Aug.11th 1936. Stratton Park. Micheldever.

WORLD POLITICS TO-DAY.

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION

- a) The European Situation is centred round the Mediterranean.
- b) Its main feature is the so-called <u>Reform of the League</u>, i.e. the decision whether the League should continue in existence and if so, to what <u>purpose</u> and correspondingly, in what form. Its most recent development is the so called Locarno Powers Conference.
- c) The Spanish Civil War, with the French non-intervention proposal as its most recent feature.

THE INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND

An analysis has to start from the fact that we are now nearing the apex of the second period of post-war history.

First Period. From the foundation of the League to 1933. The Peradox of the Treaty system.

To conflicting systems linked together.

a) The defeated powers made to pay in cash (reparations) and in territory.

Moreover, they were disarmed. b)

To safeguard the new situation the victorious powers set up a new system of voluntary association of nations, which, as such, could have only equals as members, and the defeated were made members of this association.

The gap bridged by the promise of the victorious

nations to <u>disarm voluntarily</u>. <u>Disarmament possible only if</u> -<u>Either revision of the treaties, or strengthening</u> the <u>security</u> of the victorious nations. In fact only the two together could have been practicable. But Europe was divided by this issue.

The Revisionist Block: Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria (Turkey) supported by Italy and Russia.

The Anti-Revisionist Block: Little Entente supported by Poland and France.

a mildly revisionist power, cautiously favouring England: disarmament, but following only the revisionist also the collective security line. Vide 1924 and then Locarno (only exception).

Second Period. Hitler's advent in Germany. Russia and Italy change sides. So does Poland. Of this later.

England qualifies its revisionism and becomes inclined to collective security lines.

The effects of <u>Russia's change of alignment</u> on two second-rate powers: Italy and Poland (both seek cover) because their

value as allies and/or enemies of France is lessened.

On England. The most fateful development of post-war history. Russia's change of alignment. England's world policy brought into confusion.-The naval basis.- U.S.A.- Japan.- Downing St. fights the entrance of the hippopotamus into European waters.

Russia no more expansionist. - England not more "capitalist" than France. - Foreign policy usually completely divorced from social policy.

- a) England fights Russia's entrance into the League, then makes it harmless. Franco-Russian treaty far from being an alliance. Locarno-upheld.
- b) Germany's foreign policy based on anti-Russian. coalition. Hitler and Sir John Simon. England refuses to decide. From Feb.3rd (London memorandum to Hitler) up till now, England <u>refuses to choose</u> between Russia and Germany.

THE MEDITERRANEAN ISSUE RAISED.

Italy makes use of two facts - a) a change in the arms position:

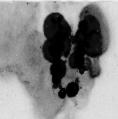
relative effectiveness of weapons of war. The effectiveness of the air armaments against fleets in narrow seas, especially if these are not protected from the air.

b) France's good will so far as North East Africa goes.

England decides to fight this issue on League grounds (peace ballot), "collective security", (The League as a shelter against alliances)

England fails. 1) Military mistake (experts wrong) 2) Reluctance to go ahead against Mussolini. 3) Dependence upon France in working the League machine.

Splitt on Russia's role. Two League Policies.



or

Failure has vast effects in the <u>Mediterranean</u> and England is forced back into the <u>revisionist policy</u>. The <u>League</u> in jeopardy.

The same issue raised again at the other entrance of the Mediterranean - in SPAIN.

The League Policy may mean the liquidation of the League and of Collective Security in order to set up a balance of powers policy in the sense of Mussolini's four power pact (against Russia)

- Establishing an effective League power of the democratic and Socialist states (against Germany, Italy and Japan). This can be done on regional lines.
- The internal situation deeply influenced (unexpectedly) by Russia's need of allies. The moderation of the Communist International is a <u>main factor of world polities</u>. In Spain the problem of democracy at stake. Here again the British policy faced with same issue. <u>Italy behind the scenes</u>.

Great Britain's Foreign Folicy.

Second Post-war period. Eitler's advent in Germany.

Revisionist block disintegrating. But revisionism still continues. Post-war system breaks down but efforts at reconstruction.still basic. Conflict of Social systems begins to appear.

Studying this from the point of view of Great Britain's foreign policy:

The dilemma of revision without collective security continues but with less liberty of action.

Russia's entrance into Europe has great effects.

Germany Poland France Italy Germany - Japan

PARALYSIS.

Naval Policy. One power standard. Pacific situation.

European situation. Short circuiting the storm centres of the globe.

England's main line: 1) Solving the German-French antagonism. In truth a British interest But hampered by the Russian paradox.

THIS LEADS TO FRANCO: RUSSIAN RAPPROACHMENT Putting a break on this. Locarno.

> 2) Details: February 3rd. Simon in Berlin.

Is Germany bound to this line?

The role of Fascism in different countries. National role in Germany (international balance) Anti-Russian policy basic. The Social factor comes into the foreground.

EFFECTS OF PARALYSIS.

The Abyssinia War. The Spanish War.

Italy Abyssinian campaign outcome of the new situation (Laval air Great Britain forced to "collective security" effort.

Peace Ballot. Empire element. No isolation. League Policy.

ilure due to 1) Military mistake. 2) Social factor. OIL. 3) Lopsided League.

the same factor hindering Britain (first days of Civil Spain War)

THE LEAGUE IN JEOPARDY.

Azana responsible for

SPAIN Casas Viejas (Jan 12) 16 people shot out of hand.

1933 (Sept 9) Asana renigns; Lerroux takes over

A

(Oct 8) Barrist Coalition Agana and Lerroux.

200

Nov 19 BLECTIONS

Right 207

Radical 104 Catalan right

473

Socialits 68 Catalan left 19) 77

Dec. 17 Lerroux Covernment with Gil Robles.

167

1934 Socialist

Oct 7 Lorrouz

Oct 6 (rising) Legionaries & Morrish regulars take oviedo.