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EUROPE IN TRANSITION

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

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CARO MAE RUSSELL



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- Vol. XII, No. 6. *Adventures in Reading, Fifth Series: Current Books*, 1931-1932. Marjorie N. Bond.
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FOREWORD

It is impossible for Americans not to be interested in what happens in Europe, for there lie the hoary countries which were the mother-lands of our fathers, and to its various nations we owe most of our laws, customs, and institutions.

What were once the revered Old Countries are fast changing their characters. The old forms are breaking up. New forms of life and organization are rising and seeking, sometimes desperately, for acceptance and stability. Even before Europe staggered under the blows of the World War and of the later world-depression, it lamented the decay of its traditional modes. It complained of the invasion of American jazz, American movies, American inventions, and American commerce.

Europe has always liked to call itself old-fashioned. Actually it has in many respects kept well ahead of us. Its great railways are faster and more comfortable than any of ours. It learned to value leisure while Americans were still worshipping work. In the arts it has always set the pace. In the sciences it has always been more ingenious and thorough. In laws and measures looking toward social safeguards, in unemployment relief and old-age pensions, it long ago marked out paths which the United States is only now discovering.

But the most tenacious clinging has not saved Europe from being swept along into new phases of life. Where its present transitions will carry it no man knows. Within the last few years it has begun to lose the last of its kings. Its aristocracies are already senile and its middle classes are hard-pressed and fearful. That it has not seen the last war seems certain, nor the last revolution.



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CHAPTER I

EUROPE AS A WHOLE

A British writer traveling in the United States recently remarked that Americans were much better liked in Europe than prior to 1929.

"You see," he said, "you are now poor like the rest of us. And you have the same troubles. So now we regard you as friends and equals."

Like the rest of the civilized world, Europe with its 500,000,000 people has been suffering from the economic crisis which began in the United States in 1929, superimposed upon disturbances growing out of: (1) the peace treaties, alliances, and debts resulting from the World War; (2) political disequilibrium; (3) economic nationalism; (4) industrial and class strife; (5) the ownership and use of land; (6) the unrest of national and racial minorities.

These causes account for most of the dislocations that have been felt in Europe for the last decade. Such dislocations have been felt most acutely in Middle Europe and it is that portion of the continent, with its internal wars and dictatorships, which deserves special attention.

Subjects for Study

1. POLITICAL EUROPE

- a. The old balance of power.
- b. The attempts at a new balance.
- c. Shifting and dissolving of alliances and agreements.

2. ECONOMIC EUROPE

- a. The industrial belt through England, Germany, northern France, northern Italy, Austria, and Czechoslovakia.
- b. The agricultural areas of the east and southeast.
- c. The inability of Europe to feed and clothe herself.
- d. Europe's increasing dependence upon America.
- e. Relations between governments and business.
- f. Pressure of labor unions and parties.

3. SOCIAL EUROPE

- a. The great land-owners.
- b. The peasants.
- c. National and racial minorities.
- d. Situation of middle and working classes.
- e. Rise of dictatorships.
- f. Position of women.

4. CULTURAL EUROPE

- a. Present state of the arts.
- b. Of the sciences.
- c. Prevalent ideas as reflected in the work of authors, artists, teachers, and philosophers.

Special References:

- Benns, F. L. *Europe Since 1914*.
- Buell, R. L., ed. *New Governments in Europe; the Trend Toward Dictatorship*.
- Lengyel, Emil. *The New Deal in Europe*.
- Eddy, Sherwood. *The Challenge of Europe*.
- Heard, Gerald. *These Hurrying Years*.
- Wheeler-Bennett, John. *The Pipe-Dream of Peace*.

Additional References:

- Gibbs, Philip. *European Journey*.
- Meyer, A. E. *Modern European Educators*.
- Burres, M. B. and P. W. *Thrills and Heart-throbs of Europe*.
- Hansen, Agnes. *Twentieth Century Forces in European Fiction*.
- Stull, De Forest and Hatch, R. W. *Our World Today*.

CHAPTER II

WESTERN EUROPE: THE BRITISH ISLES

England, the most crowded portion of the Old World, has encountered severe strains during the depression, but has attained a certain degree of recovery through drastic financial measures. Her unemployment problem, however, remains unsolved and her vast industrial population has suffered severely. She continues to be not only a nation of shop-keepers but of manufacturers, and she constantly faces the question of finding markets for her goods while making heavy importations of food and raw materials. This position compels her government to keep an anxious eye on the Continent, on America, Africa and Asia.

Scotland and Wales, which form an economic unity with England, have similar problems. Ireland has been carrying on an economic war with England which has affected her agricultural interests. At the same time she has been trying to build up her own industries.

Subjects for Study

1. ENGLAND'S POSITION AS AN ISLAND

- a. As an exporter and importer.
- b. Effect on her political policies and agreements.
- c. Her high industrialization and dense population.
- d. Her Labor Party and trade unions.

2. RELATIONS WITH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

3. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Special References:

- Benns, F. L. *Europe Since 1914*, Chapter XV.
Eddy, Sherwood. *The Challenge of Europe*, Chapter V.
Priestley, J. B. *English Journey*.

CHAPTER III

WESTERN EUROPE: FRANCE

France, for some time after the depression began, maintained a certain degree of tranquillity and prosperity. Her unemployed army was small and she was not committed to the heavier industries. Then the depression crept in, her tourist trade fell off, and a series of financial and political scandals broke out which resulted in street fighting and awakened ancient fears of revolution.

Her alliances and understandings with some of the smaller countries of Europe and her financial policies have caused much trouble, partly mitigated by agreements reached with Italy and Russia. Fears of German recrudescence continue. Her middle classes complain of high taxation and her urban working population has been restless as unemployment has grown. Peasants and small farmers remain as France's chief internal anchorage.

Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, which are economically linked to France, have suffered from similar financial stresses. Belgium, which is densely populated, has also been troubled by questions regarding the distribution of land.

Subjects for Study

1. FRANCE'S POSITION AS A PRODUCER OF LIGHT AND LUXURIOUS WARES
2. STRENGTH OF PEASANTRY AND POPULARITY OF FRENCH CULTURE
3. SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, ENGLAND, ITALY, AND RUSSIA
 - a. Her influence on countries of eastern Europe.
 - b. Her improved status after the World War.

Special References:

- Benns, F. L. *Europe Since 1914*, Chapter XIV.
Eddy, Sherwood. *The Challenge of Europe*, Chapter II.

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN EUROPE: SPAIN

Although Spain took no part in the World War, she has been seething with unrest and discontent for the last twenty years. Spain's difficulties have been almost entirely internal. Within the last fifteen years the country has been ruled by a king, a dictator, and several presidents, with much dissatisfaction among the people under all three forms of government.

After the Moroccan disaster in 1918 in which thousands of Spanish soldiers were killed and imprisoned, King Alfonso, on whom the responsibility was placed, found himself the most unpopular man in the country. In an effort to escape an investigation of the débâcle and to save himself from the wrath of his people, he consented to the establishment of a military dictatorship. Primo de Rivera, an army man and a friend of the king, overthrew the ministry and suspended the constitution. This was in 1923. King Alfonso was visiting in France when this change was made.

For seven years Rivera ruled Spain with an iron fist, but he failed to win the confidence of the people. Discontent spread and even the king finally announced his own disapproval of the dictator's methods. Rivera therefore resigned in January, 1930, and left the country. He died in Paris three months later.

With Rivera's resignation, Alfonso appointed General Damaso Berenguer premier. But promises made to the people did not allay discontent, for the people contended the new government was only the old government with different window-dressing.

After a little more than one year in office Berenguer resigned as premier and Admiral Juan Aznar, a monarchist, headed a new cabinet and announced an election in April, 1931. It was a landslide for the republicans and the next day the Aznar government resigned.

Niceto Alcalá Zamora, who had been appointed provisional president of the new Spanish republic, issued an order that King Alfonso must abdicate or a revolution could be expected. Alfonso departed that night for France.

The following October "when it was decided," says Benms, "that there should be no State religion, that the Jesuits should be ex-

pelled from the country and their property confiscated, and that members of religious orders should be forbidden to teach or engage in business, President Zamora resigned in protest against steps which he considered altogether too severe." He was succeeded by Manuel Azana as the second provisional president of the new republic. Two months later an election was held and the people expressed their choice for Zamora as president, and the provisional government resigned.

Under Zamora the republic immediately instituted a program of social, religious and educational reform which, while it pleased some of the people, was anathema to others; and revolt followed revolt. In September, 1933, Zamora dismissed Manuel Azana, head of the cabinet, and Alejandro Lerroux succeeded in forming a new cabinet, which, however, met such strong opposition that it lasted only four weeks. Since then Spain's rulers have been on the defensive against revolutionary labor unions.

Subjects for Study

1. BACKWARDNESS AND POVERTY AS COMPARED WITH ANCIENT GLORIES
2. RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE
 - a. Why a republic replaced the monarchy.
 - b. The Catalonian problem.
3. REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS IN WORKING POPULATION
 - a. Middle classes in political control.

Special References:

Madariaga, Salvador de. *Spain*.
Cooper, C. S. *Understanding Spain*.

Additional References:

Trend, J. B. *A Picture of Modern Spain*.
Dos Passos, John. *In All Countries*.
Diffie, "Spain under the Republic," in Buell, *New Governments in Europe*.
Frank, Waldo. *Virgin Spain*.
Bates, Ralph. *Lean Men* (a Novel).

CHAPTER V

MIDDLE EUROPE: GERMANY

The key to Europe's political *malaise* is Germany. Lying, as she does, in the heart of the European continent, Germany cannot act, or refrain from acting, without in some manner affecting all the rest of Europe. She occupies a strategic centre situated between the advanced civilization of England and France on the one hand and the relatively backward and undeveloped nations of eastern Europe on the other.

Even under the comparatively stable régime of the kaiser, German ambitions were a disturbing factor. But when under Hitler there was added to these ambitions a sense of grievance, Germany's capacity to alarm the Continent was increased ten-fold.

Feeling herself hedged in and crippled by the peace treaties, and suffering from the economic disturbances which were their consequence, Germany under the Nazi dictatorship began in mid-summer, 1934, to make a series of wild plunges which frightened all her neighbors and caused a critical situation which has not yet been entirely resolved. Hitler, proclaiming a cult of pure Teutonism, first attacked what he called the enemies and traitors within the Nazi ranks. On the night of June 30, 1934, he carried out a "purge" by which several scores of men, who had fallen out of favor, were sent to death or exile.

Finding that public sentiment in Germany was not revolted by these executions and believing that they had a solidified nation behind them, the Nazi leaders directed their next move against the neighboring state of Austria. The peace treaties had left Austria weak, shorn of valuable territories, and all but defenseless. Ever since the World War it has been a German dream to achieve a union with Austria for political and economic reasons. The project seemed to be justified by similarities of language, race, culture, and situation. However, instigated by other European powers, Austria refused to accept the German overtures, and in its anxiety to escape German domination, the Austrian government, headed by Chancellor Dollfuss, virtually placed itself under the protection of Italy and Mussolini.

Resolved to do by force what they had not been able to accomplish by other means, Nazi leaders invaded Vienna, Austria's capi-

tal, in July, 1934. In the fighting Dollfuss was killed, but the coup failed and the invaders were ejected. This episode provoked a new crisis which seemed to make war imminent. Italy mobilized several regiments on the border and other governments nervously fingered their mobilization plans.

The crisis passed off, however, without further bloodshed, and Germany relapsed into a state of apparent quietude, but still faces a number of acute problems which, until they are settled, will keep all Europe uneasy. Among these problems are: (1) Freedom from the burdens imposed by the consequences of the World War; (2) Escape from the isolation which has left her friendless, both politically and economically; (3) Resolution of the economic crisis which has reduced her exports, lessened her gold reserve, and made it difficult for her to buy materials abroad; (4) Stabilization of relations with France on the one side and Russia on the other; (5) The upbuilding of a new social concept for the country at large under Nazi direction.

Subjects for Study

1. THE RISE OF HITLER AND HIS NATIONAL SOCIALISTS
 - a. Their ideas, plans, and intentions.
 - b. Their cult of Teutonism.
2. RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND HER NEIGHBORS
 - a. Germany's peculiar and difficult economic situation.
 - b. The creation of the totalitarian state.
3. THE GERMAN ATTITUDE, AS PRESCRIBED BY THE NAZIS
 - a. Toward other nations.
 - b. Other races.
 - c. Women.

Special References:

- Kosok, Paul. *Modern Germany*.
 Shuster, George. *Strong Man Rules*.
 Henri, Ernest. *Hitler over Europe*.

Additional References:

- Lutz, R. H. *The Causes of the German Collapse in 1918*.
 Dutt, R. P. *Fascism and Social Revolution*.
 Mosk, Lona. *In a Nazi Garden* (a Novel).
 Wertheimer, "The Nazi Revolution in Germany," in Buell, *New Governments in Europe*.

CHAPTER VI

MIDDLE EUROPE: ITALY

The most recent developments in Italy under the dictatorship of Mussolini are a sharpening of the militaristic spirit and a cementing of the union between industry and the State. The stimulation of militarism is due to two factors: (1) Assumption by the Fascist government of a virtual protectorate over Austria and Hungary and the uncertainty of continued peace with such neighbors as Jugoslavia; (2) The possibility of an aggressive attitude which might give Italy more power in Europe, more territory in Africa, and more markets elsewhere in the world.

To foster interest in the army, Mussolini recently gave orders that military training for boys must begin at a very early age, and that even women must be prepared to place themselves at the service of the State when, in time of crisis, it converts itself into a military organism.

The attack by German Nazis on the Austrian government in July, 1934, caused a re-orientation of Italian policy. Up to that time Mussolini had apparently been considering a closer accord with Germany, but the death of the Austrian chancellor, Dollfuss, in the abortive Nazi coup in Vienna, caused him to drop his previous enmity against France and to relinquish all ideas of working with Hitler. In America it is assumed that the Fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany have similar origins and aims. There are, however, differences between them, which cannot be enlarged upon here but which are worth the attention of the student of European affairs.

In economic affairs the Fascist government has taken further steps toward the development of "the corporative state," under which the Fascist government becomes supreme in economic as well as political spheres, and intends to direct business enterprises as well as control labor.

THE PEACE TREATIES



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Subjects for Study

1. ITALY'S SITUATION AFTER THE WORLD WAR AND MUSSOLINI'S OCCUPATION OF ROME
 - a. Suppression of objectors to Fascist rule.
 - b. Fascist attitude toward business corporations and labor unions.
 - c. Development of the corporative-state.
2. ITALY'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES
3. FASCIST ATTITUDE TOWARD BUSINESS AND TOWARD WOMEN

Special Reference:

Dutt, R. P. *Fascism and Social Revolution.*

Additional References:

Benns, F. L. *Europe Since 1914*, Chapter XII.

Dean, "Fascist Rule in Italy," in Buell, *New Governments in Europe.*

Lengyel, Emil, *The New Deal in Europe*, Chapters III, IV, V.

CHAPTER VII

MIDDLE EUROPE: AUSTRIA, HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AUSTRIA

Economic and political difficulties have been sapping the strength of Austria ever since the peace treaties stripped away her territory and trade. Financial crises, the intervention of foreign powers, and the accumulation of debts, had in 1933 combined to make her situation so perilous that Chancellor Dollfuss, who was of peasant birth, was proclaimed dictator with authority to suppress all enemies. In 1934 he mercilessly suppressed the socialist, communist, and labor groups with military force, but with the national socialist (Nazi) elements, said to have been inspired from Germany, he was less successful. In the Nazi invasion of Vienna in July, 1934, he lost his life, and further disintegration would probably have occurred had not foreign powers come to the rescue with financial support.

Until the question of union with Germany is definitely disposed of and customers are found for her farms and industries, Austria's difficulties will probably continue.

HUNGARY

Hungary likewise has been distracted with difficulties, both internal and external. This is an agricultural land, with a peasant population made up of workers either wholly without land or with very small holdings. Its critical internal situation has arisen from the peasant demand that the estates of the great nobles be broken up and given to them in small farms. External difficulties have grown out of friction with the other Danubian states, chiefly because of competition for trade. When King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated in France in 1934, Hungarian agents were at once accused of responsibility, which the Hungarian government promptly denied. In recent years Hungary has fallen out of the orbit of German influence and tended to seek political advice in Rome.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Although this republic has not escaped the consequences of the economic crisis which fell upon the civilized world after 1929, it has enjoyed a relative stability due to the distribution of lands to the peasants, the acquirement of profitable industries following the wrecking of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and reforms begun under a liberal government which regards President Woodrow Wilson of the United States as its patron saint. Its central economic situation has given Czechoslovakia an advantage from which its commercial classes have reaped great benefits, and it has had few of the internal conflicts which have troubled its neighbors.

Subjects for Study

1. THE BREAK-UP OF THE OLD AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE
 - a. The union of the Czech and Slovak peoples.
2. GERMAN EFFORTS TOWARD UNION WITH AUSTRIA
 - a. Turning of Austria and Hungary to Rome.
3. RELATIVE PROSPERITY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIANS
 - a. Struggle for control of trade over the River Danube.
 - b. Czech gratitude to the United States.

Special References:

- Benns, F. L. *Europe Since 1914*, Chapter XX.
McBride, R. H. *Romantic Czechoslovakia*.

CHAPTER VIII

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: JUGOSLAVIA, ROUMANIA, BULGARIA, GREECE, AND ALBANIA

JUGOSLAVIA

In 1934 King Alexander of Yugoslavia set himself up as a dictator in supreme control of all political, economic, and military affairs. Shortly afterward, while on a visit to France, he was assassinated. The investigation which followed revealed that his country had been in a state of constant fermentation due to national minorities rebelling against alleged discriminations. In addition to internal political difficulties, Yugoslavia has been involved in diplomatic quarrels, chiefly with Italy, and with dissensions arising out of the condition of the peasantry in various parts of the country. It is probable that this comparatively unknown but beautiful country has not seen the last of her present difficulties.

ROUMANIA

Like other countries of southeastern Europe, Roumania has been subject to various strains growing not only out of a general economic crisis but also out of the disagreements of national and racial minorities. The peace treaties after the World War gave Roumania large new slices of territory in which dwell dissatisfied Germans, Hungarians, and Russians. The peasantry has also been discontented, due to disputes over the lagging distribution of lands. The German invasion during the World War caused dislocation from which the country has not yet fully recovered. Its political and financial ties are chiefly with France.

BULGARIA

The peace treaties after the World War cut off Bulgaria from the Aegean Sea and left its farmers only with outlets facing eastward on the Black Sea. The treaties also gave the Bulgarians political and economic grievances concerning which they have repeatedly made complaints at international conferences. Quarrels have ensued with Greece, Yugoslavia, and Roumania. Indeed, Bulgarian resent-

ment at her constricted position has contributed no little to the anxiety of European rulers and to fears that in the Balkan states there still remain the seeds of future conflicts.

GREECE

Since the World War ended Greece has been racked not only by frequent internal conflicts but by clashes with neighboring nations which have led more than once to the verge of war. Most unfortunate of all was a conflict with Turkey in which Greece was the loser. As a result she was compelled to find room on her narrow territory for hosts of repatriated Greeks whose expulsion had been ordered from Turkish cities and lands. The absorption of these citizens has been one of the most difficult problems that any nation ever dealt with. Meantime the old Macedonian question remains unsettled.

ALBANIA

This unhappy, primitive, and semi-feudal country of peasants continues to be the subject of intrigue by her neighbors, while Italy and Jugoslavia have more than once been at loggerheads about her.

Subjects for Study

1. THE CONSTANT UNREST OF THE PEASANTS AND SMALL FARMERS
IN THE BALKAN STATES
 - a. The unsettled question of the distribution of land.
 - b. Grievances of racial and national minorities.
2. DISPUTES OVER TRADE ROUTES AND OUTLETS
 - a. The repeated political interference of the larger powers in Balkan questions.

Special References:

- Benns, F. L. *Europe Since 1914*, Pages 624, 667, and Chapter XXI.
 Adamic, Louis. *The Native's Return* (to Jugoslavia).
 Gardner, E. A. *Greece and the Aegean*.

CHAPTER IX

NORTHERN EUROPE

The four countries, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland—all pervaded by a similarity of ideas and customs—have enjoyed a certain measure of quietude while the larger nations to the south have been meeting shocks and strains. They have not escaped, however, the effects of the world depression. Norway's shipping trade after 1929 fell to a low ebb, and Sweden, whose industries are important, was forced to adopt stringent financial measures. Denmark's numerous small farmers have weathered the storm better than farmers elsewhere. Finland has reaped praise by regularly meeting her debt payments to the United States. All four countries are governed by middle class groups of liberal leanings, which have often had to meet the hostility of labor and radical parties.

Subjects for Study

1. SWEDEN'S INDUSTRIES
2. NORWAY'S SHIPPING TRADE
3. DENMARK'S SMALL FARMERS
4. FINLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

Special References:

- Rothery, Agnes E. *Sweden: the Land and the People*.
Lengyel, Emil. *The New Deal in Europe*, Chapter XV.
Graham, "Stability in the Baltic States," in Buell, *New Governments in Europe*.

CHAPTER X

EASTERN EUROPE: RUSSIA

The most formidable factor in the affairs of eastern Europe is of course Soviet Russia. Whatever happens in Russia is of acute interest not only to her neighbors but to the rest of Europe as well. Since the expulsion of Leon Trotsky and the assumption of control by Josef Stalin and his associates, Russian policies have undergone a change. Apparently the red republic is no longer so much interested in revolutions elsewhere, but is seeking to consolidate the communist position at home. Economic reconstruction and vast plans for developing industry, both heavy and light, as well as agriculture, have almost totally absorbed Russian energies.

Meantime Russia has shown a disposition to remain upon friendly commercial terms with other powers, and has even entered the League of Nations. Fears of foreign invasion or encirclement, together with the constant possibility of a clash with Japan over Far Eastern questions, have caused the Soviet administrators to maintain a large military establishment and to increase naval and air forces.

Russia, being a country with a small mechanical equipment and with a low development in the heavier industries, has had to import machinery, tools, and improved appliances in enormous quantities. For these things long credits are necessary. To obtain and continue these credits, Russia has been compelled to export whatever goods other nations would accept. This necessity has given rise to repeated shortages of goods needed by the population at home, and the chief Soviet problem has been to obtain a proper balance between her foreign shipments and her domestic requirements.

About no other country in modern times have so many books been written as Soviet Russia, and although travelers have tried to deal with every aspect of life in the U. S. S. R., the actual situation and developments there are but dimly comprehended. Not every tourist-author can be expected to understand the Russian viewpoint or to grasp the whole of communist aims. The easiest way to get an inkling of the direction affairs in Russia are taking would be to divide the study of them into at least four main cate-

gories: Political Russia, Economic Russia, Social Russia, Cultural Russia.

These divisions of course touch and merge at certain points, but some classification, even if arbitrary, must be adopted if so vast a subject is to be understood even in part.

Subjects for Study

1. RUSSIAN POLICIES UNDER STALIN
 - a. Relations with European countries.
 - b. Relations with the United States.
 - c. Relations with Japan.
2. AIMS AND RESULTS OF FIVE-YEAR PLANS
 - a. Need for greater mechanization.
 - b. Development of agriculture through collectivization.
 - c. Governmental framework of the Soviet Republic.
 - d. Treatment of racial and political minorities.
3. POSITION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN
4. DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION, SCIENCES, AND ARTS

Special References:

- Eddy, Sherwood. *Russia Today*.
Lamb, Edward. *The Planned Economy in Soviet Russia*.
Williams, F. E. *Russia, Youth and the Present-Day World*.
Mehnert, Klaus. *Youth in Soviet Russia*.
Dean, "The Political Structure of the Soviet State," in Buell, *New Governments in Europe*.
Durstine, R. S. *Red Thunder*.

CHAPTER XI

EASTERN EUROPE: POLAND

Poland, whose policies were so long linked with those of France, has recently shown signs of independence, and there have been rumors that the Polish government may in future look more to German Nazis, despite disputes caused by post-war awards of territory, rather than to the French ministers and generals who, after the World War, guided Polish policies. Poland, laying aside whatever military ambitions her rulers have had, has made peace with Soviet Russia, and apparently is now settling down in an attempt to strengthen her commercial position. She has a large industrial as well as agricultural population, and the acquisition of the seaport of Gdynia has given her an opportunity to develop exporting enterprises and to attract foreign capital. Questions involving the distribution of land and the rights of racial minorities have been as troublesome here as in southeastern Europe.

Subjects for Study

1. FRANCE'S INFLUENCE ON MODERN POLISH HISTORY AND POLICIES
 - a. Poland's special relations with Germany and Soviet Russia.
2. POSITION OF PEASANTS, JEWS, AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
3. POLAND'S COMMERCIAL GROWTH

Special Reference:

Karski, Stefan. *Poland: Past and Present.*

CHAPTER XII

EASTERN EUROPE: THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

To the north of Poland lies Lithuania, north of which is Latvia, and still further north is Estonia. The latter two countries lie deeply under the shadow of Soviet Russia, and their governmental policies are determined largely by fears of communist influence. To an almost equal extent Lithuania is under the shadow of Poland, with which it has had repeated disputes. All three are peasant countries whose politics are governed largely by professional men from the towns.

Subjects for Study

1. LITHUANIA'S QUARRELS WITH POLAND
2. RELATIONS OF ALL THESE REPUBLICS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA
3. RISE OF NEW RULING GROUPS
 - a. Attempts at dictatorships.

Special Reference:

Graham, "Stability in the Baltic States," in Buell, *New Governments in Europe*.

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