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SOVIET RUSSIA AND GERMAN MITTEL EUROPA


Lecture delivered Friday, 21 October, 1938

by

Professor Bruce Hopper

at the

Naval War College
Newport, R.I.


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SOVIET RUSSIA AND GERMAN MITTEL EUROPA

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SOVIET RUSSIA AND GENERAL MITTEL EUROPA

The Munich Agreement marks a new epoch,- in power shifts, in expansion technique, in national and world patterns. It represents the most astounding transfer of power in all history because it was accomplished without major hostilities. It implies a new type of world order, or disorder. It forces us to scrap most of our conceptions of world politics, and begin anew, feeling out the front as we go.

1. French Hegemony, 1919-1933.

1. 1919 Change in Pattern.

Before the World War the pattern of Europe was Great Power Authority plus the Balance of Power. The big powers acted in concert, made their alliances and counter alliances according to the principle of equilibrium,- until the guns went off. The small states were in general denied much voice in affairs. They were neutral pawns.

By the 1919 peace settlements that Great Power Authority was replaced by self-determination, not only of racial minorities, but of small states, some of which were called into being by the victors. The Balance of Power doctrine gave way to the principle of Collective Security in a League of Nations, bolstered by the small states, new and old. The small states became the arch defenders of the peace system; their interest was status quo.

It was America, in the person of Woodrow Wilson, which provided Europe with the 1919 pattern, small states and self- de-

termination, working at Geneva. It was likewise America which ran out on the system while it was being born. Britain and France utilized the League to maintain the status quo; they began easing out in 1931; and ran out effectively in 1938. Meanwhile, they had enticed Soviet Russia into the League by their attractive presence in 1934. And so, in 1938, we witness the paradox of the Bolsheviks, supposed to be the demons disrupting the world, standing in the portals at Geneva holding the American baby. From that point of view, international relations "is spinach."

2. Parcellation of Eastern Europe.

The 1919 settlement also was parcellation of the map by the self-determination principle, especially in Eastern Europe. After the destruction of the three autocracies which had been coterminous there, the victorious Allies made a buffer zone of small states between Germany and Russia. They sliced Austria-Hungary into its component racial parts. The map architecture resulted in a crazy quilt, with 14 separate states from the Baltic to the Balkans, some of which have no economic raison d'etre. Lithuania, for instance, is but little more than an enlarged farm, and not a very good one. Latvia and Estonia exist on the through traffic to Russia.

With the exception of Czechoslovakia, which inherited the industrial equipment of old Austria, these states in the buffer zone have continued to be economically backward. They have an

agricultural level which is lower than it was when they formed parts of the pre-war empires, and that goes for pretentious but poverty-ridden Poland as well. The victorious Allies brought these sovereign states into existence, but they failed to provide them with economic opportunities in trade, etc., which would have made them an economic backlog against reviving Germany. In the passage of the years the zone ceased to be a buffer, and became a power vacuum, serving as a suction. It is destined to be the hurricane belt because an organized great power can develop its resources, and better its economic conditions.

3. French Security System.

The failure of the Allies was that they devised a collective system of security based on the cooperation of small states, and then failed to provide the sinews the little fellows needed to maintain their independence.

The French, however, after American ran out, and the British refused to go through with the guarantee on the Rhine, did build a political security system of bulwarks in the East; the French alliances with the countries of the Little Entente and Poland. All the French alliances were within the League system, including Locarno, 1925, which France could not get extended to the East because of Germany's refusal.

II. Transition to German Hegemony, 1933-1938.

By 1933 the French system began to crack, and the transition

to German hegemony began.

1. German Push to the East.

Eastern Europe was the power vacuum for Germany. Hitler's ideas on the subject were picked up from his extensive reading of 19th century Pan-Germanists while he was in prison. He read of the old Berlin-Bagdad dream, and of General Hoffman's plan to exploit the East after the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The East is the logical hinterland for Pan-Germania, the bread basket.

2. The Steps.

The steps in fulfillment of this old German dream are startling in their consistency. Germany had already been freed from reparation payments in 1932. The French troops had withdrawn from the Rhine in 1930, five years ahead of time. Supervision of Germany's military preparations had ceased.

But before Hitler could make progress eastward he had to smash the complicated treaty structure which held Europe in shape. It is said that every day he studied the Treaty of Versailles. Step by step he rolls up the Treaty of Versailles, checking off the items of Germany's defeat which he turns into Germany's victory. His first important move was to announce withdrawal from the League and the Disarmament Conference in October, 1933. He was then free to rearm more rapidly. Next he reintroduced conscription, March, 1935. He restored the General Staff. Then came his greatest gamble, the march into the Rhineland, March 7, 1936. From then on he could breathe

easier, smashing treaties, freeing German rivers, the Anti-Communism Pact with Japan, the Rome-Berlin Axis, the annexation of Austria, the incorporation of Czechoslovakia, all without firing a shot. That makes the most amazing chronology of power technique the world has ever known. Conquerors we know; but historically they have always had to fight for their spoils.

3. Counter-Steps.

A. Barthou Plan.

In passing, we must credit the French with realism. They did try to put up a barrage. But the French were limited by their legal minds in a situation which had passed beyond legality. Barthou, the Foreign Minister, dashed about the map, trying to build a vast Eastern Security System, including Germany, Soviet Russia, Poland, etc. He did succeed in making a Balkan Pact. He did succeed in arriving at a Franco-Soviet Pact and a Czech-Soviet Pact. But Hitler refused all offers. Poland would have none of it either. So the great Barthou scheme failed; it was doomed because it was to be founded on law.

The French realized this. And that's what makes their failure to counter-march to the Rhine bridge-heads on March 7, 1936, almost criminal in retrospect. But we must remember, the French were really trying to build a system of law.

B. Chamberlain's Appeasement.

Another counter-step is Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, which is another way of saying that love conquers all,

conquer. it even if you lose it. There would be some merit in the method of appeasing the lions by throwing them chunks of meat if the lions would then curl up and go to sleep. But when the lions show every evidence of getting stronger and more ferocious on the diet, then one would think that the lion appeaser might conclude that his efforts were producing an effect opposite to the one intended. But one can never tell about the English. As Oscar Wilde said, we shall never know whether the London fogs made the Englishman, or the Englishman made the fogs.

Chamberlain's appeasement involved much running to and fro between Rome and Berlin, much toning down of the British press so as not to irritate the lions. Finally, Chamberlain got a piece of paper from Mussolini in the form of a treaty last April 16, which was to come into effect when the Italian troops evacuated Spain, Britain would recognize Italian Ethiopia, and pay Danegeld in the form of a loan. So eager was Chamberlain to appease that he tried to rush the loan through in July, before any Italians left Spain, but was deterred by the French who pointed out the bad effect of such precipitate bounty on Mussolini.

In early May, it is believed that Chamberlain was reconciled to the partition of Czechoslovakia as part appeasement of Hitler. But he wanted to bring Hitler into negotiation on the question. Accordingly, when Hitler jumped the gun on May 21, Chamberlain let loose a blast which brought him credit for having saved the peace of Europe. To be in on the game, Chamberlain

then decided to send the Runciman Mission, to study and report, which is to say, to devise means whereby the partitioning could be done peaceably. You know the Runciman Report, which recommends just that.

So, in the end, appeasement comes down to propitiation of the angry gods by offering the incense from the burning flesh of a sacrificial victim. I suppose it will continue as a feasible method so long as there are available victims.

4. The Munich Agreement.

Now, this Munich Agreement, the beginning of the Blitz era in history, cannot be swallowed in a gulp. Duff Cooper couldn't swallow it at all. We know that Hitler got his demands 101% - so much so that he has even returned a few villages which the International Commission graciously awarded him.

Chamberlain got a piece of paper, on which was written the promise that the British and German peoples shall dwell in the tent and smoke the pipe of peace forever. When he landed, coming from Munich, he was asked if he thought Hitler would keep this promise, in view of his record for promises broken. The Messiah smiled sweetly, and said: "Oh, yes, this promise is different; it was made to me .." Such sweetness and loftiness of spirit ought to have its reward, somewhere ∴ such exaltation and serenity of mind.

As Dorothy Thompson cracked, for the first time in history a British Prime Minister crawled at 250 miles an hour. He

brought peace, a piece of paper. All England rejoiced when he first went to Berchtesgaden, for it was believed the old bulldog was flying with Britain's terms for Hitler to take or leave. Not so. He was flying to offer the sacrificial victim, to transfer Czechoslovakia from the camp of embattled democracies into the camp of the enemy.

How to account for it? There is no doubt of the British terror. Our private lines to the German General Staff tell us that Goering had 1800 airplanes of the first line, and a 1000 some antequated planes of the second line. The whispering galleries said the Germans planned a Blitz luft krieg, sending the thousand planes of the second line over London and Paris, with expectation of 75% casualties, but inflicting at least 30,000 deaths the first day.

It sounds like a propaganda masterpiece from Goebells. On the face of it, the loss of 700 pilots would be something Germany could not afford, even though the brand new air fleet were kept in reserve.

The point is, it was believed in England. The terror was profound. There was a resignation to extermination. There was digging of trenches in the parks for shelter against H.E. One lady even canvassed around for bed sheets to wrap the expected corpses, because of the shortage of coffins.

The Medicos devised three types of labels to put on bodies; a red label to signify that the victim could walk if necessary; a blue label meaning no use to bother with this one, he's

finished; and a white label for those who might be saved.

How account for that terror? The Secret Service, I am informed, had done its job. The Foreign Office had done its job. They had warned the government for months.

The answer evidently is the Inner Cabinet of Four: Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Halifax and Sir John Simon, the same Sir John Simon who in 1914 kept assuring von Kuhlmann that Britain would not fight; the same who scuttled Stimson's policy in January 1932, offering to stop Japan in Manchuria; the same fellow who refused the small economic moderation which would have retained Bruning in power in 1932, and thus stalled off the arrival of Hitler. Sir John also told Mussolini to go ahead in Ethiopia, then put on sanctions. In all these retreats and colossal hand-outs by Britain from 1931 to 1938, the one continuous thread is Sir John Simon, destined by all reckoning to be the next Prime Minister.

These four old men refused to believe that the Germans really wanted to fight, that is, they refused until the 59th minute, and then saved the world from war by sacrificing the Czechs, whereas all they need to have done was to have mobilized the Navy in the middle of August when the German army took to the field.

Worse still, they broke with hoary British tradition, the tradition of collective responsibility for the cabinet. They did not consult the cabinet; they did not consult Russia. They were putting over appeasement.

They are safe because there is no opposition. The Labor

Party has been jockeyed into a position as the war party, and is helpless. The young Conservatives can only resign and fume. Duff Cooper had a chance to expose the Inner Cabinet business, when he resigned, and thus rallied support. Instead, he broke down, and talked about what he couldn't swallow. If the Prime Minister can shatter collective cabinet responsibility, then we can expect anything in England. It is a Blitz era; Fascist England rolls hard on the tongue, but we see no obstacles to British Fascism now.

5. Sequels to Munich.

If we were to add up the sequels to Munich, we would say:

1) Hegemony Passes to Germany.

Germany, defeated, on the brink of starvation, bled by reparations, for 15 years the under-dog, while Britain and France recovered, at least until the depression of 1929. How to explain this miraculous thrust from helplessness to hegemony of Europe and the scourge of the world, all in five years?

Of course, Germany pays nothing on the seven billion dollar private debt, five billion of which is owed in America. She gets raw materials by barter. She turned her fat into guns in a tremendous military gamble, and won the stakes.

The only parallel in history is the lunge of the French Revolution which began with the Battle of Valmy, 1792. After that battle with the ragamuffin French Army the Prussian and Austrian Armies retreated without firing a shot, demoralization set in, and soon the French Revolution was sweeping Europe with

Napoleon in the lead. It took 20 years to drag Napoleon down; and he had to fight all the way. But in 1938, the new Napoleon does not have to fight; the great appeasers hand him the continent like the head of John the Baptist on a platter.

2) Ignominious Collapse of the Security System.

We need not dwell on the ignominious collapse of the security system, the French alliances, the Little Entente, the Franco-Soviet, the Czech-Soviet, treaties, in fact all treaties, and law, even to the quaint little thought of unhitching the Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles, which is like diverting an avalanche with a handful of pebbles.

3) Four Power Pact.

Talk there was of a Four Power Pact, making a Great Power Authority to replace the small power authority of the League of Nations. Talk there was, also, of a plebiscite in certain areas; talk of a guarantee of the new Czechoslovakia. None of these things are to be. Hitler has no need for agreements, four power or otherwise.

4) Eastern Europe

There the map goes liquid, with all the little fellows climbing on the band wagon of the Nazi technique. Before the winter is out we shall probably have a German Customs Union, taking in Hungarian grain, Roumanian oil. The old German dream, which centuries of fighting failed to bring true, which the World War failed to create, now comes into the Third Reich like the Land of Beulah in the hymn, corn and wine for the

warrior state.

Of course, Mussolini has some ideas of his own, and is extending a hand to the Hungarians and the Poles to get the tail end of Czechoslovakia, Ruthenia, between them, and thus be able to chisel on the rival Caesar. How that will work out we do not know.

But we do see forming an anti-democracy bloc from the North Sea to the Pacific.

5) By-Product: Britain loses the Blockade Weapon.

A By-product of special interest is that when the Inner Cabinet pulled the plug in Czechoslovakia they let their blockade weapon run out with the bath. May-be, they knew that with a vastly increased food area Germany could defy a naval blockade. May-be, they were as blind as they seem. We don't know. But we do know that the force of the British Navy in politics must now be discounted heavily. (Maybe, the Inner Cabinet might eventually turn the navy over to us in payment of the debts of the war before last, so we can defend our Monroe Doctrine).

6) Other By-Products.

Other By-Products from the contagion of the Nazi technique include the Japanese move to southern China, cutting off Hong Kong; the Arabs intensify the terror in Palestine, the Blitz is spreading.

An interesting angle. Ireland has become the brightest jewel of the British crown. De Valera assured London of

Ireland's loyalty and devotion, and promised to feed England. At the Dublin Horse Show recently the British entry was cheered for the first time since before the Easter Rebellion of 1916. Of course, it may prove fitting to reward De Valera by giving him Ulster, North Ireland, but why not? A loyal Ireland would be an ace in the hole.

7) Britain to go Totalitarian?

Another by-product is probably that Britain must go totalitarian in order to support the armament load contingent upon Peace in Our Time. Already, the cabinet shake-up is under way. It seems likely that Lord Runciman for his valiant service in slicing the Czechs without war is to be lifted into an Earldom, and made First Lord of the Admiralty.

Eden may be made Minister for the Dominions. Inskip may be replaced by Churchill at the Coordinated Defense, if Churchill is not disgraced by intelligence.

In general, we must expect Britain to go more and more totalitarian. The press and radio are already under government censorship. Churchill's recent broadcast was not allowed to be heard in Britain. Eden was forbidden to broadcast at all. Dean Matthews of St. Paul's was forbidden to come to America. (Such a talk as this is forbidden in England now). And no one can doubt that the detention of John Strachey at Ellis Island was inspired by Scotland Yard.

But if England goes totalitarian, then the Empire cracks.

Canada would be compelled to seek closer ties with the United States. Fear for the Dominions might deter the rush to Fascism in Britain.

8) What next?

Then, we may ask, what next? Well, there is North Schleswig, which Hitler can get merely by asking for it; the Danes might even urge him to take it so as to anticipate Goebbels. There is also Switzerland, which has been a unity for 650 years. Unfortunately, most of the Swiss speak German. And Switzerland has a gold reserve, and factories, and other delectable items.

Also, there is the Corridor, and Posen. Why shouldn't the Poles move in on Memel, allowing the Corridor to revert to Germany without a shot?

Now, the demand for the Camerons and Togoland.

What seems immediately likely is a deal to give Franco victory in Spain, to be followed by the annexation of Portugal, making a Fascist Iberian peninsula, with Britain surrendering Gibraltar to Franco, and Malta to Italy.

Hitler will need a fresh chunk of meat for his expenditure in Spain. His price seems to be Portuguese East Africa (Portugal having been donated to Franco).

The London quotation on Mussolini's price includes one-third of the shares of the Suez Canal. Mussolini might also ask for Tunis if he gets a rival Caesar in Africa. Of course, Tunis is French for the moment.

Hitler is expected next year to nestle up to the Belgian frontier with guns and tanks, and asked to be appeased with the Belgian Congo, for which Britain certainly would not fight. In fact, when you think of it, what good is Africa anyway? Let Hitler have it, and eventually we will prove the rule that you can appease lions by feeding them, provided you don't lose patience and don't run out of meat.

(9) What of the Munich Men?

Now, to restore our sanity for a moment, we might ask what will become of the men who signed the Munich Agreement. By all laws of history, they would, in the light of past catastrophe to the race, be destroyed when full realization of their deed breaks through the static of relief.

But this is the Blitz era, which may twist even this tradition. The one remark of realism I heard from the Munich venture concerned Deladier. When he landed at Le Bourget Airdrome on his return, the Parisian crowd surged out on to the field. He thought he was to be lynched. Instead, it proved to be a peace demonstration, with cries of Vive la Paix! When Deladier realized he was not to be torn into pieces, he sighed, and said, "Poor fools, how little they know!"

French humor was up to events, however. It was not long before wagons appeared on the streets with signs: Bière de Sedan ... Sedan Beer, the great betrayal.

III. Role of Soviet Russia.

The Munich Agreement was a "black-out" defeat for Soviet diplomacy, and may well be the signal for another volte face in the direction of Russian affairs.

In any view of Soviet policy one must remember that the Bolsheviks have undertaken, simultaneously, two tasks of great historical magnitude: (1) The construction of socialism in one country alone; and (2) The transformation of a backward agrarian conglomeration of peoples into an advanced, industrialized, consolidated nation. These two long range objectives make absolutely imperative a foreign policy of Peace and Security, devoid of adventure.

I. General Policy; Defense to the West; Eastward Orientation.

A. Permanent Factors.

There are certain permanent factors in that policy: geographical position, conglomerate character of the population, possession of great, unexploited wealth in Asia, etc.

The Soviet Union, astride the Eurasian continent, has a unique position on the map as half-way station between East and West. Its immensity creates the tremendous difficulties of distance, transport, and communications. Because of the long frontiers it has the greatest number of state neighbors. Soviet foreign policy is therefore enmeshed in the problems of regional politics in the Baltic, in Eastern Europe, the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, not to overlook the Arctic and the

Pacific. No other state has such a variety of neighbors, such a range of interests to reconcile in framing its foreign policy.

The population, estimated at 170 millions, consists of some 180 races or linguistic units. Slightly more than one-half are Great Russians; one-fourth are Ukrainians and White Russians; the rest are mostly Asiatics. The separatist movements, especially in Ukraina and Georgia, are important in foreign relations because of the agitation whipped up from abroad. Then, too, that Asiatic frontier is doubly interesting because it divides tribes related by blood, giving an impetus to the Soviet mission to backward peoples.

Further, the discovery that the bulk of the country's wealth lies east of the Urals, plus the Bolshevik determination to develop the resources of the Union as a whole, dictate an eastward movement of Russia's economic focus.

These factors of land, people, and resources, add up to a permanent policy of self-interest: Defense to the West; Orientation to the East, the Asiatic citadel of the Soviet system.

B. Revolutionary Factors.

Over and above these permanent factors are revolutionary factors peculiar to the Soviet state, such as the ideological front, and the Soviet assumption of particular status in international relations.

By their abolition of private property in the means of production the Bolsheviks aroused the world-wide fears of

properties classes.

By their militant atheism they assured themselves the persistent and effective hostility of the Church, especially the Roman Church.

Against these two world oppositions might be placed in balance the world-wide tolerance of the working class, who believe that somehow the Soviet Union is the champion of labor and the rights of the common man. Also, the liberal intellectuals tend to view Soviet affairs with a tolerant eye on the assumption that the Bolsheviks serve as the gad fly to the capitalist horse, goading democracies into needed reforms.

After twenty years of existence the Soviet government in 1938 has more enemies in control of state power elsewhere than friends. That, in essence, is the meaning of the "black-out" at Munich. The two key words are property and religion. I personally believe the official atheism of the Bolsheviks has proved to be their greatest folly. If they had dropped their war on religion, after destroying the old Russian church, they would have more friends in the world today, and much of the good of the Russian Revolution would be seen in its true light.

Another point concerns the Bolshevik means of defense. There is the straight military, of which more in a moment. There is the economic, such as the foreign trade monopoly. Then there is the political, the propaganda for world revolution behind the lines of the capitalist front. And, finally, there is the diplomatic, non-aggression pacts, and collective

security. The Soviet government has varied its means of defense according to the constellation of powers and the shifts in the international scene. But always it has sought peace and security, as a state; it has not been capable of any other policy, even when trying to stir up revolution in the early years.

One other point. Bolshevik defense theory has been based on the division of the world into two camps, capitalist and socialist. In the showdown, the capitalist camp has split into limited government of democracy, and unlimited government of Fascism. That makes a three-way camp for the present. It may go back to a two-way camp if democracies^{are} forced into Fascism.

2. Rapallo Policy, 1922-1934.

Now, after the initial period of isolation, 1917-1921, Soviet foreign policy may be divided into two main periods, the Rapallo Policy, 1922-1934; and Collective Security, 1934 to the present.

It is hard to think back to 1922, when Germany and Russia were outcasts. It was as outcasts that their delegates slipped away from the Genoa Conference to Rapallo and drew up the treaty of friendship, to which a secret military protocol was attached, pointing not only to close economic cooperation, but also to military assistance. German technicians were dispatched to Russia to build arms factories, train the Red Army, etc., not only to aid Russia, but to construct the military equipment in

the hinterland for the eventual overturn of the Treaty of Versailles.

After the NEP, the Bolsheviks found they had to make terms with the capitalist world in order to trade. Consequently they offered concessions, etc. There resulted a series of recognition treaties with capitalist states, mostly in 1924.

Meanwhile, the main issue of foreign policy was fought out in the Communist party, known as the Stalin-Trotsky feud. After the expected revolutions failed to materialize, Stalin set forth the thesis that socialism could be built in one country alone. Trotsky stuck to the old guns, that a socialist state could not exist in a vacuum. That fight continued for four years. In 1927 Trotsky was expelled.

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks made a big bid for tolerance at the First World Economic Congress, Geneva, 1927, with the slogan: "Peaceful Co-existence and Friendly Collaboration with Capitalist States."

And Stalin began to build socialism in one country alone by launching the First Five Year Plan, 1928.

Meanwhile, Germany continued as the chief ally. The German-Soviet Treaty of 1925 gave Germany first place in the economic development of Russia. In 1926 they drew up another Treaty of Friendship in which they pledged not to join coalitions against each other.

The Bolsheviks had every reason to expect the Germans

would continue to be their potential allies, because they were both under-dogs; economically they complemented each other. But Hitler came to power with another set of ideas, 1933. And yet, despite his raising of the bogeyman of Bolshevism, he renewed the 1926 Treaty of Friendship in May, 1933. After that, the relations began to get very mysterious. There was the radio war, and denunciations in the press. But all the time, the Germans were offering loans and trade facilities. And Stalin undoubtedly wanted to continue the orientation on Germany.

What changed the Bolsheviks was the repeated refusal of Hitler to consider an Eastern Security Pact being offered by Barthou. His Mein Kampf was definite on the plan to conquer Eastern Europe and Ukraina. But, all of us, Bolsheviks included, did not take Mein Kampf so seriously then. In 1933, however, Hugenberg let off a big blast at the London Conference about the eastern lands that Germany should have. The Bolsheviks became more and more eager for the security pact.

3. Collective Security, 1934 on.

Thus it was that the Eastern Security system, instead of being a comprehensive scheme of guarantee, dwindled down to the Franco-Soviet Pact, and the Czech-Soviet Pact, of May, 1935. The price Russia had to pay the French was to join the League of Nations, September, 1934.

That was a volte face of historical importance, because Hitler vowed he would never give up until he had smashed the

Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which he is now about to accomplish.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1935, the 7th Comintern Congress met in Moscow and passed the resolution that Communist parties everywhere should cooperate with all groups which work against Fascism and war. That led to the formation of the Front Populaire in France, which brought Leon Blum to power, and to the United Front in Spain, which came to power in February, 1936, at the election which was the prelude to Franco's revolt.

I mention these items because they are all beads on the same chain, which may be called: The Defeat of Soviet Diplomacy by Hitler.

At Geneva, Litvinov became the most stalwart pillar of collective security. The paradox is this. The Soviet state was a strange animal in international life, and was distrusted by all other states. In the course of time the Bolsheviks had to soften their regime, and behave in a more normal way internationally. The world revolution failed. They stopped promoting it with the failure in China, 1927. They gradually built up non-aggression pacts with all their neighbors except Japan. They joined the League of Nations. They seemed to become civilized.

But meanwhile, a new world theory rose to power with Hitler. He had to have a bogeyman. He capitalized on the old fears of Bolsheviks, who had since become innocuous. His

spy system riddled Russia, using Poles, Soviet employees, etc. In the course of time he managed so well that the Bolsheviks began to devour each other, weakening the regime, and causing the rest of the world to return to the old disgust for Bolshevism. When history sums up Hitler, I believe that will be reckoned as one of his greatest achievements of statecraft. Because the distrust of the Bolsheviks, on the part of the ruling classes of Britain and France, is one of the keys to the Munich Agreement. And, as I said, the key words are property and religion.

4. Russia's Strength.

There is considerable controversy, evidently, as to Russia's present strength. The Lindbergh affair is a case in point. I, myself, have worked too hard and too long on Russian studies ever to sell the country short. There are many aspects of Russia, bordering on the slovenly, which might well deceive the person accustomed to order and neatness.

As for airplanes per se, we do not know how many first line planes there are. We do know that airplanes have been the main concern for many years. We also know that Russians make first class pilots. We know, privately, that they put 200 planes into Slovakia on May 21, at the time of Hitler's attempted coup. During the September crisis there were 500 Russian planes in Czechoslovakia, as the initial contribution. The Russians were ready to fight, but they had to keep in the background for the reason that Bolshevik aid to Czechoslovakia

would have the undesired effect on the property owners and the Church in the West, and give support to the Hitler thesis that the Czechs were introducing Bolshevism into the heart of Europe.

At the same time, the regime has weakened. The purge hit all layers of Soviet society, the government, the party, the army. It is a mistake to believe that the purge was senseless. It was ruthless and terrible, the result of panic. But consider this. Over the years the Poles were putting officers and experts over the line, disguised as Russian workmen, to get trade union cards, and eventually work up in the Soviet system, munition plants, etc. In Warsaw, I was told that as many as 8,000 such trained spies had been introduced into the Soviet regime. These Polish spies often attained high office, as Russian comrades. They would report to the Polish consulates, and in later years to the German and Japanese consulates as well. (That was one reason for closing all consulates except those in Moscow, where they could be watched). You can imagine the wave of suspicion which swept over Russia when it was found that many trusted officials were really Poles. Being a ruthless group, the Bolsheviks swept them out with savage elan, and in doing so, liquidated many of their own people. The Communist party does not trust the Russian people; it does not trust itself. It is a secret police state. The same applies to Nazi Germany. But, evidently, in the matching of strength and ingenuity, the German Gestapo emerges victor over the Russian G.P.U.

Now, the chief reason for believing the Russian army has been weakened is not only because of the execution of the Generals, but the reintroduction of the system of political commissars, the general decline in the educational level of those politically fit to be officers. Under Tukhachevsky, the Red Army was in a fair way to become a splendid fighting force, trained in sound military principles. That was up till last year. The changes are in the direction of making it a political army, so that its military efficiency is sacrificed in order to gain political loyalty. The only interpretation we can make of that is that Bolshevism fears a real army, a national army, or, at least, the Bolsheviks forego military strength in order to insure their own political control. For that they need a class army.

But, as I said, it would be a mistake to sell the country short. The Soviet regime has become the most youthful in the world. Fully two-thirds of the entire population belong to the post-revolution generation. Time may prove Bolshevik wisdom; on the other hand, time may prove the impossibility of a secret police state to win loyalty. Again, that applies to Germany as well.

Another weakness is evidence in the signs that planning is bogging down. (Purge of incompetence). I have here translations of important articles in the Soviet press which indicate that the planning has been a huge system of self-deception. For instance, I studied their planning figures for years. I

now am told that the 1926-27 fixed prices, which were always the basis of reference, had no existence in fact. They were conjured up on the spot by the managers who had to start with a base, as of 1926; they generally made the prices which would fit the end desired. The arithmetical problem involved was too vast to solve.

In general, I do not think the world has much to fear from the comprehensive planning attempted by the Bolsheviks. The world ought to be grateful. At least, we in America, don't have to have the agony of planning. The Russian lesson is too plain.

5. After Munich.

Despite these signs of weakness, Russia is still the land of the future. Russia is space, richness, energetic, youthful people. Russia is dynamic. and Soviet Russia is more attuned to science than any other land, more eager to follow through the dictates of the second industrial revolution.

As the impossible features of the Soviet system are discarded, such as detailed planning, and as the post-revolution generation is educated and assumes power, Russia will take another twist, and approach more closely to the norm of world economy.

That is why the sequels to the Munich Agreement in Russia will be of first importance. As I said, the Bolsheviks have nothing to gain in Europe but means to strengthen their defense. Soviet Russia is off to the north, watching the states of Europe cutting each other's throats, just as King Philip of Macedon

watched the Greek City States.

At the moment they are chagrined and angry. With all their readiness to defend collective security, they awaited the call from Britain and France. It did not come. Finally, on September 27, the most crucial day, Kagan, the Soviet Counsellor in London, was summoned to Lord Halifax. He thought, at last, the moment has come. But all that Lord Halifax wanted to discuss was the Non-~~Int~~ervention Committee in Spain.

So the Bolsheviks are utterly disgusted. We read of their new defenses. A strip, one hundred miles wide in places, along the Western frontier, in which the forests have been razed, and inhabitants removed. They do things in a spectacular way.

Diplomatically, I suppose Litvinov will be liquidated, having failed in his policy to keep British and French support. And Stalin will concentrate even more definitely on the eastward orientation, which we will discuss next week.

I will leave Russia till then.

IV. 2nd Stage in Building Mittel Europa.

To come back to the German Mittel Europa which we see forming. We now know something of the Nazi technique, and can almost call the turn.

1. Economic Exploitation of Eastern Europe.

Germany moves into the power vacuum of Eastern Europe, exploiting the resources more efficiently than the natives can. For instance, Hitler demands reparation for all the injuries

the Sudetens have endured since 1918. He also is buying up all the Czech money in the occupied areas, at the rate of ten Czech crowns per German mark. He thus gets at least one-third of the total circulation of Czech money. These Czech crowns will be presented to the Czech bank in Prague for redemption against gold. Against the reparations, and the outstanding Czech money in German hands, the Czechs will have to surrender their entire gold reserve, estimated at one hundred million dollars.

On top of that, the Czech citizens who have holdings abroad will be forced to convert them into negotiable paper, which also goes into the Berlin exchequer. That was the method used in Austria. So there need not be much wondering on how the Nazis finance their war machine. They gambled on guns instead of butter, and won. I do not see just what is to stop the process until they get to the Black Sea.

Meanwhile, we may expect a feverish building of roads, railroads, airdromes, etc.; greatly improved communications. Mittel Europa will have to be well policed. It is rather interesting that the Nazis closed the Elbe river to cargoes going to Czechoslovakia in July. When their transport system is completed they will have similar throttle hold over the Danube area.

As Germany exploits Eastern Europe the Nazi strength grows by the proverbial leaps and bounds.

2. Diplomatic Offensive.

Next, we may expect a terrific diplomatic offensive this winter, as soon as the digestion of Czechoslovakia is past the

initial stage. Already it has opened on Lithuania. Hitler has a certain amount of mopping to do in the West, especially with France. The weak nations of the buffer zone are already flocking to Berlin; and the Czechs, determined enemies a month ago, are today vassal allies whom Hitler protects against the allies of tomorrow, the Poles and Hungarians. Of course, Mussolini is fishing in the troubled waters, but he has not much bait.

3. Secret Service Offensive.

Along with this will be the Secret Service Offensive, over which we had better draw the veil. Files of the Secretary, Embassy in London. Must improve the service in America; it has been very inept.

5. Ultimate Aim in the East: Poland the Key.

Now, as to Hitler's ultimate aim in the East. I believe it depends on his decision as to the fate of Poland. If he decides that Poland is useful, he may forego the Corridor for the time being, make Poland an ally, and use Poland to put Lithuania out of the way and unite with the Ruthenians of Eastern Slovakia and the separatist movement of Ukraina in an attempt to erect a Ukrainian state of 44 million people under the nominal protection of Poland. I have a good deal of literature on the Ukrainian separatist movement. Its strength is indicated by the numerous executions in Soviet Ukraina of high Bolsheviks.

On the other hand, Hitler may decide that modern Poland has existed long enough, in which case he may come over to the Reichswehr view that Germany's destiny is to unite with Russia

for the redivision of Eastern Europe between them. That would seem to be the safer policy, because by military and economic alliance Germany could have access to all Soviet possessions, and we would see a bloc from the North Sea to the Pacific working with German brains and Russian labor. It makes sense economically. Ideologically, the gulf between them is extremely thin. They are both unlimited governments. As the Nazis move on, private property becomes more and more precarious. As the Bolsheviki move on, their unworkable machinery will be discarded.

And, on top of all that, the Bolsheviki and the Nazis have an inherent respect for each other, which neither one has for democracies. That is the thesis I presented here last spring; I see no reason to change it. The one shift is that the Nazis have proved more clever, and would dominate the combine, diverting Russian attention to the Far East, even to turning them loose against Japan for mastery of China.

It may be, of course, that long days and nights on this crisis have actually poisoned my mind. I have seen so many hopes for a better world bud, blossom, and die, without bearing fruit, that I see all black, whereas there must be many streaks of light.

6. Roles of Britain and France.

Britain and France have made their bed. Their ruling classes decided they feared their own working classes more than they did the Nazis. I do not believe there will be re-

covery from that decision in our time. The sinews are not there.

France overnight became a second rate power. That indicates that France has only artificially been a first rate power. You will remember I suggested that last spring, based on birth rate, control of raw materials, etc. Now, historically, that may make a happier France, in time. Sweden was once a first rate power, under Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. Sweden became reconciled to a second rate position, and Sweden is now the happiest country in the world. So it might be with France. Unfortunately, France is in such a strategic position that it is very doubtful if a powerful Germany can leave her unmolested to enjoy non-responsibility. Those iron mines of Lorraine are coveted.

Britain likewise became a second rate power, with the blockade weapon taken away from the Navy. This is the greatest blow of all. We predicted it, but now that it is here, it is almost unbearable. Britain represents the curse pursuing democracies. As the phrase goes: The Tories have talent, but no principles. The Labor party has principles, but no talent. And the decayed Liberals have neither talent nor principles. So where is England, the mother of Parliaments, the fountain-head of justice and human rights?

In self-defense Britain is being forced along the road to Fascism. But somewhere along that road the empire crumbles. The new policy will be: How to appease not Hitler but the

Dominions? I do not think that riddle can be solved, even by a visit from the King and Queen.

Some sceptics go so far as to say the Nazis probably can take the British Empire if they not not interrupt the long week-end from London, and do not forbid the writing of letters to the Times. I suppose the best of England was killed in the last war, the generation which now would be in power. Certainly, the conduct of British Foreign Policy since the National Government was formed in 1931 indicates a lack of the wisdom that made Britain great. All the opportunities were tossed over the shoulder, .. instead of drawing America in, they rebuffed Stimson; instead of making tariff arrangements in general, 1932, they made the Ottawa Agreements, instead of this, instead of that, it would seem that Britons had ceased to be Britons, and became Messiahs, trading the birthright for a peace of paper signed by Adolf Hitler: I Will Be Good (see Low cartoon).

Britain has been out-maneuvered, out-generalled, out-guessed, out-bluffed, and out-Blitzed,- defeated at the very game which made Britain great, e.g. winning prestige with the little fellows.

There is a current formula on how to remedy England's ills. All the cooks in England should be French to insure good food. All the waiters should be Italians to give good service. The taxi drivers must be Russians, so people can get to places on time. The farmers should be Scandinavians

to pull out all those thistles in the fields. The railroads, the army, and even the navy, should be run by the Germans, with efficient modern methods. And, of course, the tourists should all be American, because they spend money. As for the Britons, let the British working class remain permanently on the dole. The British Ruling Class, including all the political hostesses, should be on permanent week-end along the Riviera. The sum of all these would make Peace in Our Time.

That formula was made by an Englishman, so there is some hope for the race yet.

V. Conclusion.

By way of conclusion.

1. Cause the Power Shift.

I believe the fundamental cause of the most tremendous power shift in peace time is to be sought in the law of uneven development of nations. Germany was the scene of the Thirty Years War which closed the Reformation Period, and was thereby arrested in her natural development. While Britain and France made strong national states, Germany remained parcelated in principalities. Only in 1871 did Germany achieve unity in federalism. By that time the loot of the world was staked off by imperialism. Japan and Italy also arrived late on the scene. These three are the disturbers today, because the energies of their peoples have not been exhausted in imperialism.

Germany's first thrust to world dominance was stopped in 1918. Pan-Germanism smoldered under the treaty harness. The second thrust began in 1933, under abler leadership. Pan-Germanism is with us, I believe, until it breaks down with its own weight.

2. Change in National Patterns.

I believe the epoch will show a violent change in national patterns. The fundamental issue has been between limited and unlimited government. It maybe that democracy is workable only during a period of growth, as was the case in Rome, where democracy flopped over into plutocracy, then into Caesarism.

The root trouble is this. Man can produce more than he knows how to distribute in the democratic way. His science and industrialism create so much wealth that the democratic principle is unable to cope with the aggravated problem of distribution. So democracy breaks down into class struggle. Human nature continues to be greedy and selfish. When the problem gets too vast then democracy must seek either of two solutions:

1) Socialism, nationalization of the means of production, with state control of distribution, making only one class.

2) Fascism, the creation of a powerful, Brahma mystic state, which forces reconciliation of the class struggle by harnessing all classes and individuals to the state chariot,

making the most powerful military machine imaginable, a machine which has to go places to justify its being.

Since the owning classes in democracy are in power, they naturally prefer the second solution, Fascism, as it seems to postpone the day when they lose their property. Now, whether the citizen of the democracy prefers to have no property, and be supported by the state, or to have title to property which is controlled by the state,- is a matter of taste. In the end the difference is slight.

Another angle is the contagion of the tribal state idea, which has been used skilfully by the Nazis, but which others can use as well, although not with the same numerical success. The Germans are certainly the most numerous people in Central Europe. The pattern set by the Nazis seems to be a strong tribal state as the nucleus, surrounded by lesser tribal states as vassals.

3. Change in the World Pattern.

We see also a change in the world pattern. The Munich Agreement doomed the small states in the strategic zones of Eastern Europe, and silenced the voice of small states everywhere. Self-determination will survive, but as a tribal principle, at the will of the strong tribal states. In the end, the large multi-racial states of the pre-war type will assume dominance again in all the low pressure areas. Small states exist only under a regime of international law; that has now

been replaced by what is known as "dynamism."

There seem to be six military zones in prospect, as dictated by the possibilities of war industries:

- (1) A British-French combine, with France the weaker member.
- (2) German Mittel Europa, from the North Sea and the Baltic through Rumania to the Black Sea, the periphery areas retaining cultural autonomy, but subservient to Berlin in economics and foreign policy.
- (3) The Italian zone, including Spain and Greece.
- (4) The Soviet Union, extended through the nomad-lands of old China.
- (5) A Japan-China combination.
- (6) America, the United States and Canada.

The areas open for contest in the new imperialism will be Africa, South America, and India. In that power era, which we now enter in a big way, the weapon will be those developed in the era just closing; treaties put together with zippers so they can be ripped open; radio war to demoralize the potential enemy; whispering campaigns to build up the panic; and most of all, secret police to prepare the lists for the concentration camps.

4. Lead to a Roman Peace, or World Federation.

Where will it all lead to? I see only two end results. Either there will be a Roman peace, this time a Pax Germanica.

We must remember that the majestic Pax Romana gave the world two centuries of absolute peace, and the Golden Age of the Antonines. Or, second, it might lead to a World Federation, with the states system transformed by the abnegation of state sovereignty, and a true federalism of component parts set up, with police power to enforce the peace.

The League of Nations idea, retaining state sovereignty, is doomed as an impossible half-way measure between anarchy and enforced peace. The destruction of state sovereignty is a sine quo non of lasting peace.

5. American Policy?

As for America, we cannot think ahead very far. But so far as we can see, nothing but heavy armament will do. We must build gun for gun, and ship for ship, against the striking power of a possible organized Europe. It may be that the strange and mysterious forces effecting this upheaval will be exhausted before they can reach to our vitals. It is almost incredible to speak of Fascist England; the very words are revolting. But then, so is the Munich Agreement.

Never before has our Navy been so important in bolstering our foreign policy. I believe the Navy will have rapidly multiplying responsibilities, not only in South America, but also in Canada as a strategic zone. We are relatively young as a nation. It may be that if we are forced back on our haunches we will settle all these minor internal squabbles, and get down to real national defense in a very dangerous world.

When the time comes to fight we may be alone. Meanwhile, let us keep quiet, keep our Messiahs at home, and let Europe do the guessing. (Stop sending telegrams).

Now, I must apologize for this disorganized array of facts and notions. I reflect the world disorder. I also apologize for the dripping pessimism. I spent the summer in Europe, Scandinavia, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France and England. It may be I have been too close to those who were making policy in the countries which have been defeated in this diplomatic bloodless guillotine. I speak only for today. I would gladly retract every idea I have mentioned, given reasons.

I am driven to these outrageous conclusions by the general hosanna for the Munich peace, the peace with higher taxation, more and more armaments, the peace that knocks the complacency out of democracies, and acts like the terror of the third coming of the "Huns."

The women of Paris are taking up a collection to buy a gift for Mrs. Chamberlain as a token of her share in the peace. If it had come March 7, 1936, I would call it peace. Coming September 30, 1938, I am reminded of the story of the Polish peasant who was visited by the Angel of the Lord, who said to him: "You have been a good man, and the Lord in His mercy has decided to grant you any wish, on the condition that what He does for you He will do for your neighbor doublefold. I will come back in one year's time to get your answer."

The peasant thought and thought for a whole year, while he was ploughing, etc., what did he want that he wanted his neighbor to have twice as much? When the Angel of the Lord appeared, the peasant said: "I hear Thee, Lord. My mind is made up as to what I want. Put out one of my eyes."

That's Peace in Our Time.

History continues to write itself in terms of the plod of sabots going upstairs, and the patter of satin slippers coming down; of sabots on individuals rising, of satin slippers on individuals going down. And so with nations: the decadent, the succulent, the week-end nations are going down, and are being replaced by the hard working, thrusting, energetic nations which have youth and horsepower equal to the requirements of the Blitz era.