its relevant aspects.

The best approach to the actual issues appears to be given through a study of the foreign policies of the Powers in the 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 the manner in which the issues of world politics arise out of the different attitudes of the Powers.

These attitudes should be interpreted as being determined by more or less permanent causes—economic, ethnical and ideological—which induce definite policies coming to a head in historical events. Much of what might otherwise appear as mere accident, may then be shown to be the result of the interplay of rational factors.

In conclusion, a review of the field of international reconstruction might be undertaken by the class.

PART I.**HUNDRED YEARS' PEACE (1815-1914).****Three lectures.**

Absence of general wars during a century. This contrasts sharply with the two preceding centuries as well as with the last three decades. By what means were the numerous minor, mainly remote, wars of the period 1815-1914 prevented from turning into general wars?

Independence, the predominant interest of states. David Hume on the balance of power. The balance of power as a historical law, a principle, a system and a policy.

The balance of power system and the treaties of Westphalia (1648), Utrecht (1713) and Vienna (1815).

The emergence of a specific 'peace interest' in the nineteenth century. The Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe. High finance, the organiser of wars, but also the instrument of their isolation.

The Concert of Europe 'at its best' (1871-1891). Two counter-balancing alliances do not form a balance of power system. The disintegration of the Concert of Europe.

BOOKS.

- FUETER, E. : *World History, 1815-1920.*
 FYFFE, A. C. : *A History of Modern Europe.*
 HAWTREY, R. G. : *Economic Aspects of Sovereignty.*
 *HAYES, C. J. H. : *Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism.*
 *HAYES, C. J. H. : *The Age of Materialism.*
 HAYES, C. J. H. : *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe.*
 (2 vols.)
 *HOBSON, J. A. : *Imperialism.*
 LENIN, N. : *Imperialism.*
 MAHAN, A. T. : *The Influence of Sea-Power upon History.*
 MOON, P. T. : *Imperialism and World Politics.*
 MOWAT, R. B. : *The Concert of Europe.*
 *MOWAT, R. B. : *European History, 1878-1923.*
 MUIR, R. : *Nationalism and Internationalism.*
 PHILLIPS, W. A. : *The Confederation of Europe.*
 SCHUMAN, F. L. : *International Politics.*
 SCHWARZENBERGER, G. : *Power Politics.*
 *SEIGNOBOS, C. : *A Popular History of Continental Europe since 1814.*

PART II.

THE VERSAILLES 'SYSTEM.'

Three Lectures.

The international political system in the inter-war period. The chief weakness of the Versailles system : permanent unilateral disarmament of the defeated countries without their occupation.

The League of Nations might have functioned as an improved Concert of Europe but for the complete absence of a balance of power. Neither Art. 16, on sanctions, nor Art. 19, on revision, were ever implemented.

Sentimental and political interpretation of the covenant.
 Self-liquidating issues such as reparation or disarmament.
 Territorial issues, the hard core of revisionism. Spurious
 German complaints on this point.
 The revisionist and the anti-revisionist camp.

BOOKS.

- *BORKENAU, F. : *Socialism—National and International.*
 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. : *The Twenty Years' Crisis.*
 *CARR, E. H. : *The Future of Nations.*
 CARR, E. H. : *Nationalism and After.*
 HALL, S. KING- : *The World since the War.*
 HALL, S. KING- : *Our Own Times* (2 vols.).
 HARDY, G. M. GATHORNE- : *A Short History of International Affairs, 1920-1938.*
 HUTTON, G. : *Danubian Destiny.*
 JACKSON, G. H. : *Europe since the War.*
 JACKSON, G. H. : *The Post-war World.*
 KOHN, H. : *Nationalism in the Soviet Union.*
 MCCALLUM, R. : *Public Opinion and the Last Peace.*
 R.I.L.A. : *Nationalism.*
 SIMONDS, H. : *Can Europe keep the Peace?*
 STALIN, J. : *On the National Question.*
 *TOYNBEE, A. : *The World after the Peace Conference, 1923.*
 ZIMMERN, A. : *Nationality and Government.*

PART III.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE POWERS.

Fifteen Lectures.

The traditional foreign policies of the various countries roughly correspond to permanent factors which determine their interests. The factors themselves are mainly geographical in the broadest sense of the term. International issues usually arise out of conflict of interests and come to a head in historical events.

In the inter-war period the main events resulted from the policies of the U.S.A. and the five European Powers.

1. United States.

The Senate veto—Republicans and Democrats—Monroe doctrine—freedom of the seas—isolationism and internationalism.

BOOKS.

- BEMIS, S. F. : *A Diplomatic History of the U.S.*
 BROGAN, D. W. : *The American Political System.*
 BROGAN, D. W. : *Politics and Law in the United States.*
 GARNER, J. W. : *American Foreign Policy.*
 MERRIMAN, R. B. : *The Monroe Doctrine.*
 NEVINS, A. : *America in World Affairs.*
 *LIPPMANN, W. : *U.S. Foreign Affairs.*
 LIPPMANN, W. : *U.S. War Aims.*
 *SCUDDER, E. S. : *The Monroe Doctrine.*
 SIMONDS, H. : *Can America Stay at Home?*
 *WILKIE, W. : *One World.*

2. Great Britain.

Balance of power policy—Lloyd George against Clemenceau—British 'revisionism' in the 1920's—League and Locarno—Four Power Pact policy and appeasement—'Britain's lone stand.'

BOOKS.

- *CARR, E. H. : *Conditions of Peace.*
 CARR, E. H. : *Britain—A Study in Foreign Policy.*
 HANNAH, J. C. : *A History of British Foreign Policy.*
 *JORDAN, W. J. : *Britain, France and the German Problem, 1918-1939.*
 MEDLICOTT, W. N. : *British Foreign Policy since Versailles.*
 MEDLICOTT, W. N. : *The Origins of the Second Great War.*
 MUIR, R. : *A Short History of the British Commonwealth.*
 PRIEBRAM, A. F. : *England and the International Policy of the Great Powers, 1871-1914.*
 R.I.L.A. : *British Far Eastern Policy.*
 SEELEY, SIR J. R. : *The Growth of British Policy.*
 WATSON, R. W. SETON : *Britain and the Dictators.*
 WATSON, R. W. SETON : *Britain in Europe.*
 WATSON, R. W. SETON : *Munich and the Dictators.*
 *WOLFERS, A. : *Britain and France between Two Wars.*
 WYNDHAM, H. A. : *Britain and the World.*

3. France.

System of Central European alliances—anti-revisionism and 'security'—internal dissensions—Laval, Mussolini and Hitler.

BOOKS.

- BROGAN, D. W. : *Development of Modern France.*
 EDELMAN, M. : *France.*
 SOLTAN, R. H. : *French Parties and Politics (Up to 1930).*
 *THOMSON, D. : *French Foreign Policy.*
 *WERTH, A. : *France and Munich.*
 WERTH, A. : *France in Ferment.*
 WERTH, A. : *The Last Days of Paris, 1940.*

4. Italy.

Italy, psychologically a defeated country—Mussolini, Horthy and Dollfuss.—Abyssinia, Spain and Anti-Comintern Pact.—From Four Power Pact to Axis.

BOOKS.

- *FINER, H. : *Mussolini's Italy.*
 GARRATT, G. T. : *Mussolini's Roman Empire.*
 *MACARTNEY, M. H. H. : *Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1914-1937.*
 MACARTNEY, M. H. H. : *The Rebuilding of Italy.*
 MONROE, E. : *The Mediterranean in Politics.*
 SILONE, I. : *Fontamarai.*
 *VIGILANTES : *An Inquest on Peace. (Abyssinia).*

5. Soviet-Union.

The 'world-revolution' period—'cordon sanitaire'—wars of intervention—rise of German fascism and the new League policy.—Munich and the Russian-German Treaty.

BOOKS.

- CHAMBERLAIN, W. H. : *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921.*
 COATES, W. P. and Z. K. : *A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations.*
 COATES, W. P. and Z. K. : *World Affairs and the U.S.S.R.*
 *DAVIES, J. : *Mission to Moscow.*
 *FISHER, L. : *The Soviets in World Affairs.*
 MURPHY, J. : *Stalin.*
 PARES, B. : *Russia and the Peace.*
 *POPE, U. : *Maxim Litvinov.*
 STALIN, J. : *Leninism.*
 SUMNER, B. H. : *Survey of Russian History.*

6. Germany.

The meaning of Hitlerism (a) up to 1933 and (b) from 1933-1939.

BOOKS.

- *CLARK, R. T. : *The Fall of the German Republic.*
- DICKINSON, R. E. : *The German Lebensraum.*
- FRASER, L. : *Germany between Two Wars.*
- HEIDEN, K. : *A History of National Socialism.*
- *HITLER, A. : *Mein Kampf* (unexpurgated).
- RAUSCHNING, H. : *Germany's Revolution of Destruction.*
- *RAUSCHNING, H. : *Hitler Speaks.*
- RAUSCHNING, H. : *Makers of Destruction.*
- RAUSCHNING, H. : *Make and Break with the Nazis.*
- TAYLOR, A. J. P. : *Course of German History.*

PART IV.

CAN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM BE RESTORED ?

Three Lectures.

The second world war resulted in the virtual destruction of an unprecedented number of states as power units. The atom bomb. On what basis can reconstruction proceed ?

BOOKS.

- *ARNOLD-FOSTER, W. : *Charters of Peace.*
- BENNETT, D. : *Freedom from War.*
- DOUIE, CH. : *Peace Treaty.*
- *HARRIS, WILSON : *Problems of the Peace.*
- ENSOR, R. C. K. : *A Miniature History of the War.*
- P. E. P. : *Building Peace out of War.*
- *R.I.L.A. : *The Problem of Germany.*
- Statements relating to the atomic bomb.* H.M.S.O. 1945.

Some essential books are marked with an asterisk (*).

Economic Background of the Hundred Years Peace, 1815-1914

The number of years during which the Great Powers of Europe were at war with one another between 1815 and 1914 was three and a half. In the immediately preceding centuries the ratio of war-years was fifteen or twenty times higher. How to account for this striking development and its sudden termination?

1. Before and after the establishment of an international monetary system:

(a) From the break-up of the old Colonial Empires to the setting up of an international monetary system. 1815-1875.

During the first two thirds of the century under discussion there was a remarkable falling off of expansionist tendencies directed towards the acquisition of colonies on the part of the European powers. This was mainly accounted for by the break-up of the old Colonial Empires after 1763, together with the free trade policy induced by the economic development which resulted from the Industrial Revolution.

(The chief source of unrest was the striving of liberal nationalism - another effect of the Industrial Revolution - for political expression, as witnessed by the Italian, German and Slavonic unity movements; the outcome was a number of revolutions and minor wars, especially between 1848 and 1866 as well as two major wars in Europe.)

(b) From the establishment of an international monetary system to the Great War. 1875-1914.

Great Power rivalry started in the late Seventies and Early Eighties, after the first serious depression had caused world-wide panic, bankruptcy and mass unemployment (1873-1879). Within hardly more than a decade, the modern nation-state emerged as a more or less integrated politico-economic unit pressing for self-sufficiency and expansion, at one and the same time. In effect world economy and protectionism started out on their career together. While the gold standard was adopted by a number of Continental states (Germany 1873), protectionism also was introduced (Germany 1879), social legislation was initiated (England 1876, Germany 1881) and the struggle for colonies started (England 1882, France 1883/5, Germany 1884). The launching of the new international monetary system was thus accompanied by a whole network of internal and external measures of protection, which fore-shadowed its failure.

II. The Concert of Europe and the Mechanism by which Peace was maintained.

- (a) The Concert of Europe as a loose federation of the Great Powers for the maintenance of peace could often achieve its aim by using coercion against the small states. Especially after 1875 it prevented major wars by threatening to isolate the peace breaker, even though it happened to be a Great Power. However, the Concert was not an actual federation and therefore its success in avoiding wars needs explanation:
- (b) In the first period (1815-1875) peace interest was made effective by the Holy Alliance, a cartell of dynasts and feudalists, whose vested interests were threatened by the nationalism and constitutionalism of the rising middle classes. In the absence of strong expansionist interests on the part of the Great Powers, this reactionary force produced a peaceful result up to 1848, when the Holy Alliance ceased to function.
- (c) In the second period (1875-1914) a vast intensification of the peace interest developed in consequence of the spread of a world economy based on an international monetary system. The trend towards the enforcement of peace was powerfully represented by the Haute finance, which made its will directly effective as the international dispenser of credit as well as the guarantor of investments and of the currency. Indirectly, the power of international finance was exerted through its influence with the Great Powers.

III. End of the Concert of Europe.

After the turn of the century the accelerated rate of economic expansion could not be maintained and the strain inherent in the system began to make itself felt in a rapid growth of imperialist tension between the Great Powers, which led to the formation of alliances and counter-alliances. The Balance of Power system which presupposed the existence of a number of independent powers was thrown out of action, and the Concert of Europe, which was working through this balance, lost its basis. Although feverishly active to avert war, it outlived only by seven years the paralysis of the Balance of Power system.

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