

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 Reform of the League, i.e. the decision whether the League should continue in existence and if so, to what purpose 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 Paradox 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 disarm voluntarily.

Disarmament possible only if -

Either revision of the treaties, or strengthening the security 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.

England: a mildly revisionist power, cautiously favouring 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 Russia's change of alignment 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 refuses to choose 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 armament 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.
Split on Russia's role. Two League Policies.

Failure has vast effects in the Mediterranean and England is forced back into the revisionist policy. The League 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)

or

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 main factor of world politics. In Spain the problem of democracy at stake. Here again the British policy faced with same issue. Italy behind the scenes.

Great Britain's Foreign Policy.

Second Post-war period. Hitler'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.
No isolation.

Empire element.
League Policy.

Failure due to

- 1) Military mistake.
- 2) Social factor.
- 3) Lopsided League.

OIL.

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

THE LEAGUE IN JEOPARDY.

Azana responsible for

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

1933 (Sept 9) Azana resigns; Lerroux takes over

(Oct 8) Berris Coalition Azana and Lerroux.

Nov 19 ELECTIONS

Right 207 A

Radical 104	}	167	473
Catalan right			

Socialists 63)	77
Catalan left 19)		

Dec. 17 Lerroux Government with Gil Robles.

1934 Socialist

Oct 7 Lerroux

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