

"Europe to-day" is the outcome of Europe yesterday.

We are well on in the second period of post-war history.

The first period starts with the Treaty and lasts till Hitler's advent in Germany.

1918-1932

The second period starts with Hitler's advent in Germany and is still continuing.

1933 -

Two characteristics:

In the first the so-called Versailles system <sup>still maintained itself</sup> were mainly national. Revisionism and anti-revisionism dominated the scene.

In the second period the so-called Versailles system is ~~being~~ liquidated. ~~The~~ Social conflict is superadded to the national one. The latter continues to dominate, but is complicated by the first. To the conflict of revisionism and anti-revisionism there is added the conflict of Fascism and Democracy & Socialism.

- a. National alignments are formed on social lines;
- b. Social slogans are <sup>adapted to social purposes</sup> national purposes;
- c. Civil Wars are fomented in national interests.

What was the so-called Versailles system?

Sometimes we mean by system a state of affairs; sometimes a state of affairs which is supposed to be uniform to a nation.

The Versailles system was a system in the first sense only.

What was the state of affairs?

1. Germany had lost the War and was deprived of a number of things. money (reparations); territories including colonies (revision); & arms (unilateral disarmament);

It is not correct to say that reparations would ruin Germany. Reparations were foolish and to be relinquished; but a Germany ruined by reparations is a myth.

It is not accurate to regard the territorial clauses as disastrous. Alsace-Lorraine is permanently relinquished. The Eupen-Malmedy and Schleswig issues are secondary. The Polish frontiers were alone of relevance and partly unjust or unjustified.

But Germany herself has achieved these issues and is prospering in spite of this. Thus the widely held view that the Corridor was strangling Germany was hardly correct.

Even less can it be asserted that the colonial clauses <sup>though they</sup> had ~~any~~ less justification than many of the other territorial clauses were untenable. Germany does not argue that they were. In fact, colonies were demanded for the sake of an equal status, not of economic necessity, and even insofar as <sup>there was</sup> necessity, it was a new one, i.e. a result of the new self-sufficiency policy, not its cause.

This was the Versailles system. <sup>continued</sup>

2. But there was no system in the sense of a lasting condition of affairs. *state of affairs in line with reality*

Why?

The unilateral disarmament of the defeated countries was permanent. *supported* Nothing more absurd could have been devised. Such a state of affairs could have been upheld only by force viz. occupation of Germany, dismemberment *or other equally inhumane* measure.

unless there was an overwhelming military coalition to keep Germany helpless and disarmed. But this did not exist. The USA repudiated the Treaty. England backed out. France was alone. Instead the League of Nations was established -- a new sort of authority which could grow only in the spirit of the rule of law. Equality of status

14 May 1919

was

the precondition of such a League if it should be a real force. The permanent disarmament of the defeated countries made the League system a failure.

The gap bridged by the promise of the victorious countries to disarm voluntarily. Never fulfilled. Unless fulfilled, it would become at once obvious that there was no system.

The ~~new~~ Emperors new clothes.

This explains why the disarmament conference dragged on, when there was no chance of success.

This situation had been completely misunderstood. Revision was made to cover the new situation.

Mishandling of the revision issues, including reparations, an obvious fact. However, the actual mishandling of these issues was only relevant in so far as it was a reminder of the lack of equality of status of Germany.

Revisionist and anti-revisionist powers:

- a The defeated countries and their diplomatic supporters.
- b The victorious powers and their diplomatic supporter: France.

3. WHAT WAS THE WAYOUT?

Revision and collective security. France for the one, England for the other. No new commitments -- except Locarno.

The League of Nations Article 16 and 19. Implementing \$16 or \$19

Anti-League solution: Four Power Pact. March 1933.

- a The Four Western European powers should represent the European concerns.
- b small nations excluded.

c some measure of revision forced upon France and her allies

Four Power Pact failed. Signed under League clause.

W. The new alignment.

Aims and Methods of the Third Reich.

Second post-war period the Versailles system is ~~now~~ liquidated.

- a Reparations have gone.
- b Unilateral disarmament has gone.
- c Only the territorial clauses remain. And these were never the really important part of the "system". This is proven by Germany's attitude in the present period.

b Germany takes the lead both in the national and the social.  
 This national front is not the identical with the former revisionist front. Why? Because this aimed essentially at the liquidation of the reparations & disarmament issues which have disappeared since.

The wide spread illusions about the nature of the new situation is deliberately fostered by Germany. It served Germany's interests to ~~allow~~ other countries to continue in their belief ~~in~~ in the Revision issue i.e. that Germany's present aims are ~~her~~ her past complaints.

c The new national aims of Germany are very much more the continuation of other pre-war and war aims, than an outcome of the Treaty.

d The new social aims of Germany are the distinctive feature of German foreign policy. Germany is the leader of the Fascist states. She bases her foreign policy on her leadership. What does this mean? That she claims the support of all those forces which are opposed to working class leadership in the world. This is a great strength to Germany and that is the reason ~~why~~ why she never compromises on this point. It is a great success of Fascism to-day that Germany had succeeded in making Russia compromise on her Socialist foreign policy to some degree.

e What is the reason <sup>for / cause</sup> and purpose of National ~~socialism~~ <sup>socialism</sup> in the Reich? In so far as it is Fascism, it has nothing to do with the Treaties. Fascism is a ward movement in the present stage of Capitalism & is entirely distinct from either a. Treaties or b. the character of the people.

This is entirely obvious. Treaties:

- a. The victorious Japans have Fascism and certainly the Japanese; but you have Fascist movements more or less influential in
  - aa Austria of yesterday -- not a nationalist count
  - bb Poland - one of the greatest gainers of the Treaties
  - cc Roumania, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, ~~MEMBERED~~ Letland, Esthonia.
  - dd in the South American States and even in the U.S.A. and Canada
  - ee France itself - the Colonel de La Roque.

The same applies to national character. The Germans are of course, Prussian's; the Italians are temperamental and romantic; the Japanese have samurai traditions; the South Americans are uncivilised people; The Yankees ~~are~~ are homeless anyway...

~~Do not~~ ~~bring~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~discussion~~ ~~of~~ ~~politics~~, ~~except~~ ~~for~~ ~~unessential~~ ~~events~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~short~~ ~~term~~ ~~char~~ ~~acter~~. Long term processes and events shape national character instead of being shaped by them.

Examples:

Feudalism or capitalism ~~are~~ are world wide phenomena. They were different in every country; but in essence they were the same.

Historical antecedents and national characteristics may shape

- a the form of the movement,
- b the methods of the movement;
- c the rate at which it progresses.

in some countries it may be revolutionary, in others orderly; in some warlike in other pacifist; ~~and~~ in some militaristic, in others not.

What then is the essence of Fascism? What is the common characteristic of Fascist transformations?

- a The important thing is not the Fascist movement but the Fascist Transformation. ~~One~~ ~~can~~ ~~have~~ ~~a~~ ~~very~~ ~~weak~~ ~~Fascist~~ ~~movement~~ and yet a very great Transformation, if the conservative elements in the army, police, church, trade unions favour a Fascist tendency.

- b a Fascist tendency is a ~~tendency~~ tendency towards a corporative state. i.e.

organising industry on the present ownership system without a compensating increase in the effectiveness of popular democracy. In the U.S.A. e.g. the New Deal would have meant Fascism, if Roosevelt had not at the same time strengthened the popular democracy by cutting loose from Wall Street; by artificially fostering the C.I.O.; by deliberately strengthening popular education all along the line.

The important thing is not the Fascist movement (cf. Moseley), but the Fascist tendency in other factors of society. And in this sense Fascism will necessarily take different forms in different countries. (If in England there is a Fascist danger—~~then~~ I do not say there is—then it can be only in this sense. In Germany and in Italy, the P.U. went Fascist—~~or~~, rather, succumbed easily. In Austria, where they were incubated, they did not.

*aims & methods of the*

Let us now return to the Third Reich.

- a Unessential characteristics: Jewish issue.
- b Making the social issue the basis of foreign policy.
- c. Less advanced on the corporative lines, and more advanced on purely military lines: German system war economics. rather than a new social system;

THE ACTUAL AIMS OF THE THIRD REICH

- a. The expansion of the Reich <sup>through</sup> conquest in the East.  
Colonisation in the East.  
Hitler Mein Kampf. "                    "
- b. "                    " <sup>ambitions</sup>
- c. Strengthening Germany <sup>to such a point as to be able to challenge the rest of the world.</sup>
- d. The self-sufficiency line self-contradictory. The extension of the economic  basis necessary. Austria and Czechoslovakia.

METHODS

Leaving the foreign countries in the dark about Germany's aims.  
Reparations Schacht. Germany's economics, finance.

Suprise attacks. Assurances. Stunts of all kinds.

New racial theory of minorities. Citizenship Act.

The new Reich- Peaceful dependence <sup>done</sup> of Mother countries.  
New international law. German protection <sup>over</sup> racial minorities.

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6<sup>th</sup> Thirist Lecture!

WAR AND PEACE ON THE DANUBE;

Maidstone, 16th Jan. '38

Stoke-on-Trent,  
24 April. '38.

That on the 28<sup>th</sup> June 1914 the Heir to the Austrian crown, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, was assassinated in Sarajevo, together with his wife, is a fairly well known fact; also ~~NAME~~ that this ~~NAME~~ was the starting point of the world war.

It is ~~NAME~~ not so widely realised <sup>precisely</sup> what his business in Sarajevo was? and why he and his wife were ~~NAME~~ <sup>hounded</sup> to death by the Serbian nationalist student ~~NAME~~ Princip ~~NAME~~ and his numerous associates?

The answer is this: The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was in full process of dissolution. The Archduke took charge of extended military manoeuvres in Bosnia ( ~~NAME~~ Austria's ~~NAME~~ province with Serbian population called Bosniaks), in order to overawe the population, and the small Serbian neighbour. The position in Transylvania was similar: the Roumanians wished to assert their national liberty in the Hungarian Parliament and some threatened to join Roumania ~~NAME~~, unless their national rights were acknowledged in Budapest by the Hungarian parliament. The Slovaks in northern Hungary, the Ruthenians ( another name for Little <sup>or</sup> Russians/ Ukrainians) in north-eastern Hungary, the Croats in south-western Hungary, were equally dissatisfied. The tide of national consciousness was reaching Central Europe.

The Dual monarchy consisted of two halves: Austria and Hungary 1867. The Roumanians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croats belonged to Hungary. The Magyar nationality ruled, though less than half of the total population proper. / Bosnia with its Serbian population was an annex of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a whole. But Austria herself also consisted of a number of nations. The German were the leading nation, although the Slavs were sometimes preferred by the ~~NAME~~ ruling dynasty in Vienna. But on the whole the dynasty was German, while the Slovaks ~~NAME~~, Italians, Czechs, ~~NAME~~ Poles and Ruthenians formed the great majority. The Slovaks wanted to join a south-slav state; the Italians wanted to join Italy ( irredenta),

9. War and Peace on the Danube.

Tyrol. Some 200 000 Germans of the oldest stock brutalised in the most unconscionable fashion into Italy. Yet neither Austria nor Germany ever raised the matter before the League of Nations. Why? Austria too weak; Hitler deliberately sacrificing the Southern Tyrolians to the advantages of Italian support (financial and otherwise) for his movement. Interconnection between Revisionism and protection of ties of Racial minorities (which ought not to be difficult of Switzerland and the U.S.S.R.)

The revision problem meaning two different things: Either the restoration of Hungary's old frontiers or the rectification of the present frontier line. The former entirely unjustified and moreover political impossible. It would destroy three of the new states.

The latter entirely justified on grounds of abstract justice, but not seriously demanded by Hungary; as a lever to force general revision to the front.

- The economic problem not solved by it Hungary's forests, mines, and watering places lay in the frontier mountain fringe.
- the racial minority problem not solved, which at the very best one million Magyars could be made to return to Hungary (including 250,000 non-Magyars) while another 2 1/2 million would remain under the rule of the neighbouring states. Unless therefore harmony was complete, the situation would be become worse instead of better.

The fateful difference between restoration of the former and a rectification of the present frontiers.

- The economic problem insoluble without a political solution. The increasing self-sufficiency of these states due to military considerations
- industrial countries increasing their grain supply (Czechoslovakia)
  - agricultural countries forcing industrialisation (Hungary)
  - fostering the peasant class to counter balance working class influence (cf Austrian agricultural policy.)

Germany's bid :

The new Reich to solve the minority, the economic and the revision problem.

- a. Austria solved. The great military importance of the solution. Economic self sufficiency possible.
- b. Czechoslovakia -
  - aa A new problem altogether.
  - bb Switzerland
  - cc Political reliability the main problem
  - dd the strategic consideration
    - aa frontier regions
    - bb army and mobilisation.
    - cc demand for equal number of posts.
  - ee state of negotiations.