

# **HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM 1789 TO 1960**

## **UNIT I**

### **FRENCH REVOLUTION**

#### **Introduction**

The French Revolution of 1789 was one of the epoch-making events in the history of the world. The storm was simmering for a pretty long time. The revolution produced far-reaching results in the political, social and economic spheres. It put an end to royal absolutism based on Divine Rights theory, swept away the last vestiges of medievalism and accelerated the tempo of nationalism. It let loose the three ideas of 'Liberty', 'Equality' and 'Fraternity'. It led to the despotism of Napoleon Bonaparte. The effect of the Revolution was felt not only in France but spread far and wide.

#### **Causes of the Revolution**

##### **1. The despotic nature of the French monarchy**

The Bourbon monarchs were despots. They believed in the Divine Right theory of Kingship by which they considered themselves as representatives of God on earth and as such they were answerable to God and God alone and not to the people. The costly wars of Louis XIV led to the financial depression which stopped only after the Revolution. The successors of Louis XIV were thoroughly incompetent. Louis XV (1715 - 1774) led a life of ease and Pleasures. He squandered away the public money for private pleasures. The prophetic words of Louis XV – after me the deluge - came true. Louis XVI (1774 - 1792) who succeeded Louis XV was anxious to set matters right. But he became a nerveless tool in the hands of his advisers, particularly his beautiful Queen Marie Antoinette. Louis XV and Louis XVI danced to the tune of their wives. Their beauty and charm brought no help to save France from the deluge. On the contrary, they directed the ship of the state straight to the rocks.

##### **2. The Administrative system**

The Government of France was a naked despotism. The King combined in his person legislative, executive and judicial powers. The court was corrupt beyond measure. Since 1614 the States General had not been convened. It practically became dead. The real administration of the country was in the hands of the Royal Council. The administrative system presented a confused and complicated picture. Overlapping of functions, confusion in laws and courts, prevalence of injustice and other abuses rendered the administrative machinery corrupt and inefficient. There was no personal liberty. Anyone could be thrown into prison by a letter de cachet or sealed warrant without proper trial by jury.

##### **3. The Privileges of the Nobility and Higher Clergy**

The Nobles and Higher Clergy in France owned most of the land. The nobles who were already deprived of their political privileges had degenerated into a useless class. But they continued to enjoy feudal privileges. They owned one-fifth of the soil in France and lived in all splendour at the court. The Higher Clergy owned one-third of the land in France. They led a worldly life. These two higher classes paid very few taxes and enjoyed many privileges which were denied to the masses. The life led by the lower nobility was devoid of

any glamour and ostentation. The lower clergy led exemplary lives. The entire work fell on their shoulders. With what little they got as remuneration, they managed to keep their body and soul together. There was an ocean of difference in the lives led by the high and lower classes in the same category. The difference was still greater in the case of the masses. "Nero" it is said "fiddled while Rome burned. The French nobles danced while the peasants starved". The craving for equality led to the Revolution.

#### **4. The wretched condition of the Masses**

The condition of the lower classes was miserable. The entire tax burden on them. They were ill-treated in many ways. The saying at the time was, "the nobles fight, the clergy pray, and the people pay". It was the Third Estate which contributed to the bulk of the revenues in France. The *taille* or land tax was entirely borne by the peasants. The *gabelle* or salt tax hit hard the lower classes. Over and above the usual taxes, they were burdened with new taxes and obligations. Apart from paying taxes to the King, they had to pay *tithe* to the Church and *feudal*; dues to the nobles. The villagers were not permitted to hunt and fish. They were compelled to use the mill, wine-press, slaughter-house and oven of the lord after paying the usual dues. In addition to this, they had to pay feudal dues and render feudal services. They had to work two or three days in the lord's land and make contributions in kind. On the whole, the lot of the lower classes was miserable and they were discontented. The discontent of the people led to the Revolution.

#### **5. The propaganda of the Philosophers**

The Revolution was hastened by writers like Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Voltaire, "the magician of the art of writing", preached a crusade against the Church, religious beliefs, superstition and injustice. Montesquieu in his book – *The Spirit of Laws* – expressed dissatisfaction at the absolute monarchy of France and noted his admiration for the limited monarchy of Britain. He laid stress on the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers of the state for the preservation of liberty and to avoid tyranny. The fusion of powers in France made liberty a far off cry. His theory supplied the necessary fuel to fan the flames of the Revolution. Rousseau's most important work – the *Social Contract* – became the "Bible of the Revolution" In this book, he developed the theory the sovereignty rested with the people and they voluntarily entered into an agreement choosing some one on their behalf to rule the country and whenever the ruler misbehaved, they had every right to overthrow him. Rousseau's statement. "Man is born free and is everywhere in chains", reacted like a bomb-shell in revolutionary circles. *Didierot* and *D' Alembert* published the *Encyclopaedia*. It contained a wealth of facts in history and science on which the people could safely rely on. *Quesnay* and *Turgot*, the representatives of the *Physiocratic School*, criticised the existing economic condition of France. The revolutionary ideas of these writers spread like a contagious disease and added fuel to the already smouldering flame.

#### **6. Influence of the American war and Irish experience**

France helped the American colonies in their revolt against Britain to attain independence. The independence which the American colonists secured with French help greatly influenced the French Revolution. The Irish wrested a number of concessions from

Britain in their struggle for 'Home rule'. Such examples were still green in the minds of the French.

## **7. Immediate Cause**

France was on the verge of financial bankruptcy on the eve of the revolution. The treasury became empty due to the Spanish Succession War, the Austrian Succession War, the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence. Public debts mounted up. Louis XVI was under evil influence of his wife, Marie Antoinette. Louis XVI started his reign well, but broke down afterwards. To lessen the tax burden of the people, the ministers Turgot (1774 -1776) and Necker (1776 – 1781) put forward a bold proposal to tax the nobles and the clergy. As it was strongly opposed by them, the king not only yielded but dismissed the ministers. He then appointed Calonne who proved a misfit. In 1787 Louis XVI convened the Assembly of Notables to find ways and means of taxing the privileged classes. The Assembly was not able to do anything concrete in the matter. On the advice of the Assembly he was forced to summon the long-forgotten States General in 1789. The Revolution began with the summoning of the States General.

Course of the Revolution

### **National Assembly (1789)**

The States General which was not convened since 1614, met in 1789. It consisted of three Estates. The First Estate was represented by the nobility, the second by the clergy and the third by the commons. Immediately after the meeting of the States General, a dispute arose among the three orders as to the method of voting. The old practice was for each order to sit separately and each was given one vote. The nobles and clergy always joined together and outvoted the commons. In the newly assembled States General, the Third Estate formed the majority. So they insisted on joint-sitting and demanded to introduce the principle of "One man one vote". Thus a deadlock ensued. On June 17, 1789, it declared itself as the National Assembly. The King got alarmed and so the representatives were kept out of the hall. But they met in the adjoining Tennis Court and solemnly resolved not to separate until a new constitution was framed for France.

On June 23, 1789, a special session of the States General was held. The King ordered that the three Estates should sit separately. The nobles and clergy retired to their respective Chambers. But the commons under the leadership of Mirabeau thundered to the Master of the Ceremonies thus: "Go and tell your Master that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not leave except at the point of bayonet". Louis XVI submitted to the will of the people. On June 2, 1789, Louis XVI ordered the three Estates to sit as one body. Thus the National Assembly in its true sense of the term came into existence.

### **Storming of the Bastille (1789)**

Some unhappy events developed which marred the hitherto peaceful attempts at reform. The Paris mob became restive. The Bastille, the French prison, was stormed by an infuriated mob. It pulled down the walls, murdered the guards and freed the prisoners. The storming of the Bastille was a signal to similar actions of violence throughout the country. Riots began against the aristocrats all over the country. Nobles were murdered and their

castles were demolished. A crowd of women marched from Paris to Versailles, entered the palace and brought out the King, Queen and their child. They were asked to accompany the crowd to Paris. As the procession moved on, the mob shouted every now and then; “ We have the baker and baker’s wife and the little cook boy – now we shall have bread”.

### **The Legislative Assembly (1791 – 1792)**

The Constituent Assembly dissolved itself and then Legislative Assembly under the new constitution met in 1791. Difference of opinion soon arose between the King and the Legislative Assembly. Many Kings of Europe sympathised with the pitiable position of Louis XVI and promised to help him. Foreign interference in the affairs of France set the Revolution on its bloody course. Louis XVI was forced to declare war on Austria and Prussia. The Revolutionary army was defeated. The humiliated revolutionary leaders turned their wrath against the King. At this time of crisis, the mob led by Danton killed the Swiss Guard and compelled the Assembly to depose the King. This was followed by the “September massacres”. The Revolutionary Commune of Paris led by Danton massacred during one week in September 1,500 persons who were suspected to be royalists. After the “September massacres”, the French army marched against the invaders and defeated Austria and Prussia at Valmy.

### **The National Convention (1792 – 1795)**

The Legislative Assembly came to an end in 1792 and in the same year the National Convention took its place. It abolished monarchy and proclaimed France a republic. Louis XVI was accused of treason against the country and executed in 1793. On the question of the execution of the King, the Convention was sharply divided. The moderate section represented by the Girondists opined that it should be referred to the people. This made the Jacobins, who dominated the Convention, furious. They rounded up the Girondists and sent them to the guillotine. The Jacobins, set up Revolutionary Tribunal to deal with the moderates. Thus the Jacobins started the “Reign of Terror” and sent to the guillotine hundreds of people who held moderate views.

The Convention extended its support to all people in Europe for spreading revolutionary ideas. This led to the formation of the First dangerous Coalition against France in 1793. Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Holland and Sardinia were the leading members of the Coalition. External threat was added to civil war that was going on in the country. The Jacobins suspended the constitution. They created the Committee of Public Safety with full powers to deal with the situation. It put down all revolts staged by the royalists within the country. It sent to the guillotine thousands of men and women who were suspected to be royalists or supporters of the invaders. Marie Antoinette fell a victim to the Committee. In the meantime, the members of the coalition started attacking France. The Convention turned its attention to war. Napoleon Bonaparte, then an army officer, was sent to recapture Toulon which he did. Soon the enemies were driven out and peace was concluded.

Robespierre was the leader of the Committee of Public Safety. In spite of the fact that conditions had become normal, he wanted to continue his autocratic rule. He virtually became the dictator of France. His opponents in the Government were sent to the guillotine under the pretext that they were royalists. But soon the tables were turned. He rivals of Robespierre

sent him to the guillotine in 1794. With the fall of Robespierre, the “Reign of Terror” came to an end. A new constitution was drawn up, It placed executive power in the hands of a Directory of five and legislative power in two councils the council of five Hundred and the Council of Ancients. In order to avoid a Royalist majority in the councils, it was laid down that two-thirds of the members should be elected from the Convention. The Constitution was accepted by the people of France through a referendum. But the Parisian mob opposed the “Law of two-thirds” and marched against the Covention./ The Convention sent Napoleon Bonaparte to disperse the mob which he did by sending a whiff of grape shot”. The Convention came to an end in 1795 and the Directory took charge of the Government of France.

### **Results of the Revolution**

The Revolution led loose the three ideas of liberty equality and fraternity. 2. The last traces of medievalism I Europe were swept away. Monarchy was abolished in France Italy and Germany. 3. It set up the principle of nationalism. IT was the neglect of this principle that ultimately led to the downfall of Napoleon. 4).The Revolution laid down the principle that sovereignty or supreme power of the states rests with the people. 5) The Revolution was no doubt terribly violent nand caused n the death of many innocent people. But it did quickly some good things for the French people. It sounded the death knell of feudalism. It got rid of the many unfair advantages of the nobles and the clergy. The same laws were laid down for the rich and the poor alike. The people were more justly taxed instad of the poor paying more and the rich nothing. The great estates of the nobles were split up and sold cheaply to the middle and lower classes. 6) It paved the way for the various humanitarian movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The spread of the ideas of liberty and democracy made the people understand the injustice of slave trade, sweated labour, ill-treatment of prisoners, persecution of the Jews, religious intolerance, mass illiteracy, etc., and steps were taken to remove these evils by social reforms. 7) It led to a remarable rebirth in literature. The creative talents of the people in art, literature, science and music were closely connected with the French Revolution and breathed an air of liberty. 8) It closed the Age of the Enlightened depots and ushered in the age of the people. 9) The Revolution greatly influenced the freedom-fighters in the Latin American countries.

## **NAPOLEON BONAPARTE**

### **Introduction**

Napoleon Bonaparte the child of the French Revolution was born in 1769 in the island of Corsica which emerges from the bosom of the Mediterranean Corsica became a French possession in 1768. Rousseau wrote thus in 1762, “I have some presentiment that this small island (Corsica) will one day astonish Europe”. His prophetic words came true. Napoleon was a prodigy. In the military school at Brienne, One of his masters said. “The youngster inn made of granite, but there is a volcano inside”. Napoleon was only a lieutenant when the French Revolution began. By dint of his ability, he rose from position to position and finally became the Emperor of France. The year 1793 was very fateful in the history of France. Louis XVI was executed in that year. The National Convention (1792-1795) which was

ruling over France extended its support to all the people in Europe for spreading revolutionary ideas. This led to the formation of the First Coalition against France in 1793. Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Holland and Sardinia were the leading members of the Coalition. The Convention turned its attention to war. In 1793 Napoleon was sent to recapture Toulon from the British. He smashed enemy resistance and drove away the English from there. He earned his military reputation in the siege of Toulon. In 1795 he was directed by the Convention to disperse the Paris mob which he did by the Convention to disperse the Paris mob which he did by a “whiff of grape-shot”. He married Josephine in 1796.

### **Break up of the First Coalition**

The French forces overran Holland in 1794 – 95. It was converted into the Batavian Republic allied with France. Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) fell into the hands of France. By the treaty of Basel, 1795, Prussia ceded her territories on the left bank of the Rhine. Spain concluded peace with France by the treaty of Basel in 1795 and by another treaty in 1796 she became an ally of France. The leading members of the Coalition still at war with France were Britain, Austria and Sardinia. While the war was going on against the Coalition, the Directory took charge of the administration of France in 1795.

### **Napoleon’s first Italian Campaign (1796 – 1797)**

At the age of 27, Napoleon was made the commander of the French army in Italy. It was in the Italian Campaign that Napoleon laid the foundation of his imperishable military fame. He defeated the King of Sardinia and got Nice and Savoy. He then defeated the Austrians in a number of battles in Italy and forced Austria to sign the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. According to the terms of the treaty, France got Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and the Ionian Islands. France also got the right to set up a Republic called Cisalpine in northern Italy. As compensation for her losses, Austria was allowed to annex that part of Venetia which lay east of the Adige. The Italian campaign gave a death blow to the First Coalition. With the withdrawal of Sardinia and Austria, Britain alone was left out to carry on the struggle against the Directory.

### **Egyptian Campaigns**

Egypt was the next target of attack of the Directory. But Napoleon had the “Great Eastern Design” of capturing Constantinople and then the Empire of Britain in India. With this end in view, he set sail to Egypt in 1798. On the way, he pocketed Malta. He entered Egypt which he easily conquered from the Turks after defeating them in the “battle of the Pyramids” in 1798. But Napoleon tasted a naval defeat at the hands of Admiral Nelson of England in the battle of the Nile in 1798.

### **Second Coalition, French Reverses, Return of Bonaparte**

In the meantime, England formed the Second Coalition against France, Russia, Austria, Naples and Turkey. In 1798 France conquered Switzerland and constituted the Helvetic Republic to rule over Switzerland. In the same year, Rome was attacked, the Pope was removed, and the Roman Republic was set up. In 1799 Naples was conquered. The combined armies of Austria and Russia drove the French out of Italy. The Directory was not able to deal

with the situation. The French prestige was at its lowestebb. The people were dissatisfied. To set matters right, Napoleon hurried back to France in 1799. He was given a rousing reception by the people, because they had great confidence in him.

### **Overthrow of Directory, establishment of Consulate**

The Directory had become unpopular. Napoleon overthrew the Directory and established the Consulate in 1799. It consisted of three Consuls, Napoleon being the Chief of First Consul. Immediately after setting up the Consulate, he turned his attention to the threat posed by the Second Colition. He won over the Tsar to his side. He then invaded Italy for a second time. He crushed an Austrian army at Marengo in 1800 and in the same year another Austrian army was crushed by one of his generals at Hohenlinden. Austria sued for peace and the war came to an end by the treaty of Luneville in 1801. The treaty reaffirmed the provisions of Campo Formio. Naples also concluded peace with France. The Second Colition virtually came to an end in 1801. Britain alone stood against France. Napoleon wanted breathing space and was anxious to make peace. Britain too got tired of the war. So the peace of Amiens was concluded in 1802. By the terms of the treaty, England promised to restore all her conquest from France and her allies except Ceylon and Trinidad France , in her turn, promised to evacuate Naples and the Papal states. The treaty left France very powerful in Western Eurpoe and England on the sea.

### **Napoleon becomes Emperor**

In 1802 Napoleon became Consul for life. In 1804 the subservient Senate proposed to make Napoleon, Emperor. Nappleon said: "It found the Crown of France lying on the ground and I picked it up withn my sword". The coronation ceremony was graced by Pope Pius VII. In 1804 Napoleon himself placed the crown on his head and became Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. All the republics set up by him were transformed into kingdoms.

### **Campaigns against the Coalition**

The peace of Amiens was only a truce. It was only a question of time when fresh hostilities should bresk out. In 1805 Britain, Austria, Russia and Sweden formed the Third Coalition against France. Napoleon made an Austrian army surrender at Ulm in 1805. Admiral Nelson inflicted a crushing naval defeat on the combined French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar in 1805. Though Nelson died in the battle, the naval supremacy of Britiain remained paramount. Napoleon made good the loss by routing Russian and Austrian forces at Austerlitz in 1805. On receipt of the disastrous news of Austerlitz, Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of Britain, exclaimed thus: "Roll up the map of Europe; it will not be wanted for a period of ten years". By the treaty of Pressburg 1805, between Austria and Napoleon, Austria ceded Venitia to the kingdom of Italy in recongnition of the services rendered by the Dukes of Bavaria and WUrttemberg, the duchies were raised to the status of kingdoms. He made his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples, and Louis Napoleon, another brother, the King of Holland. He abolished the Holy Roman Empire in 1806and constituted it into the Conlederation of the Rhine.

## **Continental System**

It was at such a time when Napoleon's power was at its height that he wanted to strike and starve Britain contemptuously branded by him as the "Nation of shop-keepers". He wanted to realise this by what is known as the famous Continental System. In 1806 he defeated Prussia in the battles of Jena and Austerlitz and made a victorious entry into Berlin. He inaugurated his Continental System by issuing a decree from Berlin in 1806. The decree ordered the closing of the ports on the continent to British ships and debarred his allies from trading with England. The Continental System was further strengthened by the decrees of Warsaw (1807), Milan (1807) and Fontainebleau (1810). To bring Russia under the scheme, he marched with an army and defeated her in the battles of Eylau and Friedland in 1807. Russia and Prussia concluded the treaty of Tilsit in 1807. While the former agreed to come under the Continental System, the penalty which she later had to pay was heavy. From the territories acquired from Prussia, Napoleon constituted the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and from the other acquisitions west of the Elbe, he created the new kingdom of Westphalia. His brother Jerome was made the King of Westphalia. The treaty of Tilsit brought an end to the Third Coalition leaving Britain alone in the field. When the Pope refused to come under the Continental scheme, Napoleon annexed the Papal States in 1809.

Britain retorted the Continental System by issuing Orders-in-Council in 1807. According to these orders, Britain threatened all vessels trading with France liable to be captured. Even neutral vessels carrying goods to France were diverted to the ports of Britain. The Continental System proved harmful and disastrous to the people of Europe. It was impossible for them to do without British goods. It impoverished all countries which came under the scheme. Even France was forced to buy cloth and leather for the soldiers from England. As France was not self-sufficient in the production of essential commodities like sugar, coffee, tobacco and cotton, their prices shot up. The scheme was doomed to failure because Britain was very powerful on the sea and she could send goods to any country. Portugal disobeyed the decrees. Russia openly defied the Continental System. It led Napoleon into wars with Portugal, Spain and Russia and that ultimately brought about the destruction of his army.

## **Peninsular War (1808 – 1814)**

As Portugal disobeyed the decrees, Napoleon conquered and occupied Portugal. He forced the King of Spain to abdicate and placed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the throne. The rise of national feeling made Portugal and Spain in the Iberian Peninsula revolt against Napoleon. Taking advantage of these opportunities, Britain sent Arthur Wellesley (made Lord Wellington in 1809 and Duke in 1814) to the Peninsula. He defeated the French army in Portugal and the French evacuated Portugal. Napoleon's attempt to recapture Portugal failed. Arthur Wellesley entered Spain and defeated the French in the battles of Talavera (1809), Salamanca (1812) and Vittoria (1813). The French forces were driven out of the Iberian Peninsula.

## **Austrian Revolt (1809)**

The reverses of France in the Iberian Peninsula roused Austria into action. She rose into open revolt. Napoleon defeated Austria in the battle of Wagram in 1809. He married



Marie Louise, the daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria, in 1810. In the previous year, he had divorced Josephine as she proved incurably barren.

### **Russian Campaign, Leipzig and Waterloo**

As Russia openly defied the Continental System, Napoleon marched into Russia in 1812. It was a fatal step. It was the winter in Russia that made Napoleon taste his first defeat on land. In 1813 the Fourth Coalition was formed by Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria against France. Napoleon was defeated in Germany in 1813 at Leipzig which is often called the "Battle of the Nations" and was driven back to France. This was Napoleon's second defeat. The victorious Allies occupied Paris and Napoleon was forced to abdicate in 1814. He was exiled to the island of Elba. Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, was made King of France. In the meantime, Napoleon escaped from Elba and returned to France in 1815 and remained as Emperor for 100 days. But the allied nations of Europe got alarmed. They united together and completely defeated him in the battle of Waterloo in 1815. He was exiled to St. Helena where he died in 1821.

### **Centralisation**

The keynote of Napoleon's administration was centralisation. He wielded legislative, executive and judicial powers. In 1800 he brought the local government under his direct control. The departments and smaller districts (arrondissements) each under a Prefect and Sub-prefect respectively were made answerable to him. While the Mayors of small communes were appointed by the Prefect, those of the bigger ones were appointed directly by the Central Government. Napoleon introduced a uniform system of administration throughout the country.

### **Finance**

Financial administration was in a state of chaos when Napoleon became the first Consul. He remedied many of the defects in the financial system. He increased the state revenue by a careful collection of taxes. By economy drives by severe punishment of corrupt officials and by compelling the vanquished countries for the paying the French army, he reduced public expenditure. In 1800 he set up the Bank of France on a sound basis.

### **Education**

Napoleon brought education under the control of the State. The imperial University, which he set up, controlled public instruction throughout the French Empire. Primary or elementary schools, secondary or grammar schools, high schools, and special schools such as technical schools, civil service schools and military schools were set up. Napoleon liberally endowed museums and libraries. As a part of State control of education, he vigorously censored the press and the theatre.

### **Public works**

Napoleon undertook a large number of public works. He constructed 229 broad military roads. Thirty of these roads radiated from Paris to the borders of France. He constructed two trans-Alpine roads connecting Paris with Turin, Milan, Rome and Naples. He

undertook other works of public utility such as the construction of bridges, draining of marshes, strengthening of canals and improving ports. These works provided work for the unemployed, promoted trade and commerce, and improved agriculture.

### **Industry**

Napoleon did much to promote the economic prosperity of the country. By the Continental System, trade with England came to standstill. To make France stand on her own legs, he promoted industries, set up technical schools, offered prizes to inventors and gave loans and bounties to industrialists to increase production.

### **The Legion of Honour**

The revolution had abolished all titles and honours. To strengthen the bonds of loyalty to the Emperor and provide an incentive for hard work, Napoleon instituted the Legion of Honour in 1802. It awarded decorations and titles to men who distinguished themselves in Civil and Military Services.

### **Literature and Art**

In the midst of his preoccupations, Napoleon did not neglect the fine arts. He was a patron of art, literature and science. Sculpture, architecture, painting and music made great progress during the Napoleonic period. State palaces were restored and enlarged. He beautified the city of Paris with work of art taken as spoils from different countries.

### **Concordat and Code Napoleon**

The two greatest works which had kept the memory of Napoleon still green in the minds of the People are the Concordat and the Code Napoleon. He knew that an established Church would be a tower of strength to the State. So he entered into an agreement with the Pope in 1801 known as the Concordat. The Roman Catholic religion was recognised as the religion of France by the Concordat. The Pope agreed not to advance his claims to the restoration of Church property and the State undertook the payment of salaries to the clergy. Bishops were to be nominated by the Consul and the Pope invested them with their office. The priests were to be appointed by the Bishops. To put the new scheme into effect, it became necessary to make both constitutional and non-juring bishops to resign. Many non-juring priests refused to resign. So the Pope was forced to depose them. New appointments were made mainly from the non-juring bishops. The constitutional bishops were also admitted. Thus Napoleon patched up the schism in the Church for which he was hailed a "Second Constantine".

The codification of the French law was the most outstanding work of Napoleon. The Code Napoleon is still the basis of the Civil law of France. His code gave France a common legal and judicial system. It was no wonder that he was hailed as a "Second Justinian".

For the hero of hundred battles, neither the Nile nor Trafalgar proved to be the Waterloo. Napoleon's downfall came gradually. The ill-contrived Continental System, estranging the feelings of the Catholic world by imprisoning the Pope, the misdirected Russian expedition, the growth of national feeling and the supremacy of Britain on the sea were some of the causes for his downfall. It was the "Spanish Ulcer" which ruined him to great extent. HE was too ambitious and hence his downfall.

## **Estimate**

Napoleon was a military genius. The French Empire reached the zenith of its glory and fame during his rule. He was not merely a distinguished general but also an excellent administrator. "If the conquests of Napoleon were ephemeral, his civilian work in France was built upon granite". He indirectly paved the way for the unification of Italy and Germany. He evolved order out of chaos and created a strong centralised state. He laid the foundation of a strong government rooting out corruption and inefficiency. In the words of Grant and Temperly, "Napoleon was without question a man of extraordinary force of brain and character, who under all circumstances and in all countries would have won for himself a high position. The instances that are usually quoted in comparison with Napoleon's life history are the establishment of the Roman Empire by Julius Caesar after a century of confusion and revolution in Rome and the personal rule of Oliver Cromwell which followed the puritan revolution". Napoleon, the Lieutenant, Consul and the Emperor is one of the most striking personalities in the history of Europe.

## **THE CONGRESSES OF VIENNA**

### **Introduction**

After defeating Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo, the victors resumed the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to redraw the map of Europe. All the European states were represented in the Congress except Turkey. "the sick man of Europe". It was a motley collection of princes and pretenders, priests and professors, soldiers and statesmen and ambassadors and adventurers. The Congress was dominated by the 'Big Four', viz., Austria, Russia, Prussia and England. Metternich of Austria, Alexander I of Russia, Talleyrand of France and Castlereagh of Britain were the chief personalities of the Congress. Francis I, the Emperor of Austria, played the part of the host. But the Congress was presided over and dominated by his Chancellor, Metternich. He handled the knotty problems of the Congress in such a way that it was remarked that he could "swim like a fish in the sparkling whirlpool of Vienna".

### **Aims of the Congress**

The Congress has as its chief the establishment of an ever-lasting peace in Europe. "No more Revolution" was the clarion call of all assembled in the Congress. This inevitably meant the end of democracy and nationalism and the suppression of such liberal ideas like liberty, equality and fraternity. It was a return to the status quo by which the boundaries of countries were fixed on the principle of restorations as it were prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Further, the old Kings were to be reinstated on the principle of legitimacy. The second object of the Congress was to preserve the "Balance of power" in Europe by which no state was to become too strong and big at the expense of other states. Thirdly to prevent France from staging another outburst, the Congress set as its goal to make the border states of France bigger and stronger. It was based on this principle that stronger states were created on the east of France bigger and stronger. It was based on this principle that stronger states were created on the east of France such as Holland, Prussia, Switzerland and Piedmont. Fourthly, the Congress showed a natural tendency to reward those states which had opposed Napoleon and penalise those which had supported him. It was on this

principle of compensation that Prussia and Sweden received compensations. Denmark and Saxony which sided Napoleon had to pay a heavy penalty in the form of loss of territories. Finally, the delegates of the Congress attempted to set up a permanent organisation to maintain peace in Europe.

### **Vienna Settlement**

Austria got Lombardy, Venetia and Illyria. But she gave Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) to Holland. Russia negotiated with the sword in her hand and she got a larger share. She received a large part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (Central Poland) and Finland. Prussia got Westphalia, a large part of Saxony, Western Pomerania (Swedish Pomerania), and the Rhenish lands. Great Britain retained Heligoland, Malta, St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad; got Cape Colony. Ceylon, British Guiana, Mauritius and Honduras (British) and a protectorate over the Ionian Islands. Thus the Big Four got the lion's share of the spoils.

In France, the Bourbon King Louis XVIII was restored to the throne. The French territories were reduced to the size of what they were in 1792. She was made to pay a huge war indemnity. It was Napoleon Bonaparte who put an end to the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. He had reduced the number of states in Germany from 360 to 39 and organized them into a strong confederation. The Vienna Congress retained the confederation but placed it under the control of Austria. Napoleon conquered Italy and had united all the small states for a short while. But his good work was undone by the Vienna Settlement. It broke up Italian unity and made it a mere geographical expression. It divided Italy into; (1) the kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia ruled by Victor Emmanuel I, an Italian Prince; Nice, Savoy and Genoa were added to his territories (2) the kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia under the Austrian Emperor (3) Tuscany, Parma and Modena under the indirect control of Austria. The ex-Empress Marie Louise (daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria and wife of Napoleon) became the Duchess of Parma. Tuscany and Modena were ruled by members of the Austrian Hapsburg family. (4) Naples and Sicily ruled by a Bourbon prince and (5) the Papal States including Romagna under the pope. Thus the Austrian rule was predominant in Italy.

Spain and Portugal recovered their old boundaries. Holland, and Belgium were united to form the single state of Netherlands and made independent. Norway was separated from Denmark and united with Sweden. Finland which now went to Russia. Hanover, now, recognised as kingdom passed under the rule of George III of England. Switzerland was allowed to continue as an independent republic. Monarchy was restored in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Sardinia and Naples and Sicily. To prevent the revival and spread of revolutionary ideas, the 'Big Four' formed the 'Quadruple Alliance.' It was a permanent body which stood for the enforcement of the Vienna Settlement. Russia, Prussia and Austria formed the 'Holy Alliance'. The object of this alliance was the introduction of Christian doctrines in the politics of Europe.

## **Criticism of the Vienna Settlement**

The Vienna Settlement did not offer a panacea for the political ills of Europe. It failed in its chief aim of preserving peace in Europe. Revolution broke out in almost all countries that came under it. Thus it collapsed like a house of cards. In the words of Fisher; “The plant of legitimacy failed to flourish upon soil still covered by the lava of Revolution”. Revolution broke out in France in 1830 and 1848. The Union of Holland and Belgium lasted for only 15 years. Italy and Germany threw off the foreign yoke and became independent in the course of half a century. Poland which was placed under the control of Russia became independent after the First World War. The Union of Russia and Finland was dissolved in 1917 and that of Sweden and Norway in 1905.

The Settlement unconsciously buried deep the ideas of democracy, nationalism and liberalism. The Settlement was a mere return to the old order. Monarchy was restored to the old dynasties on the principle of legitimacy. Liberal and democratic ideas were ruthlessly crushed. But the Statesmen failed to note that such ideas were becoming determining political factors.

The real aim of the Congress was to divide among the conquerors the spoils of the conquered. This was daylight robbery. To the defeated it added insult to injury. Denmark and Saxony which sided with Napoleon were severely penalized. In redrawing the map of Europe, the “Big Four” were mainly guided by selfish motives. The big powers not only got new places but retained old ones. The smaller states were not given a fair deal. Austria which played the part of the host virtually became a ghost to the smaller countries. In the distribution of spoils, the Congress bid farewell to the Principle of liberalism. Territories were separated or united much against the wishes of the affected countries. Catholic Belgium was united with Protestant Holland. Denmark was penalized by uniting Norway with Sweden. Italian unity was broken. Poland was placed under the tutelage of Russia. Genoa was united with her foe, Savoy.

The “Holy League” set up to enforce the settlement proved to be neither holy nor a league. It only “aspired to bind Europe in chains”. Castlereagh called it “a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense”. Metternich called it “a loud-sounding nothing”. In spite of the defects of the Congress, it at least prevented a general European war or a world conflagration for a century. The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century itself had witnessed two world wars. So the importance of the settlement cannot be undermined. It made a bold start in settling disputes by convening conferences. It may legitimately be considered as the precursor of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization.

## **CONCERT OF EUROPE (1815 – 1822)**

After defeating Napoleon in the battle of Leipzig, the Big Four – England, Austria, Russia and Prussia – entered into a secret treaty at Chaumont in 1814. According to the treaty, it was agreed that the Big Four should remain united for a period of 20 years and strive for the regeneration of Europe. In short, they assumed for themselves the responsibility of being the arbiters of the destiny of Europe.

After defeating Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo, the victors resumed the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to redraw the map of Europe. TO prevent the revival and spread of revolutionary ideas, the Big Four formed the Quadruple Alliance in 1815. The alliance which was made in secret at Chaumont in 1814 was made public by this alliance. The members of the alliance agreed to remain united for a period of 20 years. It was to be a permanent body to see to the enforcement of the Vienna Settlement. The members of alliance agreed to hold at fixed intervals meetings to discuss matters of common interest among themselves, take suitable steps for the tranquility and prosperity of nations and maintain peace in Europe. Thus the Concert of Europe came into existence. As France fulfilled all her treaty obligations, she was admitted into the Concert. Thus the Quadruple Alliance was transformed into the Quintuple Alliance.

### **Holy Alliance**

The Holy Alliance formed hardly two months before the Quadruple Alliance should not be confused with the Concert of Europe. It was “the hoppy of Tsar Alexander I, and it came to an end with his death”. It was she outcome of the mystical ideas and religious notions of the Tsar. Only Prussia and Austria joined the alliance. The object of this alliance was to introduce Christian doctrines into the politics of Europe. According to this new doctrine, the sovereigns in their relations with their respective states and in their political relations with other states should take as their sole guide the precepts of the Christian religion, viz., justice, good will and peace. But the Holy Alliance proved to be neither holy nor an alliance. It only “aspired to bound Europe in chains”. Castleragh, the British delegate at the Congress of Vienna, called it “a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense”. Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, called it “a loud-sounding nothing.”

### **The Congress of the Concert**

The members of the concert of Europe held four congresses at different places. They were the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818); Congress of Troppau(1820), Congress of Laibach (1821) and Congress of Verona (1822). Difference of opinion cropped up among the members even in the very first Congress. With every successive Congress, the concept of the Concert of Europe crumbled to pieces.

### **Causes of the failure of the Concert**

Right from the beginning, there was no proper understanding among the members of the Concert. Outwardly, they feigned comradely but inwardly inhale supreme hatred by the one for the others. Under the guise of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, each member tried to outwit the other by advancing his own interests. They talked highly but acted meanly in their relation with minor states. By raising their finger of protest against revolutions, they buried deep the ideas of democracy, nationalism and liberalism. But they failed to realize that such ideas were becoming determining political factors.

In spite of the fact that the Concert some problems concerning Europe, difference of opinion cropped up even in the first Congress which met at Aix-la-Chapelle. When some of the colonies of South America rebelled against Spain, Britain refused to be bound, by any proposal that was detrimental to her trading interests in those colonies. For the suppression of slave trade, Britain suggested a scheme empowering the four powers to mutual right of search of slaves. As the other powers were quite conscious of the naval strength of Britain which necessarily meant interference in their commerce, they brushed aside the proposal. Britain turned down the suggestion of Russia for stationing an international fleet of the powers in the Mediterranean to ward off the Barbary pirates as she did not relish the idea of awing of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean- Moreover, her interests were not at stake, because the Barbary Pirates honoured the Union Jack. Britain turned down the proposal of Russia which aimed at maintaining the status quo with regard to the territorial boundaries of the powers. This proposal inevitably meant the death knell to national, liberal and democratic ideas in Europe. Britain which was stepped in such ideas found it difficult to reconcile with her friends who stood for autocracy.

In the second Congress held at Troppau, the rift among the members became still wider. Mutual jealousies among the powers made matters still worse. The people of Spain, Naples and Portugal had raised the standard of revolt against their rulers. Russia came forward with armed assistance to Spain. The Austrian Chancellor, who was no votary of entertaining revolutions, was frightened by the prospect of the increase in the power of Russia. So he held her back. The revolt at Naples was considered by the powers as the most urgent problem. As Austria had vested interests in Italy and as the revolt was detrimental to the safety and security of her territories in Italy such as Lombardy and Venetia, Austria was given a free hand to deal with the situation in Naples. The Congress also passed the Protocol of Troppau which justified the intervention of one State in the internal affairs of another State. The Protocol declared that if any State underwent a change in government due to revolution, such a State would automatically lose its membership in the European Alliance, and it was made the duty of the other States to resort to the status quo in the troubled State by peaceful means or by resort to arms. Great Britain opposed tooth and nail the declaration on the ground that it aimed at suppressing all revolutions without ascertaining their individual merits. But the principle was put into practice in 1821 when the Laibach Congress allowed Austria to quell the revolt in Naples. This was promptly done by Austria.

The last Congress was held at Verona in 1822. The Spanish problem still remained unsolved. The Greeks revolted against Turkey. The Greek question was brought to the notice of the Congress. As Russia had great interest in the Balkans, she wanted to be left alone to deal with the affairs as was previously done by Austria with regard to Naples. But the move was bitterly opposed by Britain and Austria, because they did not like the intervention of Russia in the Balkans. So the Greek question was not taken up for further discussion. The outcome of the revolt in Spain was that Ferdinand VII, the king of Spain, was forced to give a liberal constitution. Spain appealed to France, for help. France responded and her step was approved by Austria, Russia and Prussia. Britain raised a storm of protest against the intervention. But as her protest went unheeded, she withdrew from the Concert. In

a jubilant mood, Canning the Foreign Minister of England exclaimed thus: “The issue of Verona split the one and indivisible Alliance into three parts as distinct as the Constitutions of England, France and Muscovy”. He added: “Things are getting back to a whole-some state again. Every nation for itself and God for us all”.

Though Canning failed in Europe, he was a success in America. The Latin American states would have an easy prey to Spain again, had it not been for the liberal policy followed by Canning, who strongly protested against European intervention in South American affairs. His policy was reaffirmed by the Monroe doctrine. President Monroe of the United States proclaimed in his doctrine issued in 1823 that any interference in Latin America by an European power would be “dangerous to the peace and safety of the united States”. The Monroe doctrine sealed the doom of the Concert of Europe. In spite of the defects of the Concert, it made a bold start in settling disputes by convening conferences.

### **THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830**

The first Empire set up in 1804 came to an end with the fall of Napoleon in 1814 except for a brief period of occupation for 100 days in 1815 by him. The Vienna Settlement of 1814 – 1815 restored monarchy in France Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI who became the new King in 1814, never forgot the lessons of the French Revolution. He issued a Charter in 1814 which made provision for setting up a Parliament on the British model, guaranteed the rights of the people and assured equality before law. But his reign was marred by the clash of interests between two parties – the Moderates and Ultra Royalists. (The Ultra-Royalists were the nobles of the ancient regime during the days of the Revolution of 1789). While the Moderates upheld the Charter of 1814, the Ultra- Royalists stood for royal absolutism and the recovery of their lost privileges. They created a reign of terror called the “White Terror” after the defeat of Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo in 1815. The Royalists attacked the Bonapartists and the Catholics attacked the Protestants. Murder became the order of the day. In spite of the fact that the Ultra-Royalists were “more royalist than the King”, Louis XVIII took a moderate stand and never conceded to their demands. The acknowledged leader of the Ultra-Royalists was the Count of Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII. He subsequently became the king of France in 1824 under of the title, Charles X, another incident which marred the reign of Louis XVIII was the murder of the Duke of Berry, the son of the Count of Artois. The Royalists attributed the cause of the murder to the moderate and liberal stand taken by the king. Louis XVIII died in 1824. It 1824, he was succeeded by his brother Charles X who set: he clock back. He wanted to revive the Divine Right Theory of monarchy. It was remarked of him that he “had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing”. He was a staunch Catholic like Philip II of Spain and tried his best to uphold the supremacy of the Church. In the international field, the prestige of France rose to considerable heights due to its participation in the Greek War of Independence. Her fleet joined with the fleets of Britain and Russia and destroyed the Turkish fleet in the battle of Navarino in 1827.



In spite of the fact that France won laurels in the international field, it was marred at home by some unhappy events which took an ugly turn. Villele held office as Prime Minister from 1821 to 1827. As the press vigorously criticized the Church policy of the King, steps were taken to curb its powers. The contents of the news papers were censored. A motion was carried through in the Chamber of Deputies in 1827 to completely put an end to the liberty of the Press. But as the House of Peers vehemently opposed the measure, it was dropped.

An act was passed in 1825 to compensate the émigrés (nobles of the ancient regime) who had lost lands during the days of the Revolution of 1789. As the restoration of lands to them inevitably meant injustice to the existing landowners, it was decided to reduce the National Debt. With the amount so obtained, it was decided to award pensions as compensation to the émigrés. But the lowering of the rate of interest on Public debts hit hard the middle classes. The National Guard was disbanded in 1827 due to the shouting of anti-government slogans like 'Down with the Ministers', and "Down with Jesuits". The disbandment of the National Guard infuriated the people of Paris.

Martignac who succeeded Villele held office from 1828 to 1829. Being a moderate, his policy was one of compromise. He relaxed the regulations regarding the censorship of the Press, and limited the educational activities of the Jesuits. But quite unfortunately, he wounded the feelings of one party without any corresponding benefit to the other party. So the two parties sank their differences, united together and drove Martignac out of office.

In 1829 Martignac was succeeded by Polignac. He was a former émigré and a reactionary to the core. He let loose such repression that the Chamber of Deputies petitioned the King to dismiss him. But Charles X dissolved the House and fresh elections were ordered. The new Chamber which met in 1830 had a more determined opposition than in the previous House.

On 25<sup>th</sup> July 1830 Charles X issued four ordinances. The first ordinance banned the publication of newspapers without the assent of the Government. By the second ordinance the legislature was dissolved. The third altered the electoral laws and the fourth fixed the date for new elections.

The people raised a storm of protest against the new ordinances. The Paris mob raised the standard of revolt. Barricades appeared on the streets. But they were removed. The National Guard and the regular troops swelled the rank of the agitators. Charles X realized his error too late. He ordered for the withdrawal of Government troops. He abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson Henry, the Count of Chambord. But his nomination was shown the least regard. Charles X fled to England. His cousin Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, was placed on the throne.

### **Importance of the July Revolution**

The July Revolution sounded the death-knell of the Divine Right Theory of Kingship. The reins of Government passed on from the hands of the Bourbons to the Orleanists. Many changes were introduced in the constitution. The powers of the King were reduced. His

power of issuing ordinances was taken off the Press was given back its freedom. The franchise was extended. The “King of France” was henceforth to be known as “the King of the French”. The continuance of monarchy was to depend on the support to the nation. It shattered to pieces the attempts of the Ultra-Royalists to recover their privileges. The principle of legitimacy which had played a dominant part in the Congress of Vienna of 1815 was discarded. This was quite evident from the change in the line of Kings from the Bourbons to the Orleanists. In short, the July Revolution of 1830 was a complement to the French Revolution 1789.

### **Effects of the Revolution**

The Revolution was not without its repercussions in other parts of Europe. It is a common saying that whenever France sneezes, Europe catches cold. In 1830 Catholic Belgium revolted against protestant Holland. By the treaty of London signed in 1830, the powers of Europe including Holland recognized not only the independence of Belgium but also its neutrality. Spain and Portugal obtained liberal constitutions within a few years after the Revolution of 1830. The Poles revolted against the Tsar in 1830. But the revolt was ruthlessly crushed. The Revolution in France was a signal to similar revolutions in Italy also. The Revolution spread to Germany also. Many of the smaller German states agitated and obtained liberal constitutions. But Prussia remained unaffected. The net effect of the Revolution of 1830 was that while some headway was made in constitutionalism in some parts of Europe, it registered a remarkable victory for nationalism in Belgium. The example of Belgium served as a beacon light to the nationalists of Europe in the succeeding years.

### **THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION OF 1848**

After the abdication of Charles X, his cousin Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, came to throne in 1830, Louis Philippe, “King of the French, by the Grace of God and by the will of the people” posed as a democratic ruler in the beginning. Soon he changed his colour. The Orleanist monarchy hinged mainly on the support extended to it by the middle classes. But it had to face the opposition of the working classes right from the beginning. During the Prime Minister ship of Casimir-Perier, things went on smoothly. His death in 1832 was a terrible blow to the country. After him Thiers and Guizot were the two prominent ministers under Louis Philippe. All opposition and insurrection against the King during the early part of his reign were ruthlessly crushed by Thiers. The Press and the plays were vigorously censored. The liberty of the people was trampled under the foot. In order to divert the attention of the people, Louis Philippe carefully nursed the Napoleonic legend. Streets were named after Napoleon’s battles. His dead body was brought from St. Helena and was given a ceremonial reburial.

The prestige of France sank to a low level in the international field. She incurred the displeasure of Britain as a result of her stand taken in the Turko-Egyptian War and in her dealings with Spain. The condition at home was far from satisfactory. Corruption ate into the vitals of the country. Both legislators and electors were bribed to extend their support to the Government. France at that time was passing through the Industrial Revolution. The

condition of the working classes was miserable. A new movement called Socialism gained ground among the workers. They demanded increased wages, better conditions of work and the extension of franchise to them. But the King paid no heed to the demands of the workers. "Reform banquets" were arranged by the reformers. The cry of the day was for reforms. One such banquet was banned by the Government in February 1848. So the people entered into direct action and started the February Revolution of 1848. Paris as usual rose and barricades appeared on the streets. The National Guard sent to restore order joined the people. The people demanded the resignation of Guizot. The King yielded to the popular will and started granting reforms. But it was too late. Affairs also drifted from bad to worse. The soldiers who were guarding the residence of Guizot opened fire against the agitators and killed 23 persons. The angry demonstrators piled the dead bodies on a cart and paraded it round the streets in order to incite the people. Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England in 1848. A new government was set up. France became a Republic for the second time. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the Corsican prodigy, was elected President of the Second Republic.

### **Effects of the Revolution**

The Revolution served as a signal to similar revolts throughout Europe. Austria was the worst affected by the wave of this revolution. Austria at that time was inhabited by people of different races – Germans in Austria, Czechs in Bohemia, Magyrs in Hungary and Italians in Lombardy and Venetia. The national consciousness of the people was already boiling and when the opportune moment came, Vienna raised the standard of rebellion in 1848. Metternich and the Austrian Emperor fled from the country. Similar revolts broke out in Hungary, Bohemia and Italy. Under the leadership of Kossuth, Hungary unfurled the banner of revolt and made some headway. But the revolt was ruthlessly put down by Francis Joseph, the Austrian emperor. A revolt in Bohemia was warded off by purchasing peace after conceding certain demands to the people.

Italy also did not escape from the storm, Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia, declared war on Austria. But he was defeated by the Austrian forces at Custoza in 1848. He again declared war against Austria but was again defeated in the Battle of Novara in 1849. He then abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

In Germany the revolt occurred in Berlin in 1848 with the King of Prussia at its head. A Parliament consisting of all the representatives of Germany met at Frankfurt and offered the throne to the King of Prussia. Fearing the might of Austria, he declined the offer. The King of Prussia induced the four Kingdoms of Hanover, Saxony, Wurtemberg and Bavaria to form a union with Prussia. But it was vehemently opposed by Austria. Prussia yielded. The supremacy of Austria in Germany was again re-established. In spite of the threats and ruthless measures adopted by reactionary forces to suppress the revolts, the forces of liberalism and nationalism gained fresh momentum and huge dimensions with the passage of time.

# **LIBERALISM AND NATIONALISM**

## **THE LIBERATION OF LATIN AMERICA**

### **Introduction**

South America, Central America, West Indies and Mexico are called Latin America, because they were colonized by the Spanish, Portuguese and French who belonged to the Latin race. With the exception of Brazil controlled by Portugal, Guiana by Holland, England and France; and West Indies by Spain, Britain and France, Spain was the mistress of the whole of South America and Central America. It was the abundant gold and silver deposits of the New World and the rich vegetation of tobacco, sugar and indigo of the West Indies that attracted the powers to Latin America. The people of these regions longed for independence. A number of causes led to the liberation movement in the Latin American colonies.

### Causes of the Revolt

#### **(1)Exploitation of the Colonies**

Spain adopted the old colonial policy towards the colonies; It subordinated the economic interests of the colonies to those of the mother country. The colonies were required to supply raw materials to the mother country and should not compete in manufacturing. They should trade only with the mother country. This made Spain very prosperous at the expense for the colonies. Further, the colonists had their own grounds of protest against alien rule. The population in the colonies consisted of several classes. At the top was a handful of ruling class sent from Spain. The local ruling class was the Creoles – the colonial-born Spaniards or Portuguese. In addition to these two dominating classes, there was also a large section of downtrodden Indians, the matizos (half- European, half-Indian) and a large population of Negro slaves. Though the Creoles enjoyed some privileges, they had their own grievances against colonial rule. One such grievance was that the highest posts were reserved only to the native-born Spaniards. The ruling elite looked down upon the Creoles as an inferior class. Another grievance was that the Creoles had no prospects of trade expansion outside the Spanish imperial system. Above all, they groaned under the weight of oppressive taxation. The revolution was the direct outcome of this step motherly attitude adopted by Spain towards the colonies and colonists.

#### **(2)Influence of Revolutions**

The American Revolution and the French Revolution greatly influenced the freedom-fighters in Latin America. The American Revolution had a profound influence stimulating ideas of independence and reform in Latin America. The French Revolution had also its tremendous impact on Latin America. The writings of Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau prepared men's minds for the coming struggle.

### **(3) The decline of Spain**

Spain had already been pushed to the position of a third-rate power. She was no match to Britain in naval power. Spanish naval power was smashed by the British at Trafalgar in 1805. Further, some episodes occurred in Latin America which exposed the military hollowness of Spain. Other episodes provided opportunities to the natives to repulse the attacks of the British. Knowing fully well that Spain could do little against British naval power and conscious of their ability of defeat an European force, the natives mustered sufficient strength to fight against the mother country.

### **(4) Napoleon's action**

Napoleon invaded Spain, dethroned the King and placed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte on the throne. This was resented by the people in Spain as well as in the colonies. As a mark of protest, revolutions broke out in different places . But no one knew that the freedom which the natives got to raise the banner of revolt would soon assume the colour of an independence struggle.

### **(5) Miranda (1750 – 1816)**

Miranda was a native of Venezuela. He was born in 1750 Caracas. He took an active part in the American Revolution and the French Revolution. He was a pioneer in the field of organizing revolts. His early attempts to free Venezuela failed because the people were not ripe for action. In due course, the revolutionary ideas spread throughout the country. In Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, the rebels deposed their Governor and established a revolutionary government. Thanks to the work of Miranda, a revolutionary Congress met in 1811 and proclaimed the independence of Venezuela. Difference of opinion among the leaders weakened their cause. The influence of Miranda began to decline. He fell into the hands of one division of the rebels and later became a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards. The pioneer of the revolution died a captive in chains at Cadiz in 1816.

### **San Martin (1778 – 1850)**

After the fall of Miranda, the work of liberation was taken up by San Martin in the South and Simón Bolívar in the North. San Martin was born in 1778 in Northern Argentina. HE distinguished himself as a soldier in Spain. Later on, he gave up his rank and position and joined the revolutionaries. He collected an army from Argentina and Chile and called it the 'Army of Andes'. With this well-drilled and disciplined army, he crossed the Andes at a height 13,000 feet and defeated the Spanish army in 1817 at New Granada which is now known as Columbia. But in next year, Martin was defeated. This loss was made good when he routed the Spaniards at Maipo near Santiago. This victory practically closed the chapter of Spanish rule in Chile. He next turned his attention to Peru. He collected an army and drove out the Spaniards from the Peruvian coast and proclaimed the country an independent Republic. It was in Peru that Marin met Bolívar. There was difference of opinion between the two leaders. Martin was an ardent supporter of monarchy which was opposed by Bolívar who

wanted to advance his own interests. Being of a noble character, Martin withdrew from the scene of action. He died in France in 1850.

### **Simon Bolivar (1783 – 1830)**

Simon Bolivar was born in Caracas in 1783. After the withdrawal of Martin, he became the chief liberator. After the capture of Miranda, Venezuela fell into the hands of Spain. Bolivar had to fly to an island in the Caribbean Sea. He soon returned to Granada and became the leader of the revolutionary army there. He outnumbered the Spaniards in many battles. He entered Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, in the midst of the rejoicings of the patriots. But he suffered two major defeats. This was mainly due to the return of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in 1814. Some of the rebels renewed their allegiance to him. Bolivar was expelled from Venezuela and he went to 1830. His dreams of united New Granada, Jamaica and Haiti in the hope of getting support for this cause. He collected an army, crossed the Andes and defeated the Spanish army at Boyaca in New Granada. The victorious army entered Bogota and Bolivar was hailed as President in both New Granada and Venezuela. He lent helping hand to the revolutionary forces in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and the Spanish forces were driven out. Bolivar was hailed as the “Liberator” and the “Washington of South America”. During his later years, the quarrels among his followers made him remark thus: “I fear peace more than war”. Bolivia is named after him. He died a disillusioned man in Latin America were shattered to Pieces.

## **METTERNICH**

### **Introduction**

Prince Metternich was born in a family of diplomats in 1773. Keeping in with the family tradition, he proved his worth as a born diplomat when he came of age. He married the grand daughter of Count Kaunitz, the famous minister of Maria Theresa of Austria. At an early age, he entered the diplomatic service of Austria and very soon mastered the niceties and subtleties of the profession. By dint of his ability he became the Chancellor of Austria in 1809 in which capacity he continued till his flight from the country in 1848. During this period, he dominated the political scene of Europe like a Colossus. He played a leading role in the formation of the Fourth Coalition against France in 1813 and in the defeat of Napoleon in the battle of Leipzig.

### **The Policy of Metternich**

As Metternich dominated the European politics between 1815 and 1848, it is no wonder that the period is called the “Era of Metternich” and the policy which he subscribed was known as “Metternich System”. As the staunchest enemy of the French Revolution, he set his face against liberal ideas for which it stood, the “Metternich System” in its practical working meant a double-barrelled attack on the twin principles of nationalism and liberalism. He saw Europe clearly divided into revolutionary West and reactionary east. As the champion of reaction, he made Austria the abode of reaction with a heavy dose of conservatism. Mainly relying on the principles of Legitimacy and Restoration, he set the clock back by restoring

the old monarchies in Europe in utter disregard of the principles of nationalism and liberalism let loose during the revolutionary era. In his ambition to make Austria the predominant power in Europe, he spread the net wider to trap the diplomatic dignitaries of the Vienna Congress. As a firm believer in maintaining the status quo after the Congress of Vienna, he brought into existence the Concert of Europe. By his dexterous diplomatic strokes, he transferred the leadership of Europe from Revolutionary France to Reactionary Austria.

### **Metternich and the Congress of Vienna**

It was the towering personality of Metternich that made him the dominating figure in the Congress of Vienna. He handled the knotty problems of the Congress in such a way that it was remarked that he could “swim like a fish in the sparkling whirlpool of Vienna” In spite of the fact that the Congress did not offer a panacea for the political ills of Europe, Metternich managed to safeguard the interests of Austria. He got for Austria Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. He managed to place on the thrones of Tuscany, Parma and Modena members of the Hapsburg royal family. Thus he made Austrian rule predominant in Italy. He managed to break up Italian unity by further divisions and made it a mere “geographical expression”. He got for Austria effective control over Germany by bringing the German Confederation as set up by Napoleon under her direct control.

### **Metternich and the Concert Europe**

As a firm believer in maintaining the status quo, Metternich used the Concert of Europe as an instrument to crush the forces of nationalism and liberalism. To prevent the revival and spread of revolutionary ideas, the Big Four (Austria, Russia, Prussia and England) under the leadership of Metternich formed the Quadruple Alliance in 1815. The members of the alliance agreed to hold at fixed intervals meetings to discuss matters of common interest and maintain peace in Europe. Thus the Concert of Europe came into existence. But difference of opinion cropped up even in the first Congress which met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Britain opposed any policy which aimed at maintaining the status quo with regard to the territorial boundaries of the powers. In the second congress held at Troppau, the protocol of Troppau was passed which justified the intervention of the Big Powers in the internal affairs of other states in the event of the outbreak of revolutions. Though Britain opposed the measure tooth and nail, the other powers accepted the principle of intervention. This principle was put into practice by Metternich to quell the revolt in Naples. In the last congress held at Verona, the Concert crumbled into pieces as Britain withdrew from it.

### **Metternich and Germany**

As the undisputed master of European politics from 1815 to 1848, Metternich richly deserves the title “the Prime Minister of Europe”. He interfered in the internal affairs of Germany and Italy, and exerted his influence in other countries. The Vienna Settlement brought the German Confederation under the direct control of Austria. Symptoms of revolutionary agitation were soon noticed in Germany. The revolutionary agitation was organized by a student body which perpetrated atrocities in Germany. It brought about such an alarm that the rulers of the three German states of Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg

granted liberal constitutions to their people. Metternich summoned a meeting of the German Princes at Carlsbad in 1819, drew up the Carlsbad decrees and got them passed in the German Diet. The decrees outlawed the student body which was responsible for the revolution, prevented the formation of student associations except with official permission, imposed vigorous press censorship and brought the Universities under effective control. Metternich thus got complete control over the affairs of Germany.

The Vienna Congress under the President ship of Metternich broke up Italian unity and made it a mere “geographical expression”. He wrested from Italy, Lombardy and Venetia and placed on the thrones of Tuscany, Parma and Modena members of the Hapsburg royal family. A revolt broke out in Naples in 1820. Metternich helped Ferdinand I, the ruler of Naples to put down that revolt and restored him to power. Piedmont also rose in revolt in 1821. The Austrian forces on their return march from Naples put down that revolt also. As a result of the reactionary policies of Metternich, Italy came under his thumb. In the words of Hayes: “Italy was bound hand and foot to the triumphant reactionary chariot of Austria”.

### **Metternich and Spain**

The Vienna Settlement restored Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in 1815. He suspended the liberal constitution of 1812. His despotic rule led to a revolt in 1820. In the Congress of Verona, Metternich goaded Louis XVIII of to intervene in Spain and restore order. Thanks to the help of France, order was restored in Spain.

### **Metternich and Russia**

To begin with, Tsar Alexander I was a votary of liberal ideas. But soon he came under the bewitching spell of Metternich and withdrew his liberal reforms. It was again this spell which prevented the Tsar from rendering any help to the Greeks when they revolted against Turkish oppression.

### **Metternich and France**

Metternich, the wily diplomat, always kept an eye on revolutionary France. To prevent France from staging another outburst, he prevailed upon the members of the Congress of Vienna and made the border states of France bigger and stronger. It was as a result of his influence that stronger states such as Holland, Prussia, Switzerland and Piedmont came into existence. When France fulfilled her treaty obligations, she was admitted into the Concert. Thus the Quadruple Alliance was transformed into the Quintuple Alliance.

### **Metternich and Britain**

Metternich and Castlereagh of Britain drew closer to defeat Napoleon. They drew still closer in the Congress of Vienna. Britain became a member of the Quadruple Alliance. Difference of opinion cropped up even in the first congress which met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Britain opposed any policy which aimed at maintaining the status quo with regard to the territorial boundaries of the powers. In the second congress held at Troppau, the protocol of Troppau was passed which justified the intervention of the big powers in the internal affairs



of other states in the event of outbreak of revolutions. Though Britain opposed the measure tooth and nail, the other powers accepted the principle of intervention. This principle was put into practice by Metternich to quell the revolt in Naples. As armed intervention was allowed to France in Spain in the last congress held at Verona, Britain withdrew from the Concert. Thus the Concert of Europe collapsed like a house of cards.

### **Metternich and Austria**

Metternich followed a vigorous reactionary policy in Austria-Hungary. As a born reactionary, he crushed the forces of liberalism and nationalism in the country. The press was vigorously censored. He maintained a vigilant espionage system. The Universities were brought under the direct control of the government. To prevent the infiltration of revolutionary ideas from France, he erected high tariff walls. But this policy was very unwise because it adversely affected Austrian trade and industry. In his anxiety to make Austria the citadel of reaction, liberty was crushed, conscience was hushed and scruples were ignored. But popular ideas never die by acts of suppression. They gain only fresh momentum with every act of suppression.

The revolution of 1848 in France resulted in the overthrow of the Orleanist monarchy. It served as a signal to similar revolts throughout Europe. Austria was the worst affected by the people had been already boiling. When the opportune moment came, Vienna raised the standard of rebellion in 1848. Metternich fled to England. He returned to Vienna in 1851 and died in 1859.

### **Napoleon – III Brief history of France after Napoleon**

After defeating Napoleon I in the battle of Leipzig, the Bourbon monarchy was restored in France in 1814. Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, became the King Except for a brief period of occupation of the throne by Napoleon I for hundred days in 1815, Louis XVIII ruled till 1824. He was succeeded by his brother Charles X (1824 -30). The July Revolution of 1830 led to the abdication of Charles X in 1830. He fled to England. His cousin, Louis Philippe (1830 -1841) became the new King. Louis Philippe, “King of the French, by the grace of God and by the will of the people” posed as a democratic ruler in the beginning. Soon he changed his colour. The Industrial Revolution had spread to France and a new movement known as Socialism was gaining ground. The working class demanded the extension of the franchise to them which was opposed by the King. This led to the February Revolution of 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England. A new government was set up. France became a Republic for the second time. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a nephew of the Corsican prodigy, was elected President of the second Republic.

### **Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President (1848 – 1852)**

The constitution of the new Republic laid down that the President could serve for a four-year term with the proviso that an immediate re-election should not be sought for. It also made provision for a unicameral chamber. Louis Napoleon utilised the opportunity

within the short period at his disposal to increase his popularity and then transform the Republic into an Empire. He kept the workers in good humour. HE endeared them to his heart by making provision for old age insurance in 1850. By promoting industries and undertaking schemes of public utility like the construction of railways, he posed as a friend of the common man. He earned a good name among the Catholics by sending an expedition to Rome in 1849 to restore the Pope. Above all, he carefully nursed the Napoleonic legend.

The Assembly, which was mostly composed of monarchists, committed itself to the reform of the electoral laws. The electoral laws were revised in such a way that the poorer section was disfranchised. Louis Napoleon dissolved the Assembly in 1851 and attested his opponents in the Assembly. He skilfully played on the feelings of the people and posed as the champion of universal suffrage. The bewitched suffrage carried away by passions expressed their approval through a plebiscite by a thumping majority the right of the President to draw up a new constitution. Louis Napoleon ruthlessly crushed all opposition against him. Seeing the wind taking a favourable direction, he conducted a plebiscite in 1852 and by a larger majority than before, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor in 1852 with the title, Napoleon III.

### **Napoleon III as Emperor (1852 – 1870)**

Napoleon III was a firm believer in royal absolutism. He concentrated in his person all powers. The legislature had no real power. The ministers were appointed by him and made responsible to him. He vigorously censored the Press. The liberty of the people was trampled under foot.

### **Home Policy**

Napoleon III did some good things to promote the material welfare of the people. He promoted industries. Being a votary of free trade, he reduced the tariff duties. He improved the communications in the country by constructing railways and canals, by establishing steam-ship lines and by opening of telegraph service. The banking system was extended and loans were advanced to agricultural and industrial enterprises. He improved the conditions of the poor by setting hospitals, asylums and alms-houses. He beautified the city of Paris. He improved the lot of the workers and by promoting an insurance scheme against old age and accidents. He legalised trade-unions. He permitted the workers to form co-operative societies and their right to strike was recognised.

In spite of these liberal reforms, opposition to Napoleon III mounted up. Forces of liberalism gained ground as time went on. He moved with the time and yielded concession after concession. The legislature was given full powers to transact business without any hindrance. The Ministry was made responsible to parliament. The censorship of the Press was relaxed and public meetings were permitted. Wresting concession after concession only whetted the appetite of the liberals. The battle of Sedan fought in 1870 sealed the doom of Napoleon III and the Second Empire. The Third Republic was proclaimed in the same year.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

### **Establishment of Colonies**

Napoleon III annexed Algeria to France. He established a protectorate over Cambodia. Indo-China came under the control of France. In a joint expedition with England, China was forced to open many ports for European trade.

The Crimean War broke out as a result of a religious issue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church over the management of the Holy places in Palestine. Napoleon III of France in order to earn the good-will of the Catholics, put pressure on the Sultan of Turkey and wrested the concession from him as the champion of the Christians in the east. Tsar Nicholas I raised his protest against this right conceded to France. In order to win his point, he sent his ambassador Menschikov to Constantinople to demand from the Sultan his right as the protector of the entire Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sultan. Britain got alarmed at the prospect of Russia getting a firm foothold in the Balkans. So she strongly supported the cause of France and induced the Sultan not to concede the demand to Russia. In the war that ensued, Russia was defeated. According to the terms of the treaty of Paris signed in 1856. The Tsar renounced his claim to protect the Christians in the Balkans. The war took the prestige of France to a high level.

### **Austro –Sardinian War (1859 – 60)**

Napoleon III got involved in the Austro –Sardinian War. Cavour, the Prime Minister of Sardinia, entered into a treaty with Napoleon III who promised to help Sardinia against Austria in return for Nice and Savoy. Sardinia was to occupy Lombardy and Venetia. Calculating French help, Cavour provoked a war with Austria. He increased the number of Sardinian forces. Austria got alarmed at the rising power of Sardinia. Austria threatened Sardinia with war unless she reduced the number of soldiers. Cavour turned a deaf ear to it and accepted the challenge. SO Austria declared war on Sardinia in 1859.

Napoleon III came with a French army to help Sardinia. The Austrian forces were defeated in the battles of Magenta and Solferino and driven out of Lombardy. Napoleon III got alarmed at the rising power of a united Italian State. He withdrew his forces and concluded a treaty with Austria at Villafranca in 1859. According to the terms of treaty, Austria retained Venetia but gave a large portion of Lombardy to Sardinia. Though Napoleon III betrayed the cause of Sardinia, the latter gave him Nice and Savoy. His Italian policy provoked resentment at home and abroad. The Catholics at home cried a halt to his advance against Catholic Austria. The radical section got dissatisfied because of the sudden cessation of war. Italy bore a grudge against France.

### **Mexican Project**

Napoleon's interference in the Mexican problem was quite foolhardy. Mexico had obtained independence from Spanish rule. The attempt of the members of the Holy Alliance to restore Spanish rule in Latin America was foiled by the Monroe Doctrine. According to this doctrine, President Monroe of the U.S.A. proclaimed that "any interference in Latin America by an European power would be dangerous to our peace and safety". When Juarez, the President of Mexico, repudiated the public debts, England, Spain and France raised a hue and cry. While the other two nations did everything short of war Napoleon III sent an army to

Mexico under Maximilian, the brother of the Austrian Emperor. Juarez was driven out and Maximilian was proclaimed the ruler of Mexico. As the Civil War was going on in America, she remained quiet. The moment it was over, she applied the Monroe Doctrine and forced France to withdraw from Mexico. As Maximilian showed some hesitation, he was captured and shot dead in 1867. Napoleon burnt his fingers in this project. The French prestige sank to a very low level.

### **Franco – Prussian War (1870 – 71)**

Napoleon III grew jealous of the rising power Prussia . He demanded at different times Palatinate, Luxemburg and Belgium as the Prize of his neutrality. But Bismarck refused to give him anything. He was waiting for an opportunity to crush the power of France. He had not to wait for long. In 1869 a revolution occurred in Spain. The Spanish throne was offered to Leopold of the Hohenzollern family. Napoleon objected to it on the ground that a prospective union of Spain and Prussia under the Hohenzollern family would upset the balance of power in Europe. To get a diplomatic victory, he asked his ambassador to demand from King William I that he would never support a Hohenzollern to the Spanish throne. The Prussian King turned down the French request and sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of the latest developments. Bismarck was only waiting for such an opportunity. He published the telegram in such a way that it wounded the feelings of both the French and the Germans. So France declared war on Prussia.

The war kindled the patriotism of the Germans and the Southern German States made common cause with the North. Prussia inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Sedan. Napoleon III became a prisoner. The victorious German army marched into Paris. Paris fell after some resistance. By the treaty of Frankfurt. Peace was concluded in 1871. France surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. She had also to pay a huge war indemnity. With the capture of Napoleon III at Sedan in 1870, the Second Empire collapsed like a house of cards. In the same year, the Third Republic was proclaimed in France.

## UNIT – II

### UNIFICATION OF ITALY

#### Introduction

Ancient Italy which became united and expanded into a mighty Empire under Rome was broken into several states during the middle Ages. Napoleon conquered Italy and united all these small states for a short while. But his good work was undone by the Vienna settlement of 1815. It broke up Italian unity and made it mere geographical expression. It divided Italy into: (1) the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia ruled by Victor Emmanuel I, an Italian Prince. Nice, Savoy and Genoa were added to his territories (2) the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia under the Austrian Emperor (3) Tuscany, Parma and Modena under the indirect control of Austria. The ex-Empress Marie Louise (daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria and wife of Napoleon) became the Duchess of Parma. Tuscany and Modena were ruled by members of the Austrian Hapsburg family (4) Naples and Sicily ruled by a Bourbon prince and (5) the Papal States including Romagna under Pope. Thus the Austrian rule was predominant in Italy.

#### The Risorgimento

The wars of Napoleon in Italy kindled and stirred the national feeling which went by the name of Risorgimento. In the eyes of the people of Italy. “Napoleon was an Italian cast in the imperial mould”. His daring deeds reminded them of the grandeur that was ancient Rome. After the downfall of Napoleon, the work of unification was carried on by secret societies like the Carbonari. Naples rose into open revolt in 1820. With the help of an Austrian army, Ferdinand I, the King of Naples, put down the revolt and severely punished the rebel leaders. The revolution spread to Piedmont in 1821. The people as such were not against the ruling family. They only wanted a new constitution and were against Austria. As Victor Emmanuel I (1802 – 1821) was not able to cope with the situation, he abdicated the throne in favor of his brother, Charles Felix (1821 – 1831). The July Revolution of 1830 in France was a signal to similar revolutions in Italy also. The Papal States were the worst affected. With the help of the Austrian army, however, the revolt was put down. The revolts in other parts of the country were also put down. All the revolts failed because there was not any united action on the part of the leaders. Moreover, the people were not ripe for action. With the passage of time, the people became politically mature. The chief persons responsible for the unification of Italy were Mazzini, Victor Emmanuel II, Cavour and Garibaldi.

#### Mazzini (1805 – 1872)

Mazzini was a professor of anatomy in Genoa, He was the chief inspirer of the revolutionary movement in the country. He was the “prophet and organizer of associations”. He became a member of the Carbonari. He was arrested in 1830 for his revolutionary activities. He organized in 1831 an association known as ‘Young Italy’. His aim was to unite all Italy under a republican government. He wanted to make Rome, the leading city in Europe. He declared that “the first Rome was the Rome of the Caesars, the second was the

Rome of the Popes and the third was to be the Rome of the Italian People”. The Young men of His “Young Italy” lit the flames of patriotism through out Italy and helped the cause of Italian unity.

### **Victor Emmanuel II (1849 – 1878)**

The overthrow of the French monarchy under Louis Philippe in 1848 was a signal to similar revolutions all over Europe. Italy did not escape from the storm. Charles Albert (1831 – 1849), the King of Sardinia, declared war on Austria. But he was defeated by the Austrian forces at Custozza in 1848. In 1849 Mazzini led an insurrection in Rome. The Pope was driven away and Rome was proclaimed a republic in 1849. The republic was placed under a Committee of three of which Mazzini was one. He extended the support of the Republic to Charles Albert and persuaded him to declare war on Austria. But the Austrian forces again defeated Charles Albert at Novara in 1849. He then abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. The pope was, however, restored to power in the same year with French help. Victor Emmanuel II promised to work towards Italian unity and agreed to be the king of a united Italy.

### **Cavour (1810 – 1861)**

Perhaps the most important actor in the drama of the Unification of Italy was Count Cavour, the Prime Minister of Victor Emmanuel II. “Italy as a nation is the legacy, the life work of Cavour”. He has been rightly called the “Bismarck of Italy”. His policy was to liberate Italy from the clutches of Austria and unite her under the Royal House of Savoy i.e., the King of Sardinia. The revolutionary methods of Mazzini did not appeal to him. He knew that his policy could be carried out only with force of arms and foreign alliance. “I cannot make a speech” he said, “but I can make Italy”.

### **Garibaldi (1807 – 1882)**

Garibaldi, the soldier and hero of adventure, was also responsible for the unification of Italy. He was a born revolutionist and an ardent admirer of Mazzini’s “Young Italy”. He was condemned to death in 1834 on account of his revolutionary activities. He escaped to South America. When revolution broke out in Italy in 1848, he came back to Italy. The Austrian forces chased him out of the country. He escaped to America in 1849 and returned to Italy in 1854. He was a staunch republican. But he sacrificed his political principles for the sake of Italian Unity.

### **Cr means War (1854 – 1856)**

When the Crimean War broke out in 1854, Cavour advised Victor Emmanuel II to join the side of England, France and Turkey against Russia, Sardinia, entered the war with two aims. (i) to obtain a Status among the powers of Europe and (ii) to be in the good books of England and France so that later their help might be sought to crush Austria. Russia got defeated in the war. The Crimean war set the ball of Italian unity moving.

### **Austro-Sardinian War (1859 – 1860)**

The Crimean war earned for Cavour the friendship of Napoleon III of France. He utilized the opportunity and entered into a treaty with Napoleon III who promised to help Sardinia against Austria in return for Nice and Savoy. Sardinia was to occupy Lombardy and Venetia. Calculating French help, Cavour provoked a war with Austria. He increased the number in the Sardinian forces. Austria got alarmed at the rising power of Sardinia. Austria threatened Sardinia with war unless she reduced the number of soldiers, Cavour turned a deaf ear to it and accepted the challenge. So Austria declared war on Sardinia in 1859.

Napoleon III came with a French army to help Sardinia. The Austrian forces were defeated in the battles of Magenta and Solferino and driven out of Lombardy. Napoleon III suddenly got alarmed at the rising power of a united Italian State. He withdrew his forces and concluded a treaty with Austria at Villafranca in 1859. According to the terms of the treaty, Austria retained Venetia but gave a large portion of Lombardy to Sardinia. But the war proved to be a blessing, because Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romagna expelled their old rulers and joined themselves with Sardinia. Though Napoleon III betrayed the cause of Sardinia, the latter gave him Nice and Savoy.

### **Annexation of Sicily, Naples and Papal States (1860)**

Count Cavour found the Italians ripe for unity under Victor Emmanuel II. He then turned to Garibaldi for help. In 1860 he sent Garibaldi to Sicily where the people had risen in an open revolt against their King, Francis II. Garibaldi with his famous "Red Shirts" numbering a thousand entered Sicily where the people gave him a warm welcome. He conquered Sicily and then Naples.

Garibaldi now contemplated an attack upon Rome. In the meantime, Victor Emmanuel II himself marched at the head of an army to the South. The Pope's troops were defeated at Castel-Fidardo. There was so much popular enthusiasm in the Papal State that they expressed their desire through plebiscites to throw in their lot with Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel II annexed the Papal State with the exception of Rome. When he met Garibaldi in the south, the latter greeted him as the King of Italy and surrendered his conquests into his hands. Only Venetia and Rome still remained outside the United Kingdom.

### **Annexation of Venetia (1866)**

In the Austro-Prussian War, Victor Emmanuel II sided with Prussia. Bismarck, the Prussian Prime Minister, promised to force Austria to surrender Venetia to Italy. The Austro-Prussian War ended in a victory to Prussia. As a reward for the help rendered, Bismarck forced Austria to surrender Venetia to Italy.

### **Annexation of Rome (1870)**

Rome still remained in the hands of the Pope who had the support of Napoleon III of France. Moreover, a French army was stationed in Rome. Though Victor Emmanuel II desired to have Rome as the capital of his Kingdom, he was not for a war with France. So

Turin and later Florence served as capital for sometime. Italy without Rome was like playing Hamlet without the ghost. In 1870 war broke out between France and Prussia. France withdrew her forces from Rome. Thereupon, Victor Emmanuel II marched into the “Eternal City” in 1870. The finishing touch to the Unification of Italy was given by the proclamation of Rome as the capital of Italy in 1870. Thus the Unification of Italy was achieved by “Mazzini’s moral enthusiasm, Garibaldi’s sword, Cavour’s diplomacy and Victor Emmanuel’s and good sense”.

## **UNIFICATION OF GERMANY**

### **Introduction**

Germany was split up into several independent kingdoms, duchies, principalities and free states in the Middle Ages and long after. The symbol of German unity, however, remained in the name of the Holy Roman Emperor. Napoleon Bonaparte abolished the title of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1806. He reduced the number of German states from 360 to 39 and organised them into the Confederation of the Rhine. He unconsciously roused the spirit of nationalism in the minds of the people. The Congress of Vienna retained the Confederation but placed it under the control of Austria. Every year the delegates of the various states met in a Diet at Frankfurt to resolve important measures. But the veto power exercised by each member acted as a check on the good work that might have been otherwise achieved by it. Frederick William III (1797 – 1840), King of Prussia, joined hands with Austria and crushed the forces of Nationalism and liberalism in the country.

### **Customs Union**

The first step towards German unity was taken in the sphere of commerce. Prussia took the lead and other states followed suit. Most of the states entered into a Customs Union or Zollverein in 1834 to avoid the tariff duties levied by each member of the Confederation against the goods of other members. Austria kept herself out of the Union. The commercial unity of most of the German states sowed the seeds for the political unity of Germany.

### **The Effect of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848**

When the July Revolution of 1830 broke out in France, it spread to Germany also. Many of the smaller German states agitated and obtained liberal constitutions. But Prussia remained unaffected. The February Revolution of 1848 brought Germany also under its influence. Some more states obtained liberal constitutions. Prussia, too, obtained a liberal constitution, Austria was excluded from the German confederation, The Frankfurt Parliament offered the Crown to Frederick William IV (1840 – 1861) in 1849. But he rejected the offer in the same year. Due to the interference of Austria, the German Confederation of 1815 was restored in 1850. Once again Austria got the upper hand. Frederick William IV died in 1861. His brother William I (1861 – 88) became the King of Prussia. He was a man of different stamp. The Confederation stood more as an obstacle than a means towards German unification. There was jealousy between Austria and Prussia. Prussia was the strongest of the states in the Confederation. It was under the able leadership of Prussia that German Unity



was achieved. The twin principles of popular sovereignty and nationalism prepared the ground for the political unification of Germany.

## **BISMARCK**

William I, the King of Prussia, appointed Bismarck as his Prime Minister in 1862. With him dawned a new era of progress in the history of Germany. He believed in a policy of blood and iron. He was a man of iron with nerves of steel. He was no believer in parliaments and liberalism. But he had unlimited faith in Prussia and Prussianism. The first task of Bismarck was to build up German national unity under the leadership of Prussia. He firmly believed that the unification of Germany could be achieved only under the leadership of Prussia. The solution of this problem lay in snatching the German leadership from Austria which in turn depended on a strong army and sound finance. He increased the finances of the country by collecting new taxes disregarding the protests of the Diet, and strengthened the army by enlarging the Prussian forces. All opposition was ruthlessly crushed. Immediately after he became the Prime Minister, he declared: "The great questions of our time will be decided not by speeches and resolutions of majorities, but by blood and iron". He waged three wars to achieve German unity.

### **War With Denmark (1864)**

As long as foreign Kings held possessions in Germany, national unification was out of question. Schleswig and Holstein were two German duchies held by the King of Denmark. The two duchies were mostly inhabited by the Germans, Holstein, was a member of the German Confederation. The King of Denmark made an attempt in 1848 to incorporate the two duchies. But it was bitterly opposed by the Germans. By the treaty of London, 1852, in which most of the powers of Europe participated, it was decided that the King of Denmark should not incorporate the two duchies. In 1863 Christian IX (1863 – 1906), the King of Denmark, announced a new constitution incorporating Schleswig with Denmark and granting self-government to Holstein. This was a gross violation of the treaty of London. A strong demand arose that Schleswig and Holstein should be freed from the control of Denmark and made part and parcel of Germany. The dispute drifted to a war between Prussia and Denmark. Austria as the official head of the German Confederation made common cause with Prussia. In a way, the war proved to be a blessing in disguise. Austria which had so far kept herself out of the scene joined Prussia at the hour of crisis. Bismarck sent an ultimatum to Denmark to honour the London Treaty within 48 hours. But as Denmark was not able to do anything within 48 hours, Prussia and Austria declared war against Denmark. Denmark was no match for the combined might of Prussia and Austria. She surrendered Schleswig and Holstein. Prussia and Austria soon quarrelled on the distribution of spoils. By the convention of Gastein, 1865, it was agreed that Prussia should rule over Schleswig, and Austria, Holstein.

### **The Austro –Prussian War (1866)**

Austria grew jealous of the rising power of Prussia. A war between the two was quite inevitable, Bismarck secured the neutrality of Russia on the strength of the support rendered to her in suppressing the Polish revolt of 1863. He also secured the neutrality of Napoleon III of

France of France by allowing him to cherish false hope about further French acquisitions. He also made friendship with Italy by promising Venetia to her. After the preliminaries were settled he dragged Austria into war on the Holstein affair. On the flimsy pretext that an agitation was going on in Holstein, Prussia assumed full responsibility of Holstein also. As Austria opposed it. Prussia declared war on Austria in 1866. The strength of the Austrian army was double than that of Prussia. But in the Austro-Prussian war which lasted for seven weeks, Bismarck inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrian at Sadowa. Austria was forced to sue for peace. By the treaty of Prague (1866), Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfurt and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Italy received Venetia from Austria. Austria was solved and the New North German Confederation was formed under the leadership of Prussia, the four Southern German states of Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria and Hesse Darmstadt remained neutral. But Bismarck appealed and emphasized to them their common origin and kindled the fire of nationalism. This had the desired effect. They promised to join with Prussia in the event of war.

### **The Franco – Prussian War (1870 – 1871)**

Bismarck had only one more enemy to deal with and that was Napoleon III of France. Napoleon III grew jealous of the rising power of Prussia. He demanded at different times Platinat, Luxemburg and Belgium as the prize of his neutrality. But Bismarck refused to give him anything > he was waiting for an opportunity to crush the power of France. He had not to wait for long. In 1869 a revolution occurred in Spain. The Spanish throne was offered to Leopold of the Hohenzollern family Napoleon III objected it on the ground that a prospective union of Spain and Prussia under the Hohenzollern family would upset the balance of power in Europe. To get a diplomatic victory, he asked his ambassador to demand from King William I that he would never support a Hohenzollern to the Spanish throne. The Prussian King turned down the French request and sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of the latest developments. Bismarck was only waiting for such an opportunity. He published the telegram in such a way that it wounded the feelings of both the French and the Germans. So France declared war on Prussia.

The war kindled the patriotism of the Germans and the Southern German States made common cause with the North. Prussia inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Sedan. Napoleon III became a prisoner. The victorious German army marched into Paris. While the siege of Paris was going on, the Southern German States of Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria and Hesse- Darmstadt joined with the North German Confederation. Paris fell after some resistance. By the treaty of Frankfurt, peace was concluded in 1871 France surrendered Alsace to Germany. She had also to pay a huge war indemnity. The finishing touch to the unification of Germany was given in 1871 by the Proclamation of Kaiser William I as the first Emperor of United Germany in the famous “ Hall of Mirrors” at Versailles. Bismarck , the Iron Chancellor, richly deserves to be called the “Maker of Modern Germany”.

## **Bismarck**

### **Early life**

Otto Von Bismarck was born in a noble family in 1815. By dint of his ability, he rose from position to position and finally became the Chancellor of Germany. In 1845 he became a member of the provincial Diet of Pomerania. In 1847 he became a member of the Imperial Diet of Berlin. He was elected a member of the lower chamber of Prussia in 1849. In 1851 he was appointed the representative of Prussia in the Federal Diet at Frankfurt. He served as Ambassador of Prussia in Russia from 1859 to 1862 and in France in 1862. During his term as Ambassador, he mastered the most knotty problems of contemporary European diplomacy. In 1862 itself he became the Prime Minister of Prussia.

### **Policy of Bismarck**

With Bismarck as the Prime Minister dawned a new era of Progress in the history of Germany. The German Confederation under the leadership of Austria stood more as an obstacle than a means towards German unification. There was jealousy between Austria and Prussia. Bismarck believed in a policy of blood and iron. He was a man of iron with nerves of steel. He was no believer in parliaments and in liberalism. But he had unlimited faith in Prussia and Prussianism. The first task of Bismarck was to build up German national unity under the leadership of Prussia. The solution to this problem lay in snatching the German leadership from Austria, which in turn depended on a strong army and sound finance. He increased the finances of the army by collecting new taxes disregarding the protests of the Diet and strengthened the army by enlarging the Prussian forces. All opposition was ruthlessly crushed. Immediately after he became the Prime Minister he declared: "The great questions of our times will be decided not by speeches and resolutions of majorities, but by blood and iron".

### **Bismarck's part in the Unification of Germany**

Bismarck waged three wars to achieve German unity. He waged a war with Denmark in 1864 and took over the administration of Schleswig and Holstein. In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, he inflicted a crushing defeat on Austria at Sadowa. Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau and Frankfurt. Austria was excluded from Germany. The old German Confederation was dissolved and the New North German Confederation was formed under the leadership of Prussia. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 -71, Bismarck defeated France in the battle of Sedan. France surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. The four southern states of Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt joined the North German Federation. The finishing touch to the unification of Germany was given in 1871 by the proclamation of Kaiser William I as the first emperor of United Germany in the famous "Hall of Mirrors" at Versailles. (For details – refer Unification of Germany)

## **Domestic Policy**

### **Constitutional Reforms**

Bismarck was appointed Chancellor in 1871 in which capacity he continued till his resignation in 1890. It was constitutional reforms which drew his immediate attention. He gave a federal touch to the New German Confederation of 1871. But the paramount power of Prussia was secured by giving her greater representation in the Bundesrat – the Upper House – which was the more powerful House. The interests of the states were safeguarded by giving them provincial autonomy. The national solidarity of Germany was preserved by giving more powers to the Emperor, The Chancellor was made answerable to the Emperor. In spite of his anxiety to reconcile the conflicting interests in the German federation of 1871, it looked as “an alliance between a lion, half a dozen foxes and a score of Mice”.

### **Law, Coinage, Railway and Banking**

To introduce a uniform system of administration in the country, Bismarck reformed the Law, coinage, railway and banking systems. He laid down a uniform code of law for the German empire by replacing the diverse system of laws that prevailed in different states. He introduced a uniform coinage. In 1873 he established an Imperial Railway Bureau which linked up the different railway systems in the country. The network of railways was also closely linked up with the postal, telegraphic and military organizations of the Empire. To regulate banking operations, the Imperial Bank was set up in 1876.

### **Bismarck and Church**

Bismarck adopted a hostile attitude to the Roman Catholic Church as it openly supported Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1865. The Pope wielded great authority within Germany and exercised considerable influence over laymen. The declaration of the Papal Infallibility in 1870 brought the Pope into headlong collision with Bismarck. The decree of the Pope on matters concerning religion. Church and morality was made binding on the Roman Catholics. As the spiritual law ran counter to some of the temporal laws, Bismarck was no able to tolerate such gross discrimination. He girded up his loins and prepared himself for a struggle with Papacy. This struggle was label led Kulturkampf or “Battle for Civilization”. The Catholics in their turn in order to safeguard their interests and to retaliate found a party called the “Centre”.

Bismarck passed found a party of orders to bring the Catholic Church under the dependence of the State. In 1872, he expelled the Jesuits from the country and cut off diplomatic ties with the Pope As a follow-up measure the May Laws or Falk Laws They May Laws were so called because they were passed in the month of May and Falk Laws after the name of the Prussian Minister of education were passed in 1873, 1874 and 1875 to bring the Catholics to their Knees. The control of education was wrested from religious hands and brought under state control. Civil marriage was made compulsory, Every Catholic priest or bishop was expected to undergo a course in theology for three years in a German University. Public excommunication by the Jesuits was forbidden. In 1875 all religious orders were

dissolved with the exception of those serving the sick. The Pope opposed the May Laws root and branch. The unexpected turn of events in the political scene forced Bismarck to abandon the Kulturkampf. The Liberal party in the Reichstag (Lower House) which hitherto supported the anti-Catholic measure of Bismarck turned against him in his socialist measures. So there was no course open to him except to woo the “Centre” to his side. At a heavy price, the “Centre” was won over to his side. The May Laws were suspended in 1879 and repealed in 1886.

### **Bismarck and Socialism**

The Socialist Democratic Party founded by Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle gained in strength with the march of the Industrial revolution in the country. The democratic set-up of the party with its bitter opposition against German militarism and imperial powers was viewed with great concern by Bismarck. As no believer in democratic principles. He restored to repression to crush socialistic ideas. But the inevitable turn in the tide in the country towards socialistic ideas forced him to undertake some piece of social legislation to appease the socialistic hunger of the people. Repressive laws were passed against the socialists for a period of four years in the first instance in 1878 and renewed from time to time till 1890. The laws forbade meetings, societies and publication of literature which aimed at giving publicity to socialist principles. The police was kept alert to punish would-be offenders. The repressive measures were followed by socialistic legislation which aimed at placating the gullible workers. An insurance scheme against sickness was introduced in 1883, against accidents in 1884 and old age pension in 1889. But these measures were branded by the advocates of socialism as “Bastard Socialism”. Repression and social legislation failed to satisfy the urge of the people for more socialism. The Socialist Democratic Party gained in strength and number with the march of time.

### **Economic measures**

The economic measures of Bismarck contributed to the material prosperity of the country. A great boost was given to the iron-steel and textile industries. The country was covered with a network of railways. He bid farewell to the policy of “ free trade” and offered protection to the infant German industries by erecting high tariff walls by an act passed in 1879. The high tariffs not only yielded income to the Government but also promoted the rapid industrialization of the country. Soon Germany became one of the leading manufacturing countries in the world. Her goods flooded the international market.

### **Colonial Policy**

Bismarck was not an imperialist by instinct. The growth of Industrial Revolution increased the demand for raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. Germany. Moreover, needed new space not only as a sign of her world importance but also for her growing population. The solution to these problems lay in the acquisition of new colonies. Bismarck was rather forced by the sudden turn of events to follow a policy of colonial expansion. Germany soon found colonies in Togoland, Cameroons, East Africa, South West Africa, a part of Guinea, the Marshall Islands and the islands named Bismarck Archipelago.

## **FOREIGN POLICY AFTER UNIFICATION**

After achieving the unification of Germany, Bismarck renounced the policy of “blood and iron”. But he did not allow the grass to grow under his feet. He stood for the maintenance of the status quo in Europe. France and Austria could never forget the harsh treatment meted out to them. But he kept France in good humour by encouraging her colonial enterprises. He wooed Austria to his side by drawing nearer to her. But in his heart of hearts, he wanted to isolate France. The keynote of the foreign policy of Bismarck after 1871 was the maintenance of peace in Europe and the prevention of any anti-German coalition.

### **The Three Emperor’s League (Dreikaiserbund) (1872)**

Bismarck formed in 1872 the Three Emperors’ League consisting of the rulers of Germany, Austria and Russia. It was only a loose organization of the three rulers to maintain the status quo in Europe and settle problems connected with the Eastern Question. The main aim of Bismarck in the formation of the League was to isolate France, make Austria forget her bitterness and woo a new ally (Russia) to counteract any flare-up in Europe. The League was not in its nature to last long, because of the conflicting interests of Russia and Austria in the Balkans, in 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey. The war came to an end by the treaty of San Stefano which resulted in the formation of a new state called Bulgaria. As the treaty was unacceptable to the powers, a revision of the treaty was made in the Congress of Berlin in 1878 under the presidency of Bismarck. Austria which did not participate in the war, received Bosnia and Herzegovina. The new settlement stung Russia to the quick, and with that the cause of the League also got weakened.

### **Austro – German Alliance (1879)**

In 1879 Bismarck formed an alliance between Austria and Germany. The terms of the alliance were that if power was attacked by Russia, the other would come to its support, and if either power was engaged in a clash with any power other than Russia, the other would remain neutral. But if Russia extended support to the enemy, it was made obligatory for the two powers to act jointly.

### **Triple Alliance (1882)**

Bismarck also intrigued to avert a possible alliance between France and Italy. In order to estrange their relationship, Bismarck encouraged France to capture Tunis. Italy which coveted Tunis was disappointed. So in her wrath, Italy joined the Austro –German alliance in 1882, thus transforming it into the Triple Alliance.

### **The Three Emperors’ League (1881)**

Tsar Alexander III who came to power in (1881) bitterly hated the republican form of government in France seeing that the wind was blowing in a favorable direction. Bismarck made capital out of this and revived the Emperor’s League in 1881. It was agreed by the three

rulers that if any one of them was attacked by a fourth power, the other two would remain neutral. This arrangement was to hold good for three years. It was renewed in 1884 for a similar period.

### **Reinsurance Compact (1887)**

The Reinsurance Compact was entered into by the three powers for the same period practically confirming the obligations outlined in the League. It was dissolved in 1890.

### **Downfall of Bismarck**

In 1888 William II became the new Kaiser. As difference of opinion between the new Emperor and Bismarck cropped up the latter resigned in 1890. "The pilot who had steered the ship through so many storms and so many shoals was dropped". He died in 1898 at the ripe old age of 83.

### **Estimate**

Bismarck was one of the greatest statesmen that Germany ever produced. By his policy of "blood and iron". He unified Germany. As the most faithful servant of William I, he raised the power and prestige of the Emperor. By his policy of industrialization, he made Germany one of the leading manufacturing countries in the world. He was a master diplomat. According to Marriott: "In the history of the nineteenth century, Bismarck will always claim a foremost place; in the sphere of diplomacy no one except Cavour could dispute with him to the first place. That he was a great patriot will be denied only by those to whom patriotism is an exploded superstition". He kept Britain, the bull dog, on tender-hooks, fooled the Russian bear. Lured Austria. The fox, into his den, trapped Italy, the wounded bird and kept France the wounded tiger, in good humour. For the glorious and meritorious services rendered by him, he richly deserves the title "the maker of modern Germany".

## **Mazzini**

### **Refer lesson – Unification of Italy**

### **INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**

The term Industrial Revolution refers to a series of far reaching economic changes that occurred in England in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century England was mainly an agricultural country. Towns were few and four fifths of the people lived in villages. Textile work was in the cottages by people who were engaged in agriculture.

Many object to the use of the term revolution because it can never take place in the economic development of a nation. But it is pointed out that the British industry underwent changes so remarkable in character and so extensive that the term Industrial Revolution has been applied to them. It produced a change in industrial method, from handwork to work done by machine, from work at home to work in factories, from internal market to international market. "The effects of these economic changes on the large masses of men and

women were so profound and so dramatic in industrial progress and social suffering, that the movement may will be described as revolutionary”. It will also be clear to any keen student of economic history that the industrial progress that took place in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was far greater than in the previous centuries. The revolution is till going on. The movement transformed England from an agricultural into an industrial country and increased her foreign trade enormously. The real importance of the industrial Revolution in England lies not so much in introducing new processes of manufacture as in creating a new industrial society which dominated all phases of English life and was therefore soon able to introduce fundamental reforms Even the various political reforms effected by the Parliament in the 19<sup>th</sup> century may be regarded as the outcome of the new society, created by the Industrial Revolution. The common people in Britain began to enjoy the same political rights.

### **Causes for the Industrial Revolution**

- The relative abundance of surplus capital. England had amassed huge surplus capital during the 18<sup>th</sup> century on account of her extensive foreign trade. She exported large quantities of manufactured goods and imported largely raw materials from her colonies.
- Her extensive overseas trade. There was a great demand for English goods in the foreign markets, especially from her colonies. The goods exported were quite suited for mass production. The cotton mills in Lancashire and Manchester had a very prosperous trade in the Indian market. “India came to be associated with the growing prosperity of England.
- Her Excellent banking system made the best use of the great financial resources seeking for investment; Englishmen who had money were willing to take the risk in investing funds in industries and encouraged inventors of new machines.
- There was a large number of skilled labour. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries England attracted many of the best artisans of Europe, especially Huguenots from France. Again it is believed that the cotton manufacturing industry was planted in Lancashire in 1685 by emigrants from Antwerp.
- The internal peace and political security of the country.
- There was free movement of goods without any let or hindrance. Hundreds of internal tariffs obstructed traffic in Germany up to 1934 and the innumerable tolls and charges hindered trade in France before 1789. The market was limited in these countries in the earlier stages. On the other hand English merchants enjoyed complete freedom of trade and the country’s insular position saved her from the disastrous consequences of wars which ravaged the continent.
- Great Britain had coal and iron in abundance. Without these basic raw materials, which are rightly considered the bread of all industries, England could hardly have achieved her industrial pre-eminence. Coal and iron were not only available in plenty but they were also lying in close proximity which minimized the cost and trouble of transport.



- Serfdom had disappeared in England by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and people were free to move from one place to another without any restraint.
- English shipping was famous for its efficient service. Her goods can be sent to any part of the world. Thus she can both export her manufactured goods and import necessary raw materials from distant countries and from her colonies.
- The populating of England was small in relation to the vast market it had to cater for. Thus owing to scarcity of workers labour-saving devices became necessary to meet the increasing demand for goods. Thus in one sense she had to invent various kinds of machines for increasing production at the minimum cost.
- The Government encouraged inventions by granting patent rights for a period of fourteen years. Liberal grants of money were also made to the inventors. A society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce was founded in London in 1754. This body is now called the “Royal Society of Arts”.

## **Inventions**

Some of the inventions made in the 18<sup>th</sup> century have not only transformed the English industry but the industries in the world were also affected. It heralded a new era in international trade. The combined effect of the various inventions was seen on agriculture, industry, transport, and indeed every department of national activity. England had produced a galaxy of inventions like Kay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Newcomen, Watt, and Bolton and a host of others in the 18<sup>th</sup> century who converted England as the workshop of the world, and who secured for England unrivalled leadership in industries.

But the effect produced particularly in two groups of industries was profound, i.e., textile group and the mineral group.

## **Textile Inventions**

The introduction of the Spinning Wheel in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century made some improvement in spinning. Till 1773 it was not possible to produce cotton thread strong enough to be used for the warp. The invention of “ Flying Shuttle” 1773 by John Kay (a clock maker) enabled the weaver to weave the cloth speedily. This invention disturbed the balance between the weaver and the spinner. The increased speed of the weaver naturally increased the demand for yarn.

“Spinning Jenny” (named after his wife) a very simple spinning machine was invented by James Hargreaves in 1764. The Spinning Jenny enabled one man to spin six threads simultaneously. This number was ultimately increased to 120. But the thread produced by the Jenny was not strong enough to be used in the warp. Linen had still to be used in the warp.

In 1771 Richard Arkwright patented his “Water-Frame”. This machine was worked by water –power and hence the “twist” yarn produced by this machine was strong enough to be used for the warp. It was for the first time possible to produce cloth made entirely of cotton. Till now linen thread had to be used for warps in the production of cotton goods, the

introduction of Water-Frame is of great importance in the history of textile trade. Because neither it nor only demonstrated the practicability steam powers to work this new machine. A machine of this kind cannot be erected in the ordinary cottage. The working of this type of machine will be profitable in only a factory.

In 1779 Samuel Crompton introduced his famous “Mule” which combined the best features of the Jenny and those of the Water-Frame. It was Crompton’s Mule which enabled the production of the finest yarn. The very fine and soft thread spun by the Mule led to the manufacture of beautiful muslins produced in India. These inventions revolutionized the English textile industry. Now more yarn was produced and the handloom Weavers in the cottages could not keep pace with the production of yarn. “The traditional relation between the spinner and weaver was reversed. Now it was the weaver who lagged behind.”

E. Cartwright (a clergyman) patented his power - loom in 1784but unfortunately it was not a complete success. It was clumsy and never had any commercial success. A long series of improvements by Johnson Radcliffe and others paved the way for the first commercial success in 1822. By 1845 power-loom became supreme in cotton weaving. The application of water power to cotton spinning led to the erection of cotton factories in Lancashire and in areas where water was available.

Steam power was first used in Nottingham in 1785. The use of steam in cotton industry became rapid since then. No mechanical device has wrought greater changes in industries than the steam engine. In 1705 Thomas Newcomen introduced the Principal of cylinder and piston and produced an engine which was of great use in pumping. in 1763 James Watt improved Newcomen’s Engine and made it widely available for factories. The most important thins was J. Watt adapted the piston to a rotary motion and made it capable of turning a wheel and driving the machine. In 1763 J. Watt took out his first patent for his Steam Engine. It was now made possible to operate spinning machines, power-looms and other mechanical devices. The number of steam engines rose from 47 in 1795 to 92 in 1800.

### **Cotton Industry**

Manufacture of cotton goods in England was unimportant till the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Till 1770 a fabric which was a mixture of linen and cotton was produced. She has not yet succeeded in producing cotton yarn strong enough for the warp. Till the 18<sup>th</sup> century cotton industry was localized in the eastern nations. Only after the textile inventions of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cotton industry began to grow in the western countries. In 1700 the consumption of cotton in England was only 2,000,000 pounds. Even by 1750 it remained as a cottage industry but after the inventions in spinning and weaving it became a factory industry by 1820. It must also be remembered that the country does not produce even a single bale of cotton. She had to depend largely on U.S.A. for her cotton inn supplies. But with her imported raw cotton she was able to develop her industries in a remarkable manner very rapidly. In 1832 out of a total export of 300 million Ibs. Of cotton in U.S.A. England purchased 220 million Ibs. After 1830 the use of steam power in the textile industry became very wide-spread. Power was now rapidly applied to weaving also. The number of power

looms jumped from 60,000 in 1830 to 100,000 in 1834 and to 250,000 by 1850. Between 1830 and 1850 the weaving of woolen, silk, and linen goods was done by factory methods but the change was slower. The cotton industry which was consuming 100,000 tons of raw cotton in 1830 consumed more than three times in 1850. Similarly the consumption of wool increased from 11,000 tons to 33,000 tons during the same period. Besides iron and coal, cotton and woolen goods were exported in ever-increasing quantities.

### **Coal Industry**

Coal supplies the fuel for driving the machines and iron is required to construct them. Unless these materials are supplied cheaply, large scale industries cannot develop. In England the average annual output of coal in 1551 – 60 was 2,10,000 tons and it went up to 3 million tons by 1690. About one-third of this quantity was produced in North-umber land and Durham while the rest was produced in Scotland, North and South Wales, Cumberland, and West Country. The larger demand for coal was due to the short age and rising price of timber. By 1650 coal was being used for soap-boiling, sugar-refining, dyeing and brewing. Towards the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century about one million tons of coal (about a third of the total production) was being used for industrial purposes. The foreign market for coal was slow in expansion as compared with the domestic market.

By the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century steam-engines were introduced in the coal-mines and the production of coal shot up . The invention of steam-boring machine in 1830 and the Davy's Safety Lamp in 1815 revolutionized the coal industry. the latter invention not only gave protection to the workers in the mines but also enabled the excavation of coal at very low depths. In 1820 the mechanized haulage of coal from underground replaced the practice of carrying the coal by workers from the deep pits. Previously women and children had to carry heavy loads of coal on their back through flights of stairs from the bottom of the mines. As a result of better methods of production, the total output of coal rose from 10million tons in 1795 to 56 millions in 1850 and to 200 millions in 1897.

Till the year 1913 the coal industry had an uninterrupted expansion. Her production reached 287 million tons in that year and she exported 98 million tons. But the firs World War affected this industry very badly.

### **Iron and Steel Industry**

Iron and coal are important raw materials for the industrial development of any country. "Coal and iron are twin foundation of modern industrialism. A country which is weak in either is at a fatal disadvantage in the struggle for industrial supremacy". England had rich deposits of iron and coal. Proper modes of utilizing these resources were unknown before 1750. Till the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century iron was scarce, costly, and was sparingly used. The English supply was imported from Sweden due to the backwardness of English melting industry. Until the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century iron ore was smelted with charcoal. The amount of forest that had to be cut down for charcoal production was considerable. Forests in England were faced with extinction. The demand for charcoal increased while the available supplies diminished. In Elizabeth's time actually proposals were made to banish the iron

mills out of the country. So the British Government imposed restrictions on the use of forests for charcoal production.

The British Iron and Steel Federation were created in 1934 with the object of modernizing the industry and increasing production to 16 million tons a year.

### **CRIMEAN WAR (1854 – 1856)**

The Crimean War was one of the important flash lights in the eastern Question. It is interesting to note that the Crimean War was precipitated due to the clash of political interests of the European Powers. Tsar Nicholas I made two attempts to partition Turkey's territories with Britain between 1841 and 1854. According to him Turkey was "the sick man of Europe" and as such it was imperative to partition her possessions. But Britain wanted to keep the balance of power in the Near East by setting Turkey as a bulwark against Russian penetration in the Balkans. The conflicting interests between the two sowed the seeds for the Crimean War.

One of the causes for the Crimean War was a religious issue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church over the management of the Holy places in Palestine. Napoleon III of France, in order to earn the goodwill of the Catholics, put Pressure on the Sultan of Turkey and wrested the concession from him as the champion of the Christians in the east. Tsar Nicholas I raised his protest against this right conceded to France. In order to win his point, he sent his ambassador Menschikov to Constantinople to demand from the Sultan his right as the protector of the entire Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sultan. Britain got alarmed at the prospect of Russia getting a firm foothold in the Balkans. So she strongly supported the cause of France and induced the Sultan not to concede the demand to Russia.

As the Russian demand was turned down, Russian troops occupied Moldavia and Wallachia, the Turkish territories. Turkey declared war against Russia in 1853. A Turkish squadron was destroyed by the Russians off Sinope. British and French fleets moved to the Black sea. An Anglo-French ultimatum was sent to Russia in 1854 to evacuate the principalities occupied by Russia. Not give a reply and as she crossed the Danube, Britain and France declared war on Russia. Sardinia joined the allies in Russian advance. Fearing an attack from Austria, Russia withdrew from the two principalities. The Russian fleet withdrew to Sebastopol in Crimea. In the battle of the Alma River (1854), the Allies defeated Russia. The first bombardment to Sebastopol began in 1854. But the Allies failed to make any headway. In the battles of Balaclava and Inker-man – both in 1854 – Russia was defeated. The siege of Sebastopol was renewed with redoubled vigour in 1855. After bitter fighting and privation on both sides, Russia abandoned Sebastopol. The Allies captured Sebastopol. Tsar Nicholas I died in 1855 and Alexander II became the new Tsar. He sued for peace. The war came to an end by the Treaty of Paris signed in 1856.

According to the terms of the treaty, the territorial integrity of Turkey was guaranteed. The Tsar renounced his claim to protect the Christians in the Balkans. Moldavia and Wallachia were granted self-government. In 1862 the two principalities united together under the name of Rumania and declared its independence. This was a gross violation of the guarantee given to the territorial integrity of Turkey. The Black Sea was neutralized for all merchant ships. But no warships were to be allowed in it. Russia ceded a part of Bessarabia to Moldavia. The net effect of the treaty was that the downfall of Turkey was postponed.

### **RUSSO – TURKISH WAR (1877)**

The Franco – Prussian War of 1870 – 1871 gave an opportunity to Russia which was smarting under the disgrace caused in the Crimean War to abrogate the terms of the treaty of Paris. She started building a fleet in the Black Sea. Due to the oppression of the tax-gatherers of Turkey, a rising broke out in Herzegovina in 1875. Soon it spread to Bosnia and the entire Balkans. Bulgaria rose in revolt in 1876. The rising was put down with the utmost barbarity. Thousands of Bulgars were murdered. The “Bulgarian atrocities” roused the indignation of Christian Europe. In 1876 Serbia and Montenegro declared war against the sultan. In 1877 Russia declared war against Turkey. The Russian army crossed the Danube and invaded Plevna. After the fall of Plevna, the Russian army entered Adrianople, and the Sultan was forced to sign the dictated Treaty of San Stefano in 1878,. The treaty made provision for the independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania. Rumania was to cede Bessarabia to Russia in return for Dobrudja. A new state called Bulgaria was created. As the treaty was unacceptable to the European powers, a revision of the treaty was made in the Congress of Berlin in 1878. According to the Treaty of Berlin. Bulgaria was reduced in size. Eastern Roumelia, a small slice of territory which was formerly assigned to Bulgaria, was brought within the Turkish territory but was to be administered by a Christian Governor appointed by the Sultan. Macedonia was brought under the direct rule of Turkey Austria which did not participate in the war received Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rumania handed over Bessarabia to Russia in return for Dobrudja. Great Britain occupied Cyprus.

### **BALKAN WARS**

The treaty of Berlin which ended Russo-Turkish war was quite unsatisfactory. In 1885 eastern Roumelia joined Bulgaria. The Sultan ceded Thessaly to Greece in 1881. Between 1894 and 1896 the Armenians in Asia Minor rose in revolt. But the Sultan put down the revolt. In 1896 Crete rose in revolt against the Sultan. Greece lent support to Crete. This drifted to a war between Greece and Turkey. The former was defeated. The European powers intervened and the Greeks were forced to withdraw from Crete and surrender a part of Thessaly to Turkey. However, Crete was united with Greece in 1918.

An interesting sidelight in the Eastern Question at this time was the rise of the Young Turk Movement in the Ottoman Empire. The movement aimed at infusing new life by removing the political ills in Turkey. The Sultan was forced to give a new constitution for the country. The possibility of the rise of a regenerated Turkey with its faith in democratic principles was viewed with great concern by the European powers. Haunted by the fear that

might recover her lost territories, Bulgaria proclaimed monarchy in the country. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina Italy captured Tripoli in North Africa from Turkey in 1911.

Macedonia still chafed under the tutelage to Turkey. Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia and Greece wanted to devour at least a part of Macedonia. The Balkan states for the time being sank their minor differences, formed a League in 1912 and declared war against Turkey. In the war that ensued, called the First Balkan War, Turkey was defeated. By the Treaty of London (1913), Turkey surrendered almost all her European possessions to them. A new state called Albania came into existence. The victors soon quarrelled on the distribution of the spoils of war. This drifted to the Second Balkan War. Bulgaria attacked Serbia. But she was beaten by the combined forces of Serbia, Greece and Rumania. The war came to an end by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913. Serbia obtained Northern and Central Macedonia. Southern Macedonia along with the port of the Salonika was taken by Greece. Bulgaria was given eastern Macedonia and a part of Thrace. With the exception of a small strip of land around Constantinople, all the other territories in the Balkan Peninsula hook off the Turkish yoke before 1914.

## UNIT – III

### First World War

#### Introduction

Just like Rome was not built in a day, wars do not begin in one day. The First World War was the result of a long series of events. One must give up the idea that Germany and her allies alone were responsible for the war. It was as a result of divided responsibility that the war broke out. President Wilson remarked in 1917 that the explanation of the war of 1914 – 1918 was not simple and that its roots ran “deep into all the obscure soils of history”. The storm was simmering for a pretty long time. When conditions drifted from bad to worse, the war broke out engulfing practically the whole world.

#### Causes of the war

- **Germany’s Ambition**

Bismarck by his policy of blood and iron made Germany strong and great. She came out as a new power in Europe. Kaiser William II (1888 – 1918) believed that Germany was the only country which was competent to rule over the whole world. He could not tolerate the British saying that the sun never sets in the British Empire. He felt that colonies for Germany were necessary not only as a sign of her world importance but also to get more space for her growing population. In order to protect Germany, a strong navy was necessary. So he increased the strength of the navy and stationed a fleet at Heligoland in the North Sea. The aggressive policy adopted by the Kaiser led to the war.

- **System of Alliances**

On the eve the war, Europe was sharply divided into two opposite camps. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy formed the Triple Alliance in 1882. This grouping of powers drove France and Russia to form the Dual Alliance in 1895. An entente Cordiale was established between Britain and France in 1904. In 1907 the Entente became triple with the inclusion of Russia. Turkey joined the Triple Alliance camp, and Japan the opposite camp. The mutual jealousies, quarrels and arms race of the two rival camps paved the way for the war.

- **Colonial and Commercial Rivalry**

The mad race for colonies and markets was going on ever-since the geographical discoveries of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The industrial Revolution increased the demand for raw materials and markets for manufactured products. The colonial powers had already divided among themselves the available earth space. SO competition became acute in capturing colonies by the one from the other. Germany made a remarkable progress after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 – 1871. She became one of the leading manufacturing countries in the world. Her goods flooded the international market. This made Britain jealous and angry, because she was not able to compete with her.

- **The Balkan Problem**

The Congress of Berlin of 1878 gave the right to Austria-Hungary to govern and not to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. But Austria-Hungary annexed the two territories in 1908.

In fact these two places should have gone to Serbia, because the inhabitants of these two places were Slaves as in Serbia. Russia had great interest in the Balkans, because it was very near her territory. So she along with Serbia raised a storm of protest against the annexation. Serbia grew jealous of the rising power of Austria-Hungary. The nations of Europe were not able to do anything against her, because she happened to be an ally of Germany.

**•French interests**

In the Franco- Prussian War of 1870 – 1871, France lost Alsace and Lorraine. Lorraine was rich in iron resources. The recent industrial progress of Germany was mainly due to the possession of Lorraine. France was waiting for an opportunity to get back the two places.

**•Italian interests**

Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, entered the side of the Allies in 1915 with the hope of greater territorial gains. She wanted to recover Trentino and the area around the port of Trieste which were inhabited by Italians but still under the rule of Austria-Hungary.

**•Crises of Morocco**

France wanted to bring Morocco under her direct control. But Kaiser William II objected to it and wanted to make Morocco a free country. Due to internal troubles in Morocco, France sent an army to Fez, the capital of Morocco, to restore order. In protest, Germany sent a warship to Port Agadir near Morocco. Britain sent help to France and Germany withdrew. France established her control over Morocco. Germany bore a grudge against France.

**•The murder of the Austrian Prince**

The spark which set ablaze the First Global War was the murder of the Austrian crown prince, Ferdinand and his wife in Bosnia by a Serbian lad. Austria utilized this opportunity to crush Serbia. So Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia imposing many humiliating conditions on her. As the reply given by Serbia was evasive, Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia had great interest in the Balkan problems. So she mobilized her forces to support the cause of Serbia. When Russia supported the cause of Serbia against Austria-Hungary, Germany declared war on Russia. France by her Dual Alliance went to help Russia. So Germany declared war on France. The nations of Europe had agreed to preserve the neutrality of Belgium by the Treaty of London, 1839. But Germany violated the terms of the treaty and mobilized her forces and entered Belgium with the view of attacking France. So Britain declared war on Germany. Thus the First World War started in 1914.

**COURSE OF THE WAR**

The First World War began in August, 1914 and lasted till November, 1918. The countries which fought on the side of Germany were called the central Powers and those on the side of Britain the Allies. Artillery was used on a large scale. Poison gas was used by both sides. Trench warfare, the use of submarines to torpedo enemy vessels and the use of tanks were the common devices used during the war. It was during this war that air raids were introduced for the first time.



## **War in the Western Front**

Germany started the offensive. She invaded France by crossing Belgium. British and French forces were not able to stop the onward march of the German forces which advanced with 20 miles of Paris. But in the battle of Marne, the Allies were able to hold them in check. Parallel lines of trenches were dug in eastern and north eastern France and Belgium from the Swiss border to the North Sea. The rivals occupied their respective trenches and fighting in the western front continued till the end of the war in 1918.

## **War in the Eastern Front**

The Russian forces attacked both Germany and Austria. But Russia suffered a severe defeat at Tannenberg. The Russian forces pushed further South into Galicia and threatened Hungary. When Austria was facing a crisis, Germany came to the succor of Austria. The German forces inflicted on the Russians heavy losses and forced them to withdraw from Austrian territories. +

## **War in the Near East Front**

In October 1914, Turkey entered the war extending her support to the Central Powers. This was a terrible blow to the Allies because their communications with Russia were completely cut off. The British made a vain attempt to capture the Gallipoli Peninsula with the view of controlling the Dardanelles and capturing Constantinople. The British, however, succeeded in capturing Mesopotamia, guarded the Suez Canal against the threats of the Turks and conquered Palestine.

## **Italy enters the war**

Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, entered the side of the Allies in 1915 with the hope of greater territorial gains. In 1916 Italy scored brilliant victories. But in the next year, the Italian defence line was broken by the enemies and the lost territories were recovered, it was only with British and French help that Northern Italy was preserved. In spite of the reverses, Italy rendered a valuable service to the Allies by preventing large Austrian forces from active engagement elsewhere.

## **Bulgaria and Rumania in the War**

The failure of the British in the Dardanelles expedition emboldened Bulgaria to join the side of the Central Powers in 1915. Rumania entered the war in 1916 extending her support to the Allies. In 1916 Rumania invaded Transylvania. But she was beaten back and her territory was overrun by the Central Powers. By the peace of Bucharest (1918), Rumania withdrew from the war.

## **War on the Sea**

Ever since the outbreak of the war, operations were going on in the sea also. While the British Navy commanded the North Sea, the Mediterranean Sea was dominated by the French and Italian navies with British Support. The British effectively imposed a naval blockade on

Germany. In the battle cruiser was destroyed by the British. In spite of the heavy losses sustained by both parties in the battles of Jutland, 1916, the German fleet retreated to the port only to remerge to surrender at the end of the war. Having failed in her attempt to break the naval blockade of Britain, Germany launched a counter blockade of the British Isles by sending submarines. The German submarine menace in sinking ships inflicted great losses on British ships.

### **America enters the War**

From the very outbreak of the war, America remained neutral. The German submarine menace in sinking ships without finding out whether they were enemy ships or neutral ships brought the anger of the world on her. The Lusitania, an American ship, was torpedoed by a German submarine in 1915, The United States of America declared war against Germany in 1917. The entry of America had a tremendous impact on the course of the war. The American troops poured into Europe and brought the war to a successful close in 1918.

### **Withdrawal of Russia**

Russia suffered major reverses in the war. She suffered heavily in men and materials. The discontent of the People found expression in the October Revolution of 1917. The Tsarist government was overthrown and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was set up in Russia. Russia withdrew from the war in 1917. Russia made peace with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk in 1918. With the withdrawal of Russia, the Strain of the Central Powers on the east ceased and they concentrated their attention on the western front.

### **End of the War**

With the abandonment of the Eastern front, the Western front became more active in 1918. In the beginning, the Central powers scored some victories. But soon their defence line began to break. The supreme command of the allied powers in the West was entrusted to the French General, Marshal Foch,. Trench warfare was abandoned and the Germans began to retreat. In the meanwhile, the resistance of Turkey and Bulgaria began to crumble. Austria sued for peace. In November 1918, Kaiser William II abdicated and fled to Holland. Germany sued for peace on November 11, 1918.

### **Causes of the Success of the Allies**

In the early stages of the war, the allies suffered major reverses. But they made good the reverses by their resounding victories towards the closing stages of the war. A number of causes may be attributed to these victories. Firstly, the Allies commanded greater economic resources than the Central Powers. Resources in men and materials poured to the succour of Britain, the strongest pillar among the Allies, from her overseas colonies. The resources of the Central Powers were slender and they were not able to withstand. The strain on their resources for a long period of four years taken for the cessation of hostilities. Secondly, the naval supremacy of Britain stood as a stumbling block to the onward march of the Central Powers. While the North Sea was commanded by Britain, the Mediterranean was guarded by the French and Italian fleets, ably assisted by the British. The naval blockade of Central

Europe by Britain hammered blow after blow on the Central Powers. Thirdly, the insular position of Britain which was one of the Chief Allies was clearly an advantage to them. The geographical positions of the chief Central Powers was such that they were pinned and cornered from various directions, Fourthly, the strange shifting of alliances after the outbreak of the war was favourable to the Allies, Italy and Rumania who were originally on the side of the Central Powers on the eve of the outbreak of the war, left them in the lurch and went over the side of the Allies Though Italy suffered major reverses in the war, she rendered a valuable service to the Allies by preventing large Austrian forces from active engagement elsewhere. Through Rumania was badly beaten by the Central Powers. She at least kept the Central Powers engaged for sometimes, thus providing an opportunity for the major partners of the Allies to strengthen the defence line. Fifthly, the partners of Germany were limping horse. Austria –Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. The subject races in these two places supported the case of Serbia against their imperial lord. When Austria was in the throes of the war, Hungary shook off its connections with Austria and become a republic. The back of the Turkey, the sickman of Europe was already broken and she had lost almost all her territories in the mainland of Europe. Bulgaria was a weak reed to lean upon. Sixthly, the Russian Revolution of 1917 proved to be a blessing in disguise to the Allies. Russia, no doubt, was badly beaten in the war. She withdrew from the war and released all the German prisoners of war. They returned to their homeland, carrying with them not only the woes they underwent, but also the brighterside of the Revolution. Many of them who again got enlisted in the army brought down the tone and morale of the German Army by spreading revolutionary ideas. The soldiers left out swelled the ranks of the social Democrats who opposed tooth and nail the war Seventhly, the entry of America in the war had a tremendous impact on the course of the war. It gave a psychological as well as a moral boost to the Allies. To crown all, the Allies had team-spirit and oneness of purpose which was totally lacking among the Central Powers.

### **Results of the War**

The First World War came to an end by the Peace Settlement of 1919 at Paris. The personalities of the Peace Conference were Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of Britain, Orlando of Italy and Woodrow Wilson of America. The treaty with Germany and as a whole was called the Treaty of Versailles. But separate treaties were concluded with the other vanquished countries. The treaty of St. German was concluded with Austria, Trianon with Hungary, Neuilly with Bulgaria and Serves with Turkey. But the treaty of Serves with Turkey was subsequently modified by the treaty of Lausanne in 1923. It was on the “Fourteen Points” put forward by Wilson that the terms of the treaty were drafted, but some amendments like “freedom of the Seas” and “war reparations by the vanquished” were added to the treaty. The important terms of the treaty were the following: (1) The Covenant of the League of nations was drawn up and included in each of the five peace treaties. (2) Germany was imposed on her. Her army was reduced. In short, she was humbled she became a republic (3) Germany surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to France she also gave up the coal fields of Saar to be occupied by France for a period of 15 years. (4) Italy received from Austria Triestem, Istria, the Trentino and South Tyrol, (5) According to a plebiscite held in

Schleswing, North Scheleswign voted for union with Denmark and Central Schleswig decided to remain with Germany. (6) Poland which disappeared from the map of Europe as a result of the three partitions was created from territories taken from city under the League of Nations. But Poland was allowed to use its docks (7) Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland were the new states created in the Baltic region. (8) Austria and Hungary became separate republics. Austria was reduced in size. (9) The new republic of Czechoslovakia was formed by wresting territories from Austria and Hungary. (10) A new territories to Serbia. (11) Rumania was increased i size by the addition of new territories at the expense of Hungary. Russia and Bulgaria. (12) Bulgaria was reduced in size. (13) Turkey was very much reduced. In Europe she was allowed to retain Constantinople and a small strip of land around it, The territories a which she so lost were added to Greece and Bulgaria. Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia were taken away from Turkish domination(14) The overseas possession of Germany in Africa such as Togoland, Garmeroons, German east Frica and German South-West Africa were placed in charge of various states under mandates from the League of Nations. The territories of Germany in the Pacific Ocean such as German New Guinea, Samoa and Nauru were shared by the victors. (15) the most important result of the war was the destruction of life and property. Manu people lost their lives. Many buildings and factories were razed to the ground. (16) Monarchy was swept away from Germany. Russia, Austria and Turkey (17) To prevent another such war, the League of Nations was set up (18) A mighty revolution took place in Russia.

### **Criticism of the Peace Settlement**

The Treaty of Versailles was unjust. It was drawn with a vindictive spirit. It humiliated Germany. Her territories and colonies were shared by the victors. A huge war indemnity was imposed on her. Though the treaty recognised the principle of “self – determination” to the national minorities. It was used to the advantage of the victors. The defeated countries, especially Germany, were denied this right. Italy was not given a fair deal. She got only a few territories. The disarmament programme in the treaty was meticulously applied only to the vanquished and not to the victors. The most redeeming features in the treaty was the setting up of the League of Nations to maintain peace in the world. The unjust nature of the Versailles Treaty carried with it enough inflammable material for the outbreak of the Second World War.

### **WILSONIAN PEACE**

Woodrow Wilson was the President of the United States from 1913 to 1920,. On 8 Jan., 1918, he announced a programme of the world’s peace. The programme contained ‘Fourteen Points’:

- Abolition of secret diplomacy and provision for “open covenants of peace”.
- Absolute freedom of the seas.
- Abolition of tariff barriers between nations.
- Reduction of armaments.

- Fair adjustment of colonial disputes,
- Evacuation of Russian territory,
- Belgium to be completely liberated
- France to receive Alsace Lorraine,
- Italy to receive her proper national frontiers,
- Peoples of Austrian-Hungary to be given the opportunity of an independent existence.
- Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro to be evacuated and Serbia to be given access to the sea,
- Peoples under Turkish rule to be independent and the Dardanelles to be open to all nations,
- Recreation of an independent Poland and
- Establishment of League of Nations

Germany and her associates had agreed to the armistice on the assumption that the peace terms would be based on the fourteen points drawn up by Wilson. But at Versailles Wilson's Fourteen points came into conflict with the Secret Treaties of the Peace Congress So Wilson's Fourteen Points had not fared well. Only five (No.7, 8, 10, 12 &14) were put into effect as sated. The others were either carried out in a manner to benefit the Allies or were disregarded.

## **PEACE OF PARIS**

### **Paris Peace Conference**

The First World War ended by the Armistice in 11 Nov., 1918. The peace Conference was held at Paris in the early months of 1919, to consider and decide about the final peace terms.

On 18 Jan., 1919, the Peace Congress held its inaugural session at Paris. The Congress was a brilliant assemblage of the foremost men of the Allied countries - except Russia. But no representative of the Central powers was admitted to the conference. The participants of Allied countries included Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France (the old 'tiger' of French politics); Marshal foch, French Commander; Woodrow Wilson, the President of U.S.A; Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England and Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy; Marquis Saionji, the Prime Minister of Japan. For several months the Principal decisions were made by the 'Big Four' – Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando and Wilson . The draft of the proposed peace treaty with Germany was endorsed by the Congress in it session on May 6, 1919. On 28 June, in the Hall of Mirrors in the stately old palace of Luois XIV, the Treaty of Versailles was signed by the representatives of Germany and of 31 nations leagued against Germany. It is to be pointed out here that it was in this Hall of Mirrors, in Versailles, in 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed and it was also in this

place the allied powers dictated their humiliating decisions to Germany. (Versailles lies 12 miles southwest of Paris).

The final terms of peace were embodied in a series of treaties. However, the treaty of Versailles with Germany gave the name to the whole settlement. All the treaties took their names from one of the suburbs of Paris.

### **Treaties of Versailles**

The Allies concluded the treaty of Versailles with Germany. The terms of the treaty were harsh and terrible.

- Germany was to lose Alsace – Lorraine to France
- The Towns of Eupen and Malmedy were ceded to Belgium.
- Most of Posen and a strip through West Prussia the so – called ‘**Corridor**’ were ceded to Poland.
- After holding a plebiscite Germany was to lose upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland and Schleswig to Denmark.
- Danzig and important port of Germany became an internationalized ‘**free – city**’.
- Germany was deprived of her colonies. The German colonies were later apportioned among the allies as ‘mandates’ of the League of Nations.
- Memel, a port city was granted to Lithuania.
- The rich coal – producing area of the Saar was granted to France for 15 years.

Apart from the territorial clauses there were a number of other important sections. Militarily, Germany promised to reduce its army to 100,000 men. She was to abolish Conscription. Her navy was considerably reduced. She lost her air force and submarines. She was forbidden to use heavy weapons. The **Rhineland was demilitarised** and certain points were occupied by allied forces.

The Germans had also to sign (war-guilt) clauses acknowledging their responsibility in starting the war. The war- guilt clause of the Peace of Versailles stated that the war had been imposed on them (the Allies) by the aggression of Germany and her Allies”. The treaty forced them to make financial reparations “for all damage done to civilian population of the Allies and their property”. A Reparation Commission was set up to determine the amount that should be demanded from Germany. Mean while Germany was to pay the equivalent of nearly \$5,000,000,000. In 1921, the Reparation Commission fixed the amount as

Until the Treaty of Versailles was fully executed, the Allied armies should continue to occupy the left bank of the Rhine and be bridgeheads on the right bank of **Cologne, Coblenz** and Mainz.

### **Other Peace of Treaties**

**Treaty of St. German:** Austria signed a peace treaty with the Allies at St. German on 10 Sep., 1919. “The treaty of St. Germain with Austria was almost as harsh as that of Versailles”.

- Austria lost the southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, the Trentino and two small islands to Italy.
- Bosnia and Herzegovina were ceded to Yugoslavia.

- Bohemisa, Moravia, Most of Austrian Silesia and part of Austrian Province were ceded to Czechoslovakia.
- Galicia was given to Poland.
- The Bukavina was given to Rumania.

The huge Austian empire was, thus, broken up and reduced to a small area round Vienna. **“Big Austria became little Austria “**. **“It has almost disappeared from the Map”**. Austria had to promise that it would not unite in the future with Germany. It was deprived of seaports, its army was restricted 30,000 men. It was to pay such indemnity as the Reparations commission should determine.

**Treaty of Neuilly:** Bulgaria signed a treaty with the Allies on 27 Nov., 1919 at Nuilly. By this treaty Bulgaria lost all the Aegean coast to Greece, the greater part of Macedonia to Yugoslavia and Dobruza to Rumania. Bulgaria promised to pay an indemnity of almost half a billion dollars and to reduce its army to 33,000 men. This treaty made Bulgaria one of the weakest of the Balkan powers.

**Treaty of the Trianon”** The Allies signed a treaty with Hungary at the Trianon Palace at Versailles on 4 June 1920. By the treaty Hungary lost the Slovak provinces to Czechoslovakia. Transylvania and a strip of land to the west of it were ceded to Rumania. The Banat was divided between Yugoslavia and Rumania. **Croatia** was yield to Yugoslavia. Hungary the lost more than two - thirds of her territory. The army of Hungary was cut to 35,000 men and the Navy reduced to a few patra boats. She was made liable for reparation through a guard clause.

**Treaty of Sevres:** Turkey signed a treaty at with the Allies on 10 Aug., 1920. By this treaty. The states of Palestine Mesopotamia (Iraq), the Trans –Jordan area and Syria were to be detached from the Ottoman Empire. The first three would be made ‘mandatories’ of Great Britain and the fourth (Syria) would be made mandatory of France.

The Treaty contracted the mightly Ottoman Empire into a petty Turkish state retaining the city of Constantinople and the interior of Asia Minor. But the Turkish nationalist under the leadership of **Mustafa Kemal** refused to ratify the was the Treaty, as it was found to be humiliating. The Treaty of Sevres was therefore revised by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). The five Neuilly, Treaty of the Trianon, Treaty of Sevres – made up the Peace of Paris.

### **A Critical Estimate of the Peace Settlement**

The Peace Settlement contained the following defects

- The Terms of the peace treaty with Germany were harsh and severe. Though Germany had a great part of historical responsibility for the war of 1914 – 18, the terms of the peace treaty were highly humiliating. The Treaty reduced the European area of Germany to one eighth.

Germany lost her colonial empire. She was disarmed and heavily mortgaged. The decisions with regard to the reparation ment with much adverse comment. The Germans denounced the treaty as a peace designed to destroy their country the Germany could not pay the ‘impossibly’ high reparation amount and the humiliation and injustice of the peace settlement led and Germany as a revengeful nation. The treaty set Germany of a road that would lead her to a terrible war. That is why it has been said that, **“the seed for the Second World War is sown in the treaty of Versailles”**.

- Germany and her associates had agreed to the armistice on the assumption that the peace terms would be based on Wilson's Fourteen Points. But in the peace Settlement only five points were put into effect. The others were carried out in a manner to benefit the Allies as were disregarded

- The treaties were not negotiated but dictated by the victorious powers.
- Disarmament of the defeated nations was ordered but this was not followed by any similar measure on the part of the victors. Competition in armaments began again and the possibility of future wars could not be ignored.

- Under the territorial provisions of the treaty seven new states (or 'succession' states) came into being – Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. However, the idea of truly national frontiers was not entirely carried out. Italy gained Lower Tyrol, containing 250,000 Germans. In Poland there were 10,000,000 who were not Poles, including 2,500,000 Germans. Czechoslovakia included a considerable number of **Sudeten Germans**. **“The treaty created as many problems as it solved”**.

**“Yet if much can be said in criticism of the peace, much more can be said in its praise”.**

- The Treaty had done much to liberate oppressed peoples; Poles and Croats, Czechs, Finns and Alsacians were freed from alien rule.
- The holding of plebiscites in certain regions ensured that their future should be ordered in accordance with the wishes of the majority.
- By the system of 'Mandates' in some of the German and Turkish possessions the rights of peoples of a lower degree of civilization were recognised.
- The most valuable feature of the treaties, however, was that which was devoted to the establishment of a League of Nations for the preservation of peace in the world.

In a sense the Peace of Versailles was a high failure; only twenty years elapsed (1919 – 1939) before Europe and the world was plunged again into the Second World War. It is true that there was a spirit of vengeance surrounding the deliberations in Paris in 1919 and the Peace of Paris was not generous enough to help the vanquished.

## **LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

### **Origin**

The League of Nations was an international organisation. It was created in 1920 to maintain peace among the nations of the world. The idea of a League of Nations for the preservation of peace was mooted by President Wilson in the fourteen of his 'Fourteen Points'.

“A general association of nations must be formed under specific Covenants for the purpose of affording guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity”.

The victors of First World War drew up a Covenant (written constitution) for the League of Nations in 1919. President Wilson was its chief planner. The Covenant was made an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. The first twenty six articles of the treaty of



Versailles embraced the Covenant of the League. The League had its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. The League's first meeting was held at Paris on 16 Jan., 1920.

### **Aims**

The purposes of the Leagues on Nations were the following

- To prevent war.
- To achieve international peace and security,
- To discharge certain special duties imposed by the peace treaties of 1919 – 1920 and
- To promote international co-operation.

Of these purposes, the main one was the prevention of the war.

**International Court of Justice (World Court):** This was the Judicial body of the League. It was founded in 1921. It had its seat at The Hague, Holland. It was a permanent body. It consisted of 15 Judges appointed for a term of 9 years by the joint action of the League's Council and Assembly. It was empowered to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties submit to it. It would also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

**International Labour Organization (ILO):** The League Covenant provided for an autonomous International Labour Organization. The ILO was established in 1919. Its headquarters were in Geneva.

The ILO was dedicated to the maintenance of fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children in all countries. Germany and Austria were members of ILO from the outset and both the United States and Soviet Union joined it in 1934. (The ILO became a specialized agency of the United Nations after the dissolution of the League).

### **Other functions of the League**

In addition to preventing war and organizing peace the League was to perform the following tasks:

It was to supervise the plebiscites in Schleswig, East Prussia and Upper Silesia.

It was to administer the free city of Danzig.

It was to govern the Saar for 15 years and then to hold a plebiscite.

It was to oversee the enforcement of the special treaty provisions concerning 'minority rights'.

It was to supervise the mandatory system.

It was charged with promoting co-operation in matters of general humanitarian concern. For this purpose there were Special commissions.

## **Achievements of the League of Nations**

The League of Nations was founded in 1920. The League until its dissolution in 1946 performed many valuable works.

In the first decade of its existence the League achieved enough success in solving many international disputes. It was successful in stopping several wars which were on the point of breaking out. It handled more than thirty serious political disputes. The following were some of the disputes settled by the League.

The Aaland Islands lie in the Baltic Sea between Sweden and Finland. There were quarrels between these countries over the possession of Aaland Islands. This was referred to the League of Nations. The League settled this dispute by the League.

There was a dispute between Poland and Germany The boundary line which should be drawn was referred to the League in 1921 and the probe was adjusted by a compromise.

## **League of Nations**

After the First World War, Iraq became the mandated territory of Great Britain. There was a dispute over the ownership of the rich oil fields of Mosul between Great Britain as mandatory for Iraq and Turkey. The League solved the dispute in 1926 ub favour of Great Britain.

The World Court settled many cases and gave several other opinions. The League governed the Saar for 15 years. It to Germany. The League administered Danzig until the Nazis obtained control of the city in 1939.

## **Economic and Humanitarian Works of the League**

The Leagues organized economic aid for both Austria and Hungary.

The ILO made recommendations for the improvement of working conditions throughout the world and promoted labour legislation. It did much to raise the status of workers everywhere.

The special commissions of the Leagues fought the illegal trade in narcotics, suppressed slavery and cared for refugees. An international health commission inspected ports and established quarantine centnres to prevent the spread of disease. In all these matters the Leagues worked to help the downtrodden peoples of the world.

## **Mandate System:**

According to the mandate system Germany's African possessions were divided among France, Great Britain, Belgium and the Union of South Africa. Germany's Pacific possessions north of the equator went to Japan and that south of the equator to two nations – Australia and New Zealand. Turkey's possessions of Palestine, Trans – Jordan and Iraq were given to Great Britain and Syria (including Lebanon) was given to France.

The Countries which accepted the mandated territories undertook the government and guardianship of territories with a view to their political and economic development. It was hoped that in due course the peoples ruled under mandates would make such progress that a continuance of the system would be unnecessary. The League of Nations appointed a commission to supervise the mandate system.

The League's mandate system came to an end in 1947. By that time several of the mandated territories had become Independent. The remaining mandated territories were placed under the U.N. trusteeship system. "The League's system mandated territories was the fore-runner of the United Nations Trusteeship System".

### **Failure of the League of Nations**

In the first decade of its existence the League was successful in stopping several wars which were on the point of breaking out. It has to be pointed out here that the early success of the League was gained by its action in disputes in which the states concerned were small. But as soon as a major power was involved in dispute the League proved quite powerless.

In 1931, Japan, in defiance of all League principles attacked China and established the puppet state of Manchuria. The League failed to act against Japan and this was real commencement of its decline.

In the 1935, Mussolini launched his attack on Ethiopia. The League discussed the Ethiopian problem and after some months imposed 'economic sanctions'. Members agreed to stop all imports from Italy and to send no money or war materials to Italy. But the League failed to prevent Italy's conquest to Ethiopia.

The League remained as a passive observer when Hitler remilitarized the Rhine land and annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia.

It was a task of the League to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments. But the League signally failed to persuade the great powers of the world to reduce their armaments. The Disarmament Conference of 1932 ended in failure and the powers of the world engaged in an armament race and made the road to Second World War.

The supreme aim of the League was preventing war. But the League failed in its purpose. The Second World War broke out in 1939 and this marked the final failure of the League.

### **Causes for the Failure of the League of Nations**

**Absence of three major powers:** Woodrow Wilson, the President of United States was the chief planner of the League of Nations. He got other countries to agree to his plans for the League. But the members of the Senate of the U.S. differed over the terms on which the U.S. would join the League. It therefore refused to ratify the Covenant of the League. In the Presidential elections (1920), a Democratic candidate who had campaigned on Wilson's peace programme was defeated. After that the League was a dead issue in the U.S. Perhaps the League would have functioned much more successfully. If the U.S. had joined the League. American abstention in the League left Great Britain and France face to face in the

League with no power of equal stature to mediate between them and adjust their views. “The League was ruined by the failure of the U.S. to take an active role in its affairs”.

Germany and other former enemy states were not included in the original list of the League. Germany a great power in the world was not admitted until 1926. She became a member of the League in 1926 and left it after seven years (1933). Japan withdrew from the League in the same year. Russia, another great power was not admitted until 1934 and in 1939 it was expelled from the League for attacking Finland. The absence of the three major powers – the U.S. Russia and Germany – left Britain, France and Italy as the only major powers to be members of the League. But these three major powers – Britain, France and Italy – were divided among themselves both by national interests and by differing attitude toward Germany and also toward the very purposes of the League. Italy also left the League in 1937. “The League was weakened by the non-adhesion or the withdrawal of several of the great powers of the world”.

**Machinery of the League:** It has been said that the machinery of the League was ill-adapted to the purpose of keeping peace. In its Assembly every member had equal representation and an equal vote. Peace keeping recommendations of the Council had to be by unanimous vote. The rulers of equality and unanimity gave even the smallest state a power of veto over any collective action of the whole League.

The chief functions of the Council were to hear and consider disputes referred to it, and to report and give advice about what the Assembly should do. It had no power of independent action. “These arrangements were clearly ill-suited to taking action”.

**Failure to honour treaty obligations:** As per the Preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the League members agreed not to resort to war and to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security. But many powers violated treaties and ignored pledges. In 1931, Japan, a permanent member of the Council, in defiance of all league principles, attacked China. In 1935, Italy another permanent member of the Council launched its attack on Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

“Perhaps the most sinister reason for the decline of the League lay in the refusal of great powers to honour their pledges and obligations”.

The League failed because the member nations failed to observe the rules of the organization.

**Absence of Military power:** The League had no military and administrative power to enforce its will upon recalcitrant states. When Japan attacked China the League remained as a passive observer. In the case of Italy’s invasion of Abyssinia, the League applied ‘economic sanctions’, but this ‘weapon’ failed to prevent Italy’s conquest of Abyssinia.

In the post-war world the spirit of nationalism proved to be as strong as ever. Since each of the great powers was primarily concerned with its own selfish aim, the hopeful experiments of the League turned out a failure.

To the Germans the Treaty of Versailles was highly humiliating. The Peace Settlement left Germany as a revengeful nation. Further, the Peace Settlement could not apply the Principle of Self-determination completely. The Peace Settlement of Paris therefore contained the seeds of future conflict with which the League was inadequately equipped to deal.

The League was formally dissolved in April 1946, and the Nations took its place.

### **Importance of the League of Nations**

The importance of the League of Nations lay in the fact that it established a precedent for world order. It was the first important step in a system of permanent, organized international co-operation. It was on the foundation of the League another international structure i.e., the United Nations was erected.

## **LOCARNO PACT**

### **Circumstance leading to the signing of the Pact**

According to the terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty, Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France. This clause of the Treaty gave the French the fear of the probable German revenge on France. Germany also had the fear of French designs on the Rhineland. In order to promote the security of their nations the foreign ministers of Germany and France – Stresemann, Briand – started negotiations in a mutually conciliatory attitude. The British foreign minister Chamberlain encouraged these negotiations and persuaded the Italian Government to do likewise. In October, 1925 delegates from seven countries Britain, France, Germany Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland met at Locarno Pacts. These treaties were formally signed in London in December 1, 1925.

### **Main features of the Pact**

Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Belgium ‘severally and collectively’ guaranteed the Western frontier of Germany (frontier between France and Germany and between Belgium and Germany) and the provisions of Versailles concerning the demilitarized Rhine zone. This was called **Rhineland Security Pact**

Germany, France and Belgium undertook not to resort to war against each other and to settle by peaceful means “all questions of every kind which may arise between them” Britain and Italy would come to the help of the party attacked if this undertaking should be broken.

France would guarantee the frontiers between Germany and Poland and between Germany and Czechoslovakia. Germany undertook to submit to arbitration any disputes arising over these frontiers.

The treaty was to go into effect immediately upon Germany's entry into the League of Nations.

### **Significance of the Pact**

The Locarno treaties were the first successful attempt to recognize impartially the needs of both Germany and France. For the first time since the Great War, Germany had made a negotiated treaty with her former enemies. She had accepted the loss of Alsace and Lorraine as final. The treaty strengthened the peace settlement of 1919. It reflected the improved relationship between Germany and France.

“The treaties undoubtedly contributed to the general pacification of Europe” (That was why Stresemann and Briand were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of 1926).

One direct result of the Locarno Pact was that Germany joined the League of Nations in 1926. The fact that Britain had not guaranteed the eastern frontiers of Germany was a limitation of this pact.

### **Kellogg – Briand Pact**

#### **Circumstances leading to the signing of the Pact**

In 1927 Briand, the Foreign Minister of France communicated to Kellogg the American secretary of State, a draft treaty for the renunciation of war between their two countries. Kellogg proposed in turn that the pact should be widened to include all nations and Briand agreed. The Outcome was the Kellogg Briand Pact Delegates from 15 nations (including Great Britain France, the U.S. Germany, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland) signed the Pact at Paris on August 27, 1928. (It was an interesting fact to note that the nations signed the Pact with a heavy gold pen which bore the inscription “if you want peace, prepare for peace”). The Kellogg – Briand Pact was officially called Pact of Paris. An invitation was tendered to every other state to accede to the Pact. By 1933, 65 nations signed the Pact.

#### **Main features of the Pact**

The Pact forbade any resort to war ‘as an instrument of national policy.

It declared that the settlement of disputes should never be sought except by **Pacific means**.

#### **Significance of the Pact**

The Kellogg – Briand Pact was a well – intentioned undertaking. The pact was hailed as a decisive victory for pacifism. The ‘Spirit of Locarno’ contributed to the general pacification of Europe and the process of pacification was carried still one stage further by the Kellogg – Briand Pact. (For Kellogg's Contribution to World Peace, the Nobel Peace Prize committee awarded Kellogg, the Nobel Peace Prize of 1929.)

It must be pointed out here that though the Pact condemned all wars it made no means no for its enforcement “The Kellogg – Pact has been ineffective in practice every time it has been invoked”. If the Pact had been effectively enforced Germany could not have remilitarized the Rhineland; she could not have annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia. Italy could not have annexed Ethiopia.

### **Bolshevik Revolution**

The year 1917 is significant in the history of mankind. It saw a great revolution in Russia. The revolution is called as **Bolshevik Revolution**. The Bolshevik belonged to a political party in Russia. As the Bolsheviks carried out this revolution, the Revolution is called after the Party’s name. “The Russian Revolution is one of the momentous events of modern history”. Here we shall see how this great revolution occurred in Russia.

#### **Causes of the Revolution**

**The autocracy of Tsarist regime:** The Tsars were the emperors of Russia. The Tsars of Romanov family ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917. The government of Russia under the Tsars was autocratic. It failed to introduce the needed reforms. Tsar Alexander II (1855 – 1881) introduced some pleasing reforms to the people. But the reigns of the next two Tsars- Alexander III, Nicholas II – saw an increase in the repression of any ideas held contrary to Tsarist rule. To Alexander III (1881 – 1894), the successor of Alexander II, “**anything resembling democracy was like a disease that had to be stamped out**”.

Nicholas II became the Tsar of Russia in 1894. He was the last Tsar of Russia. The autocracy required firm leadership. But Nicholas II was a weak ruler. He acted on the advice of his wife, Tsarina Alexandra. The Tsarina was guided by Rasputin, the ‘holy man’ – but the holy man had little to do with holiness who was saving his sick son’s life. The aggressive policy of the Tsar brought Russia into conflict with Japan. In the Russo – Japanese War of 1904 – 05, the Russians were disastrously defeated by the Japanese. After the defeat of Russia in the war with Japan, there had revolutionary out – breaks all over the country. But the first attempt of the Russians to overthrow the Tsar’s autocratic rule in 1905 was not successful and it was put down with great cruelty. On seeing the revolutionary spirit of his people, the Tsar allowed a parliament or Duma and introduced some reforms. But the Tsar gradually withdrew the powers granted to the Duma and the suppression of the people continued. (Due to the influence of Rasputin, Nicholas had removed many capable men from high government offices) In 1916, Rasputin the ‘court’ evil genius’ was murdered by a group of noblemen. But even after Rasputin’s murder the Tsar and Tsarina ruled as they had before. Thus the autocratic rule of the Tsarist regime was greatly responsible for the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. “The most fundamental cause of the revolution was the Tsarist system itself.”

**The condition of Russian peasants and workers:** The great mass of the Russian population were predominantly peasants. On the eve of First World War, peasants comprised roughly 80% of Russia’s population. But the peasants were oppressed socially and economically. About half of the country’s land was in the hands of landlords about one third

of the peasantry was completely landless. The technical level of agriculture was barbarously low. No major agrarian reform was also attempted. The successive mobilizations of 1914 – 1916 deprived farming of nearly half of its man-power. The resulted in the decline in production. Thus the disorganizing effects of the war heightened the explosive mood of the peasantry. They were Hungry for more land and more food. **“The Russian Revolution was the elemental expression of long pent-up hatred and desires on the part of the Peasants”**.

**The Condition of industrial workers:** The growth of industry took place in Russia towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The industrialization of Russia increased the number of factory workers. But the plight of Russia’s industrial workers was deplorable. The workers were discontented and susceptible to revolutionary propaganda.

**Revolutionary propaganda:** Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) was a German economist and socialist. ‘Das Capital’ was his famous book. According to Marxist theory the state should control the industries of a country and that the working classes should control the state. Karl Marx’s socialist ideals appealed to the Russian working class people who were looking for an alternative form of government to that of Tsars. In 1898, a **Social Democratic Workmen’s Party** was formed which spread the revolutionary ideas of Marx’s in Russia. In 1903, a division arose among the socialists of Russia. One group believed that the state could be turned towards socialism by peaceful means another section was in favour of violence. Those who favoured violence were known as Bolsheviks (those of majority) and those who favoured a peaceful approach Mensheviks (those of minority). Lenin was the father of Bolshevism. Lenin and other socialist leaders (Trotsky, Stalin and others) were arrested by the Tsar and kept as prisoners in Siberia or they were exiled. But the socialists worked secretly got ‘smuggled’ books and propagated the socialist views among the Russians. The intellectuals provided inspiration for revolutionary programmes of all kinds and gave leadership to the revolutionary movement. The socialists decided to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy and to establish a socialist society in Russia. **“The ideas that attracted the revolting Russians came mostly from Karl Marx”**.

**Impact of First World War:** The First World War began in 1914. Russia joined the Allies and began the war in the eastern front; Tsar Nicholas II raised a gigantic army of 15 million men. But the Russian army was very badly equipped. With the exception of one victory in 1916, the Russian army had to endure a succession of defeats. About 4 million men died in the battles of the Great War.

The war brought the people incalculable hardships. Millions of ordinary people. Workers and peasants lost their lives on the numerous battle fronts. Their wives and children, deprived of their breadwinners were left to go hungry. As the economy of Tsarist Russia was equipped to take the burden of the war, the war-strain on the economy and food –shortages were very severe. This was one of the causes for the Russian Revolution.



## **The March Revolution of 1917**

The First World War brought incalculable hardships to the people of Russia. The Russian economy could not meet the needs of the soldiers and also those of the people at home. Food supplies were running very low. There was a fuel shortage in the Capital. As a result the popular discontentment against the Government of Tsar Nicholas II sharply increased.

On 8 – 10 March (February in the Russian Calendar then in existence) there were strikes, bread-riots and street demonstrations in the Capital – Petrograd (formally St. Petersburg established by Peter the Great in 1703, later Leningrad). This movement grew into a mass popular protest against the Government There were shouts of “down with autocracy”. On 11 March there was street fighting all day in various parts of the capital. From the capital the revolt spread to the provinces. On 12 March (27 February in the Russian Calendar) the city regiments also went over to the side of the revolution. Soldiers shared their weapons and ammunition with the workers. The revolting regiment and workers broke into the jails and freed the political prisoners. Tsarist ministers and Generals were placed under arrest. By the evening of 12, March the capital (Petrograd) was in the hands of the revolting people, who formed a Soviet or “Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies”. On March 14, a Provisional Government headed Prince Lvov was formed. On March 15, the Tsar was forced to abdicate and the Tsarist regime in Russia came to an abrupt end.

## **The Bolsheviks Revolution under Lenin’s leadership**

The Bolsheviks were extreme Marxist Socialists. The leader of Bolsheviks was Vladimir Ulyanov, generally known by his pen-name of Lenin. Lenin was born in Simbirsk, Russia in 1870. His father was a Director of Schools. Lenin was a brilliant student at school. He received a law degree in 1891. By this time he was absorbed in the study of Marxism. In 1893 he moved to St. Petersburg and became a leader of a Marxist revolutionary group. In 1895 he was arrested in St. Petersburg for his Marxist propaganda. He was exiled to Siberia in 1897 by the Tsarist Government. His exile ended in January 1900. He left Russia in 1900 and till 1905 he lived abroad. In 1903 a division arose among the Socialists of Russia – Bolsheviks and Mensheviks - and Lenin became the leader of Bolsheviks. He produced a revolutionary newspaper called Iskra (the Spark). He left Russia once more in 1907 and between 1907 and 1917 he spent his life in abroad. He organized underground work in Russia and strengthened the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks.

When the revolution of March, 1917, occurred in Russia Lenin was in Switzerland. In the March Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks did not play an important role. By this time they were outnumbered by the more moderate Marxists. The Provisional Government set up in Russia after the March Revolution was not strong enough to get support of the dissatisfied workers.

In April, 1917 Lenin returned from exile in Switzerland under safe conduct from the German Government. (The German calculation was that any further revolutionary upset in Russia would be their advantage in the world War). Lenin wanted to change the revolution

that had already taken place into a revolution of workers – Proletariat Revolution - and to set up a Government based on the teachings of Karl Marx. To Lenin the provisional Government was a Government still firmly in the hands of capitalists and the landowners. Lenin's simple programme was designed to appeal to the war – weary and hungry Russians. He called for an end to the war. His slogans were “peace. Land and Bread”. “All powers to the soviets”. Land to the peasants, food to the starving and peace with Germany – this was what the people wanted above everything else. Soon the membership of the Bolsheviks increased. In July, 1917, revolutionary riots and disorders broke out in Petrograd and several Bolsheviks were arrested and Lenin fled to Finland. After the July riots, Kerensky a moderate socialist, who was already a minister in Prince Lvov's Provisional Government, became its leader.

From his hiding place in Finland, Lenin prepared his followers in Russia for armed insurrection. By September, 1917 the Bolsheviks controlled the Soviets in Petrograd, Moscow and several other cities. Lenin returned to Petrograd in October 1917. He wanted to speed up the armed insurrection. His attitude was shared by ten members of the Central Committee of his party Trotsky, Stalin and others. Trotsky was one of the leading figures among the Bolsheviks second only to Lenin. He was the Bolshevik president of the Petrograd Soviet. Stalin was also a good assistant of Lenin.

### **The November Revolution**

On, 6 November (24 October in the Russian Calendar then in existence) armed workers known as Red Guards, together with sympathetic regular troops occupied rail-roads, stations and other strategic points in Petrograd, The next day – 7 November – they stormed the Winter palace the seat of the Provisional Government. They found Kerensky had already fled. They arrested many officials and became masters of the capital. There had been comparatively little bloodshed during the November Revolution. In Moscow the Bolsheviks won the Kremlin by 15 November. The spirit of this successful Revolution soon spread and everywhere in Russia the local Soviets seized power, Lenin, a revolutionary genius, thus accomplished his ideal of establishing a Proletariat dictatorship in Russia.

“The day of 7 November 1917 (or 25 Oct in old Russian Calendar) stands as a huge and indestructible landmark in the annals of mankind”.

#### **Some Events after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917**

The November Revolution of 1917 was only the first stage on the road to Bolshevik victory. It took for years (1917 – 1921) before Bolshevik Revolution was truly won.

Immediately after the November Revolution a Council of People's Commissars was appointed. Lenin was made Chairman of the Council and became head of the new Soviet state. Trotsky was the Commissar for foreign affairs. Stalin and Rykov were members.

In December, 1917, Cheka or a secret police organization was established to deal with “enemies of the Revolution”. The Constituent Assembly which met in January, 1918, was dismissed by force. In that year (1918) the capital was transferred to Moscow.

For the sake of war – weary soldiers Lenin took Russia out of the World War and concluded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918. But between 1918 and 1920 a bloody civil war went on between the Bolsheviks or reds and the whites or the anti – Bolsheviks. The whites received considerable help from Western countries, However the Bolsheviks with the help of the Red Army of Trotsky crushed all the opposition.

Until his death in 1924, Lenin worked hard to complete the conversion of Russia to Communism. Private factories were confiscated and transformed into Government institutions. The land was nationalized. In 1921 Lenin introduced the New Economic policy – partial readmission of Capitalism - to suit the conditions of the country. In 1922 Russia became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.). Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism and the founder of the U.S.S.R. died in 1924. After his death, Stalin became head of the Government.

### **The Effects of Russian Revolution**

- The Romanov dynasty had been ruling Russia since 1613. The Russian Revolution of 1917 put an end to the 300year old dynasty. After the march Revolution of 1917 the Tsar abdicated and in 1918 he and family were murdered.
- The Bolsheviks who wanted peace at costs signed a peace treaty with the Germans in March, 1918. The Bolshevik Revolution thus ended the Russian participation in the War and brought peace to the war-weary land.
- The Bolshevik Revolution produced the first Communist State in the world. “It created new political model different from anything previously in existence”. The establishment of Socialist regime openly challenged the fundamental ideals and institutions of western society.
- The Revolution produced a set of revolutionary ideas that reached into many countries and decisively affected the course of World History. **“The Russian Revolution did for Eastern Europe what the French Revolution in an earlier age had done for the Western half of the Continent”**.
- Like the French Revolution of 1789, the Russian Revolution radically altered the domestic social and political order, **A proletariat dictatorship** was established in Russian factories were taken over by the workers. Banks and mines were nationalized. Private ownership of land had been outlawed.
- The Bolshevik Revolution engendered a savage **Civil War in** Russia between 1918 and 1920. There had been comparatively little bloodshed during the November Revolution. But the civil war caused the death of some 20 million men.
- By the beginning of 1917 the Government of Tsarist Russia approached complete ‘paralyses. But the Bolshevik revolution (November, 1917) initiated Russia’s extraordinary ascendancy as a World power.

## **Unit – IV**

### **Fascist Italy – Mussolini**

Fascism is a political theory, strongly nationalist, anticommunist, and anti-democratic in nature. The fascists worked toward constructing a totalitarian state. Fascist held power in two countries, Italy and Germany, though fascist parties developed in France, Austria and elsewhere. In this chapter we shall see the events leading to the rise and fall of Fascism in Italy.

#### **Italy in 1918**

In the First World War Italy fought on the side of the Allies. But the Italian army performed badly, Italy's defeat at Caporetto in October, 1917 shocked the people of Italy. Italy's share of the spoils of war also seemed inadequate to the people.

The Post – war Italy's economic conditions were bad and the country was relatively poor. The majority of citizens were suffering from inflation and unemployment. The Government of the Liberal Party Proposed some reforms but they were inadequate. People were losing faith in the Parliamentary system which was less than fifty years old in that country.

In the 1919 November elections many voters turned to the Socialists hoping that they would do something about the worsening economic condition of the country. The Italian Socialists secured 156 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, out of a total of 574. The socialists not only demonstrated in the Chamber against a ment against the existing economic order. They conducted strikes and committed sabotage. It was upon this scene of confusion, discontent and fear of Bolshevism that Mussolini, with was considered as the Lenin of Italian revolution appeared in the political crisis of Italy.

#### **Career of Mussolini**

Benito – Mussolini was born in 1883 at Predappio. Northern Italy. His mother was a school mistress and his father a blacksmith. When he came of age he became a Marxist. In 1912 he became the editor of the Socialist Party newspaper 'Avanti' Milan. He had been a prominent figure in the socialist movement of Italy till 1914. In 1914 the majority of Socialist Party leader in Italy opposed Italy participation in the First World War. As Mussolini advocated the participation he was expelled from the party. He served in the Great War as a corporal until he was injured in an accident in 1917.

#### **Fascist Movement in Italy**

After the war, Mussolini wanted to establish a dictatorship in Italy. As the Italian socialists refused to follow him, he formed an anti-socialist group. He enlisted the support of ex-soldiers, unemployed youth, youthful, intellectuals, property, owners and in 1919 formed a political party the Fascists. (The name was derived from the Latin 'fasces' a bundle of sticks encircling an axe used in ancient Rome as a symbol of authority).

The two purposes of Mussolini were (1) propagating his brand of nationalism and (2) fighting Communists. He urged the Italian people to rebuild the glories of ancient Rome. His party men wore black shirts and were subjected to military discipline Party organization

spread throughout the industrial towns of Italy. At first the movement made little progress: in the election of November, 1919 the Fascists did not get any seat in the Italian Parliament. Even Mussolini was badly defeated in Milan. The sufferings of the people due to post-war inflation and unemployment the inadequate reforms of the ruling Liberal government of the threat of Communism, the nationalist appeals of Mussolini efficient party organization of the Fascists,- these were the factors that contributed to the rapid progress of the Fascists movement during 1921 – 22. In the National Election of 1921 Mussolini and his followers won 35 seats in the chamber of Deputies. In the early period of 1922, the Black Shirts drove by force the elected Socialist governments from Italy's northern industrial cities.

### **The Famous March on Rome**

In October, 1922, the Fascists held a Congress at Naples. It was determined to march on Rome in order to secure control of the Government. Facta the Prime Minister of Italy, urged Victor Emmanuel III, the Constitutional King of Italy, to declare martial law. But the King refused. On 26 October the Fascists about 50,000 in number, entered Rome in triumph. King Victor Emmanuel invited Mussolini to form a new ministry. On 27, October Premier Facta resigned and the ruling Government of Italy surrendered to Mussolini without a fight. At the end of October 1922, Mussolini, the Fascist leader or 'Il Duce' became the Prime Minister of Italy. In November 1922, the action of Mussolini was ratified by the Italian Parliament.

### **Fascist Rule in Italy**

**Establishment of dictatorship:** The Fascists under the leadership of Mussolini ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943. The Parliamentary Deputies who had surrendered to the threat of Black Shirts granted Mussolini dictatorial power for one year. When Mussolini became the Prime Minister in October 1922, the Fascist Party was a small minority in Parliament. But the Fascist Government enacted new electoral laws favourable to the Fascist. Political opponents were imprisoned or silenced. By the end of 1924 a dictatorship of Mussolini and the Fascists was established in Italy. The Fascists thus put an end to the Political democracy that was previously practiced in Italy.

Mussolini exercised wide and dictatorial powers. He was the real ruler of Italy. He who was the Prime Minister of Italy was also the Chairman of the Grand Council of the Fascist Party In fact the Fascist Party became the state. **“The machinery the Fascist party and that of the Italian state were the closely interlocked”.**

**Economic reforms:** Economic self – sufficiency Fascist policy and goal. The Fascist government to the following measures towards attaining that goal. ` `

- Financial conditions were improved during the first eight years. Many international debts were paid. The **“Battle of Lira”** was devised by which wage cuts helped the offset the worst effects of the slump of 1929 – 33.
- Efforts were made to reduce the country's dependence upon foreign imports. The **“Battle of Grain”** successfully reduced imports to one sixth.

- New public works were launched; reforestation was undertaken: swamp lands were reclaimed. Production of hydro-electric power was increased. Ancient monuments were repaired – all these work helped to ease unemployment problem.
- Banks were nationalized; wages and prices were fixed overtime work was abolished.
- Ship – building became a government enterprise. Palatial steamships were built for transoceanic service. The Italian merchant marine was expanded.

The Radio industry was fostered; Railway services were improved. Airplanes were manufactured and increasingly utilised for passenger and mail service throughout the country. New cable lines were laid.

- Non-Fascist trade unions were abolished. Strikes and lock – outs were prohibited. Industries were organized in “**Corporation**” in which representatives of workers, employers, the government and the Fascist Party decided matters relating to wages, hours and general conditions of work. The **Corporative system** was introduced in order to bring all important sectors of Italian economic life under the disciplined control of the Fascist Party and of the state.
- The “Demographic Battle” encouraged large families and increased the country’s population.

**Education:** By 1921 about a fourth of Italy’s population literate. The Fascists attacked this problem by allotting education budgets and by increasing the number of schools. Providing compulsory attendance was rigorously enforced. But illiteracy was considerably reduced. In 1935 it was less than a fifth and in Northern Italy it was fast reaching zero. Great stress in the schools was given on training for Fascist citizenship. Fascist in principle and aim were curricula and text books.

Religion: “Roman Question” War between France and Prussia in 1870 led France to withdraw French troops that were protecting Rome for the Pope. After the French troops had left Rome, the Italians seized the city (1870) and completed the unification of Italy. Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy in 1871. The Italian occupation of Rome ended Pope’s **temporal power** in the city. Pope Pius IX retired to the Vatican and protested against his loss of temporal power. (Vatican is the residence of Pope in Rome). The pope became a ‘Prisoner of Vatican’. The Italian government offered to make a large annual payment to the pope. But the offer was not accepted. The Pope also did not recognize the Kingdom of Italy. He directed Italian Catholics to abstain from participation in the Political life of the Kingdom. All Popes., who succeeded Pius IX also followed this policy (until 1929). This was called the ‘Roman Question’.

**Lateran Treaty and Concordat with Pope:** To Mussolini the ‘Roman Question’ was “a throne in the flesh of the nation”. Though he was an atheist, he wanted to gain the support of the Pope and the Catholics in Italy for his Fascist government. He opened negotiations with the representatives of the Vatican and the outcome was the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat. This was signed by Mussolini and Pope Pius XI on February 11, 1929.

By the terms of the treaty the Pope gained sovereignty over the area of Vatican City and its immediate environs. This restored the Temporal Power of Pope. In return the Pope recognized the Kingdom of Italy and surrendered his claim to the greater part of Rome.

The Concordat provided for the future relations of Church and State in Italy. The pope would appoint all bishops in Italy with the formal approval of the Italian government. The state would continue to pay the salaries of bishops and priests. The bishops before taking office must swear loyalty to the state. The concordat established Roman Catholicism as the sole religion of the state. Religious instruction would be given in the state schools by persons approved by the Church.

A third agreement settled all outstanding monetary claims of the papacy against Italy.

The Lateran Treaty was one of the major achievements of Fascist regime in Italy. It created the Vatican State and settled the 'Roman Question'. It was welcomed by the Catholics and the Fascists. It secured the weighty support of the papacy to the fascist State. It increased the prestige of Mussolini.

**Army:** Militarism was an important feature of Fascist Italy. The army was kept on the basis of universal compulsory service. All young men of the country got intensive training in the army. Many of the unemployed were absorbed into the growing army. The Italian Navy was increased. The air service of both army and navy was also increased. The establishment of an army, navy and air force far exceeded Italy's needs.

## **Foreign Policy**

**Goals behind Italy's foreign Policy: Nationalism** – strong devotion to one's own nation – was the dominant element in Fascism. The Fascists wanted to earn glory for their nation by securing for Italy a larger place in world affairs. Mussolini urged the Italian people to rebuild the glories of ancient Rome. **"The Adriatic and eventually the entire Mediterranean were to become an Italian Lake"**.

The goal of Italy's foreign policy was to expand the colonial empire to provide outlets for surplus population and to obtain raw materials. This made the Fascists to be imperialistic.

The warlike spirit was the fundamental character of Italians. Mussolini raised the Fascist slogan of 'Believe, Obey, Fight'. The cry 'fight' revealed the warlike nature of the Fascists. Mussolini said, **"War alone puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it"**. This warlike spirit made the Fascists to be aggressive in their relations with the foreign countries.

**The Corfu After:** In 1923 some Italian diplomats who were engaged in settling the boundary of Albania were murdered by bandits on Greek territory. As the murder took place on the Greek territory, the Italian Government accused the Greek government for the murder. But Greece refused to accept the charge. Thereupon Italy attacked and occupied the Greek island of Corfu. This issue was taken up by the League of Nations. But the Italians treated this affair as one in which their national honour was involved and refused to submit to the Council of the League. The matter was however settled in the Council of Ambassadors if the powers at Paris. Greece was ordered to pay an indemnity to Italy.

**Conquest of Ethiopia (The Abyssinian War 1935 – 36):** Ethiopia is an east African country. Its old name was Abyssinia. It was a promising region for Italian colonization and exploitation. Italians had already established colonies in Somalia, Eritrea and Libya in the African continent. The Italians wanted to annex Ethiopia also with the kingdom of Italy. Once before, in 1896, Italy had tried to invade Ethiopia, but failed. Now Mussolini who wanted to increase his nation's power and glory hoped to annex Ethiopia with the existing Italian colonies in Africa.

Seizing upon a border dispute between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland Italy invaded Ethiopia on October 3, 1935. Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations. The League members declared Italy an aggressor and applied '**economic sanctions**'. But the 'sanctions' failed of their purpose, as Italy got requisite war materials from non-members of the League, especially from Germany. (Britain and France were not willing to use force or to employ measures that might risk war). The Ethiopian war did not last long as Italy's forces were too powerful for the forces of Ethiopia, a backward country. In May 1936, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie fled abroad and Italian troops occupied the capital city of Addis Ababa. Immediately Mussolini proclaimed the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy. The success in the Ethiopian war enhanced the prestige of Fascism in abroad and at home.

**Secession from the League:** Italy was member of the League of Nations. It had the permanent membership in the Council of the League. The Covenant of the League obliged the members not to resort to war. But Mussolini disregarded the principles of the League and waged war with Ethiopia. In 1936, he withdrew Italy from the League.

**Intervention in the Spanish Civil War:** Between 1936 and 1939 there was a terrible Civil War in Spain. The war was fought between the ruling Republicans and the Nationalists led by General Francisco Franco. The Nationalists were Fascist in their aims. The Republicans got help from Russia. General Franco received aid from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Italy sent him several thousand Italian troops. The civil war ended in 1939, with the victory of General Franco. The victory of Franco increased the prestige of Fascist Italy and of Nazi.

**Seizure of Albania:** Albania is a Balkan nation. Its ruler **Zog** turned to Italy for his country's financial aid. In 1926 -27 numerous internal improvements were done in Albania with Italian men and money. But after 1930 the Albanians displayed some anti-Italian feeling. In 1934 Zog tried to lessen Italian influence in Albania. He tried to check Italian immigration. This issue finally led to the invasion of Italian forces into Albania in 1939. There was little resistance for the natives were poorly equipped. Zog fled from the country and Albania was joined to Italy. Victor Emmanuel, the King of Fascist Italy, added to his titles of the King of Italy, and Emperor of Ethiopia, that of King of Albania.

**Rome –Berlin Axis:** When the League of Nations applied 'economic' sanctions against Italy, Germany had not participated in the 'sanctions'. Germany also quickly recognized Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. This brought the close alliance of Italy with Germany and the result was the Rome – Berlin Axis in 1936.

**Participation in the Second World War:** Mussolini plunged Italy into the Second World War on the side of Germany in June, 1940. In the course of the war, Italy obtained some victories in France and British Somaliland. But the Italian forces were severely defeated



in all her African colonies. The Allies invaded Italy in 1943 and Mussolini fell from power. After the fall of Mussolini, the new government of Italy concluded an armistice with the Allies.

The Fascist victory in Ethiopian war, the annexation of Albania and the fruitful aid to Spanish Nationalists, brought immense prestige to Italy and the Fascists. But Mussolini's bold foreign policy ultimately brought the downfall of Fascist regime in Italy.

### **The Fall of Fascist Regime in Italy**

The Fascist rule which started in Italy in 1922 ended ignobly in 1943. The man solely responsible for the rise and the fall of Fascist regime in Italy was Mussolini only.

Mussolini had some constructive ideas and in the first decade of the Fascist rule in Italy emphasis was placed on domestic reorganization. The Fascist government re-established social and financial order in the country and helped to turn Italy into a modern state. But it was Mussolini's **aggressive foreign policy** that brought the downfall of the Fascist regime in the country.

Mussolini warlike spirit was not suited to Italy which had not resources to sustain a long war. Mussolini abolished the democratic institutions of Italy and established a **totalitarian dictatorship**, in Italy. Ignoring the Kellogg – Briand Pact of 1928 which outlawed war, and disregarding the League of Nations which obliged its members not to resort to war, Mussolini invaded and occupied Ethiopia. He annexed Albania with Italy. He intervened in the Spanish Civil War. These things angered the Allied nations. As a result, Italy which was a respected friend of the Allies became their enemy. On the other hand Mussolini allied with Hitler – Germany's like – minded dictator. His involvement in the Second World War (1940) brought the military collapse of Italy. **“Political followed military collapse”**. In 1943 the Allies invaded Italy and Mussolini fell from power. With the fall of the Duce, Fascism in Italy **“fell to pieces”**.

### **End of the Career of Mussolini**

In the course of the Second World War Italy met disaster everywhere. In 1943 the Allies occupied Sicily and invaded mainland of Italy. Mussolini lost popularity because of the military reverses. His followers fell away and he was put in a minority in the Grand Council of the Fascist Party. On July 25 he was dismissed by King Victor Emmanuel III and placed under arrest. but he was rescued from his place of detention by German para troopers and taken to Milan. There he organized an Italian Social Republic which was a puppet to Nazis. After the collapse of the German forces in Northern Italy (1945) Mussolini, with his mistress Clara Petacci and a few Fascist followers attempted to fly to Switzerland. But they were caught by the Italian partisans. Mussolini and his mistress were she to death on April 28, 1945.

## **WEIMAR REPUBLIC**

The First World War ended by the Armistice on November 11, 1918. Kaiser William II the vanquished Emperor of German Empire had fled to Holland on 9 November 1918 and a revolution abdication occurred in Germany. The 25 sovereigns of the states comprising the German Empire also fell from power. The Hohenzollern Empire proclaimed by Bismarck in 1871, was replaced by a republic. The republic was provisionally governed by a **Council of**

**people's Commissars.** In January 1919 elections for the National Assembly took place. In 1919 the German Republic was provided with a **democratic constitution** by the National Assembly which met at **Weimar** the new Capital of Germany. The place of the origin of the constitution gave the republic its name – '**Weimar Republic**'.

### **Some features of the Weimar Republic**

- There was to be a President who was the head of the and commander – in – chief of the armed forces. He was the elected every seven years by the people.
- There was to be Chancellor to be appointed by the President. He was the Head of Government.
- The Legislature consisted of two houses – Reichstag representing the people and Rechsrat representing the German states. The Chancellor and his associate ministers were responsible to the Raichstag.
- The right to vote was given to all German citizens over twenty years of age. Elections to the Legislature would be held every four years.

The Weimar Republic offered a highly 'democratic constitution' to the nation. The new constitution came into force in 1919. Friedrich Ebert became the Republic's Preside Scheidemann was the first Chancellor. But there were many unfavourable circumstances which prevented the smooth functioning of the popular ministries. The Republic was therefore able survive only for fourteen years – from 1919 to 1933.

### **Causes of the failure of the Weimar Republic**

- The democratic system was a novel experiment to the Germans. They were ill-prepared for an advanced form of democracy.
- Political instability reigned supreme in the country. There was no single party which secured the majority of seat in the Reichstag. Throughout the existence of the Republic only coalition Governments were formed. The first coalition ministers were formed by the republican parties of socialists, centrists and democrats. The coalition ministries were not stable. **"During the fourteen years of its existence, the Weimar Republic saw than twenty different cabinets"**.
- There were many small parties in the country and Government always depended upon the alliance of several groups.
- The presence of bad economic conditions in the war Germany, the humiliating treaty of Versailles, the ship created by the Reparation payments and the Great Depression provided unfavourable circumstances for the smooth functioning of the Republic.

### **The Stresemann era' and the Weimar Republic**

Stresemann was a German statesman of great ability. He became the Chancellor of Weimar Republic in August, 1923. In January 1923, the French had occupied Germany's industrial region of Ruhr, as Germany had delayed the huge and impossible 'reparation payment. In that year there was also a severe inflation in the country. These things led to the downfall of Stresemann within a few months. From 1924 to 1929 Stresemann was the foreign

minister of the Republic. In the Stresemann years – 1924 to 1929 – the Weimar Republic enjoyed political and economic stability.

The ‘Dawes Plan’ – 1924, put forward by General Dawes, an American made some improvement in the arrangements about reparation payments and enabled the French evacuation of Ruhr. Germany also got loans from the United States. Stresemann negotiated the “Locarno Pact” – 1925 to lessen the danger of another war between France and Germany. In 1926 he gained the admission of Germany to the League of Nations and to a place, as a great power, on its Council. Because of his efforts Germany adhered to the Kellogg – Briand Pact of 1928. The ‘Young Plan’ – 1929 (put forward by Owen Young) lighted the German reparations burden.

Stresemann’s conduct of foreign relation restored the foreign confidence in Germany and enabled the pacification of Europe. His policy also helped to assist German recovery and the payment of reparations.

### **Nazi Germany – Adolf Hitler**

The word ‘Nazi’ is an abbreviation of National Socialism. Between 1933 to 1945 Germany was ruled by Adolf Hitler, the leader of Nazis or members belonging to the National Socialism Party. We have already seen the rise and fall of Fascist rule in Italy. The Nazi Germany was a close imitation of Italian fascism and in this chapter we shall see how Nazism rose and fell in Germany.

#### **Rise of Hitler**

Adolf Hitler was born in 1889 at Braunau, Austria. His father was an Austrian Customs officer. Adolf did not get on well at school. He lost his father when he was 14. With his mother he went to Vienna. He earned a living by house-painting. When the First World War began, he became a soldier in the German army. He fought bravely in the Western Front and earned the Iron Cross for outstanding bravery. He left the war as he was wounded.

#### **Nazi Movement**

After the Great War Hitler turned to politics. Hitler was a nationalist. He was deeply shocked by Germany’s humiliating defeat in the war. In 1919 he joined a small nationalist party in **Munich**. In 1920 the party’s name was changed to the **National Socialist German Workers’ Party or Nazis** for short. In 1921 Hitler became the leader or Fuehrer of the party. Repudiation of the Versailles peace Treaty was Hitler’s immediate aim. He wanted to re-create an **all-powerful Germany in Europe**. By fiery speeches he built up Nazi Party membership. His men wore **Brown shirts and swastikas** their emblem. They had a private army called “**Storm troopers**” Unemployed Germans joined this army.

#### **Abortive Coup of 1923**

In 1923 Hitler and his followers – 2000 storm troopers – tried to overthrow the Bavarian State Government in Munich by coup. This was called “**Beer Hall Putsch**” (revolution). But it failed. Hitler was arrested and sent to prison.

## **Mein Kampf**

‘Mein Kampf’ is a book by Adolf Hitler. The title is German for ‘My Struggle’. It is in two volumes. While Hitler was in prison (1924) the first volume of the book was written. The second volume was written in the years 1925 – 27. This book contained Hitler’s political ideas. The central ideas of the book are the following:

- Democracy, liberalism, Government by consent is repudiated. Power must come from the ruler, and he must be above criticism. “The only duty of the ordinary citizen is to obey”.
- The German Nordic race is the highest and the purest race in the world and it must be kept from all racial admixture.
- The Jews were at the bottom of the racial order. They were the enemies of humanity and especially of Germany.
- All German lands must be united and a “Greater Germany” to be formed.
- Germany must achieve **world supremacy** and the Germans must be prepared for war.

**“The reconquest of lost territories cannot be achieved by solemn appeals to Almighty God or pious hopes in a league of Nations, but only by armed force”.**

Hitler also stated in his book the basic political aims which he intended to carry out once in power. Hitler’s book had enormous influence in Germany. It had circulated in Germany by millions. It became the bible of National Socialism.

## **Causes of the rapid growth of the Nazi Movement**

By the end of 1924 Hitler was out of prison. At first he found little support for his party from the German people. Nazi membership in the Reichstag was insignificant in 1928. But when the international economic depression hit Germany in 1930 and 1931, Hitler’s rise to power began.

## **The Depression gave him a great opportunity**

Hitler was an emotional speaker. He organised mass meetings and made fiery speeches. The bad economic conditions of post – war Germany, the incalculable hardships of Depression, the humiliating German defeat in the Great War, the harsh and terrible terms of the Versailles Treaty, the ‘impossible’ reparation payments to the Allies, Hitler’s appeal to national sentiment, his promise to rebuild Germany into a mightily empire, the political instability of the Weimar Republic, the support got by the Nazi party from the industrialists who wanted to keep Bolshevism out of Germany, the effective organization of the Nazi party, - these were the elements that helped the rapid growth of the Nazi movement in Germany.

The people saw in Hitler, their representative who would save them from their humiliation in the war and in the Peace of Versailles. They were ready to listen to any plan that would make things better. Hitler made use of this opportunity and won great success.

The Nazi membership of the Reichstag increased dramatically between 1930 and 1932. In 1928 the number was 12 but in 1930 it increased to 107 in an assembly of 584. In March 1932 Hitler was a candidate for the presidential elections. Though Field – Marshal Hindenburg was re-elected, Hitler was able to secure the second place in getting the votes.

### **Hitler becomes the Chancellor of Germany**

In 1932 the Nazi representation in the Reichstag increased to 230. The Nazis had the largest number of elected delegates in the Reichstag, but they did not have a majority. However in January, 1933, President Hindenburg was forced to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor and Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany (January, 1933).

### **Hitler becomes dictator of Germany**

Elections to the Reichstag were scheduled to take place in March, 1933. But a week before the elections, there was a fire in the Reichstag buildings. The Nazis blamed the communists for the incident. Hitler used that opportunity to crush the Communists. Communist deputies were arrested and the Communist Party was banned. The election results showed a majority for the Nazis and the allies. Hitler now made the Reichstag to pass the ‘Enabling Act’ which gave him dictatorial power for a period of four years.

By July 1933, the Nazis had emerged as the only ‘Legal’ party in Germany – all other parties were outlawed by Hitler. Hitler’s political opponents were imprisoned or exiled. In August, 1934, President Hindenburg died. Upon the death of the President, Hitler combined the office of President ship with that of Chancellor and he became the virtual dictator of Germany. “The transition from democracy to dictatorship was complete”.

### **Nazi rule in Germany**

The Nazis ruled Germany under Adolf Hitler from 1933 to 1945. In 1933 the German Republic which had been established in 1918 was replaced by Nazi dictatorship. The Nazi Germany was styled as the Third Reich or Third Empire. (The first two empires were (1) Medieval German Empire – Holy Roman Empire – from 962 to 1806; (2) Hohenzollern Empire from 1871 to 1918). We shall study the Nazi rule in Germany under two headings: (1) Domestic Policy and (2) Foreign Policy.

#### **Domestic Policy**

**Germany a Totalitarian State:** In his ‘Mein Kampf’ Hitler had stated that democracy, liberalism and government by consent were to be repudiated. Power must come from the ruler, and he must be above criticism. The only duty of the ordinary citizen was to obey. When Hitler came to power, he put his theory into practice. He made Germany into a one-party totalitarian state. He became the dictator of Germany. His word was the law in the

country. He established a 'New Order' in the country. The Nazi party was then only 'legal' party in Germany and all other parties were outlawed by Hitler. The Communists Party which had been powerful in Germany was suppressed. The powers of the state government were abolished. The Nazi Party controlled every aspect of national life. All newspapers, all films, all broadcast, all education were placed under Nazi control. Those who did not agree with Hitler and his Nazis were hounded by or secret police, and executed or sent to prison camps without trial. **"Hitler's internal policy was authoritarian and totalitarian in every sense"**.

**Economic measures:** 1. Before Hitler came to **put** he had promised his people that he would give the people of employment, when he came to power, he did what he had said Thousands of unemployed labourers found work in his vast public works programme which included the building of a great strategy network of roads. Huge military industries provided employment for German workmen.

- Schacht, who was the Minister of Economy introduced beneficial reforms for the country in trade and currency.
- Hitler geared German economy to intensive rearmament. This led to heavy taxation.
- Agriculture and industry were encouraged. The country became increasingly industrialized and urbanized.
- A German Labour Front took the place of the former Unions. Strikes were forbidden and all labour relations were controlled by the state.
- To meet the nation's needs chemists invented synthetic rubber, oil, cloth, and even foods.

Thus, like Mussolini, Hitler made attempts to make Germany self-sufficient.

Anti- Semitism: Semite is a member of the Hebrew or Jewish race, Hitler followed a policy of persecution against the Jews. This policy of Hitler was called as Anti-Semitism.

It was the belief of Hitler that the Jews were to blame for Germany's defeat in the Great War and for the unemployment afterwards. In his '*Mein Kampf*' he had stated that the Jews were at the bottom of the racial ladder. '**Anti-Semitism**' was one of the features of his party's propaganda. Hitler's beliefs about the reality. IN April, 1933, all Jews were excluded from the civil service, and a national boycott was imposed on Jewish lawyers and doctors were barred from practice. The anti-Semite **Nirenberg Laws of 1935**, deprived the Jews of their citizenship and forbade, marriages between Jews and Germans. The Jewish persecution was intensified in 1938. Many were killed and many more were sent to the soon camps. Many intellectuals managed to escape to France England and America. Among them was the great mathematician, **Einstein**.

Thus the German Jews suffered most cruelly during the Nazi rule Under Hitler . It had been estimated that about 6 million Jews were killed in the concentration camps.

### **Foreign policy**

Hitler was a nationalist. For him his nation's glory was great above everything else. He wanted to establish a German hegemony in Europe. The defeat of Germany in the Great War and the humiliating terms of the Peace Treaty were too much for him. He repudiated the Versailles Peace Treaty and wanted to fight a war of revenge and to restore the humiliated Germany reparation payments, to rearm the nation, to recover the former German territories in Europe and the lost German colonies. He called for a union of all German speaking peoples into a '**Greater Germany**'. Hitler, therefore, followed an **aggressive foreign policy**.

**Secession from the League of Nations:** The Allies did not allow their former enemy states to become the members of the League of Nations. Due to the efforts of Stresemann, Germany was admitted into the League in 1926. Hitler found that the League could not serve his purpose. He therefore, withdrew Germany from the League of Nations in 1933 and from the Disarmament Conference. In 1935, he repudiated all the limitations on Germany's armaments and geared Germany to **rearmament**. He established military conscription for all German men. Created an air force and began to build submarines. The Treaty of Versailles limited Germany to a 100,000 men army, but Hitler had 600,000 men.

Remilitarization of Rhineland – 1936: The River Rhine flows near the south – western border of Germany. **Alsace west** of the Southern Rhine. By the terms of the Treaty Versailles Germany ceded Alsace and Lorraine to France and the area of fifty kilometres east of the Rhine was demilitarized Germany was forbidden to maintain military forces in the defeated Rhine land. The Rhine land, was guaranteed by the Locarno Pact of 1925. But in 1936, Hitler violated the Treaty Versailles and the Pact of Locarno and sent German troops to the demilitarized Rhine land and remilitarized it. The military occupation of Hitler was a victory without war. This act of Hitler brought German soldiers to the French border.

Rome – Berlin Axis – 1936: Hitler and Mussolini were like minded dictators. They both denounced liberalism and were opposed to Bolshevism. They praised war and followed aggressive foreign policy. They were hostile towards Britain and France. They were in no mood to respect any guarantees. They were brought together when Italy invaded Ethiopia (1935 – 36). While the League members applied '**economic sanctions**' Germany helped Italy by supplying the necessary war- materials. Germany also ratified Italy annexation of Ethiopia. On 25 October, 1936 Italy and Germany entered into an alliance to co-ordinate their foreign policies. This was called **Rome – Berlin Axis**.

"This vertical line between Rome and Berlin is not a partition but rather an axis around which can revolve all those European states with a will to collaboration and peace".

Incorporation of Austria – 1938: Austria was an ally of Germany in the First World War. Austria suffered grievously in the war. The Treaty of St. Germain reduced the Austrian Empire to a small area around Vienna. The Treaty also made Austria to promise that she would not unite in future with Germany. After the war the finances of Austria were in a state of collapse and a large part of the population in great distress. Both Communism and Nazism grew in that country. The Nazi Party in Austria desired to unite Austria with Germany under Hitler's rule. In 1936 Hitler insisted Schuschnigg, the Chancellor of Austria, on the

appointment of a Nazi candidate to the Austrian Cabinet. But the Chancellor refused. He proposed that a plebiscite should be taken on Hitler's proposals. But Hitler did not accept the form of plebiscite and ordered the march of German troops into Austria. Austria was defenceless and the German army quickly overran it. The Chancellor was arrested and imprisoned. Austria was incorporated into Germany (March 1938). This was also ratified by a plebiscite directed by the Nazis. **“Hitler's forceful seizure of Austria was a case of aggression and treaty violation”**.

**Intervention in the Spanish Civil War – 1936 – 39:** In the Spanish Civil War both Germany and Italy sent to Franco the Nationalist leader. In the war, the Republicans were supported by Russia. Franco got victory in the war and his victory increased the prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

Germany and Czechoslovakia: Czechoslovakia was a country created after the Peace of Versailles. The country contained a considerable minority of Germans called as Sudetan Germans. These Sudetan Germans asked at first for some kind of home- rule, but later demanded re-incorporation in Germany. In September, 1938 Hitler demanded that it should be ceded to Germany. It seemed likely that war would break out. France was under treaty obligation to go to war in defence of Czechoslovakia but it dared not to go to war in without Britain. Neville Chamberlain, who was resolute for peace, wanted to avert a war. He took the peace initiative, flew to Munich (Germany) and had interviews with Hitler and the outcome was an agreement called as 'Munich Pact'.

Munich Pact – 1938: The Munich Pact was signed on 29, September, 1938 in conference at Munich, attended by four great powers of Europe – Britain, France, Italy and Germany. They were represented by Chamberlain, Daladier (French Premier), Mussolini and Hitler. The Pact pledged the maintenance of peace among their countries. It authorized Germany to occupy Sudeten German region and in return Hitler promised to take no more Czech territories Hitler also promised to co- operate with Great Britain all difficulties of common interest. The Munich Pact **“was a striking victory for Hitler”**.

Hitler, however, did not keep his word. He had already repudiated two international treaties – The Treaty of Versailles and the Pact of Locarno. The Munich Pact was the third one. He ignored the Munich Pact and sent German forces and occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia in March, 1938. Many Czechs were shot and others sent to German concentration camps. “Despite international guarantees, Hitler did what He pleased and Czechoslovakia disappeared completely.

**Germany and Poland:** By the Treaty of Versailles Danzig an important German Port, was taken from Germany and made an international city, under the control of League of Nations. The Poles were entitled to use the port of Danzig. Danzig's population was mainly German. Hitler, therefore, wanted to annex Danzig with Germany. The 'polish Corridor' a narrow stretch of territory separated Germany from East Prussia (part of Germany). This 'corridor' was given to Poland by the terms of the Versailles Treaty. Now Hitler asked Poland to agree to Germany's annexation of Danzig and to German control of the 'Polish Corridor' But the Polish Government refused its consent. For a time Hitler hesitated. He had signed a 'ten-year' non- aggression pact with Poland in 1934. But Hitler ignored it and invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. On 3 September honouring their assurances to Poland,



Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Hitler's invasion of Poland began the Second World War.

Hitler and the Second World War: The Second World War began when Hitler invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. The 'lightningwar' (Blitzkrieg) of the Nazi armies brought Hitler victory after victory. On 22, June 1940 his Swastika flag flew the Eiffel Tower of France. By 1942 his victory of Europe was almost complete. But from January, 1943 the tide turned against Germany. The Nazi armies were defeated at the battle of Stalingrad in Russia and at El Alamein in Africa. In 1944 the Allies recovered the territories occupied by Hitler. In 1945 Germany was attacked by the Allied and Russian forces. By the end of April, Berlin was reduced to heap of ruins. On seeing the foreign armies in his land and the ruin of his country, Hitler committed suicide on 30 April, 1945. Berlin fell to Russians on 2, May 1945 and the Nazi armies surrendered on May 7, 1945. On May 8, the war in Europe was over.

### **The Fall of Nazi Regime in Germany**

The Nazis under the leadership of Hitler began their rule in Germany in 1933. Hitler wanted to reverse the verdict of the First World War and to establish German hegemony in Europe. He made splendid preparations for a great war and in the first three years of the war he achieved enormous success. His dream of establishing German supremacy came true. By 1942 his victory of Europe was almost complete. He ruled over a European empire larger than any since the time of ancient Rome. His power was greater than that of Napoleon in 1807. But these glories and successes were transient and meteoric – they quickly disappeared. By 1945 Germany was occupied by the Allies and Russians. Hitler himself committed suicide on 30, April 1945. Hitler's Chief Nazi associates – Gobbels, Hemmler – also committed suicide. Nazism ceased to exist after the death of its founder.

Hitler's philosophy of 'war is life', his aggressive foreign policy and the alarm he caused in international relations, his hatred for democracy, and violation of treaties and ignoring of promises. His colossal mistake in invading Russia, the great efforts made made by leaders like Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin to destroy Nazism, the Allied resources and strength of forces, Hitler's faulty calculations in international politics – these were the factors that led to the fall of Hitler's Nazi regime in Germany.

### **Mustapha Kemal Pasha**

#### **Early Life Mustapha Kemal Pasha**

Mustapha Kemal Pasha was born in Salonika in 1881 to Albanian Parents. He centered a military school at the age of twelve. His extraordinary skill in mathematics earned for him the title 'Kemal' or Perfect. After graduating from a military college, he joined the army as a Lieutenant. He became an active member of the 'Young Turk' movement. He won military honours in the Libyan war and that Balkan war. He repelled the Dardanelles exhibited such fire and vigour in the 'expedition that he earned the title "Hero of the Dardanelles". Turkey, the sickman of Europe, which fought on the side of the Central powers during the First World War was miserably mauled.

The territories of Turkey were reduced by the treaty of Sevres signed in 1920. In the mainland of Europe, she was left with Constantinople and a small strip of land around it. The shore of the Dardanelles was placed under an International Commission. A vast stretch of

land (100 miles) including the city of Smyrna in the west of Asia Minor was assigned to Greece. Iraq, Palestine and Syria were made mandatory territories and Arabia was proclaimed an independent country. Even when the negotiations were going on for the drafting of the peace treaty, Mustapha set up a provisional government with Ankara as the capital. The humiliation which Turkey suffered in the Peace Conference at Sevres stung Mustapha Kemal to the quick. He entered into direct action and kindled the feelings of the army Greece which was already in occupation of Smyrna since 1919, had further strengthened its position in the region. Mustapha suffered a defeat at the hands of the Greeks in 1920. But in 1921, he convened a National Assembly at Ankara and drafted the "Ankara Pact". It demanded complete independence for Turkish sovereignty of all the territories occupied by Ottoman Moslem majority. The Pact was a clear indication of the repudiation of Sevres Treaty. In the meantime, opposition against the Sultan gained ground in the country under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha. The Sultan was declared deposed in 1922. The inevitable turn in the tide of events in the country forced Mohamed VI (1917 – 1922), the Sultan, to flee from the country in the same year. Greece, in order to consolidate her newly acquired territories in Asia Minor started the offence in 1921. But Mustapha routed the Greek forces. It was the defeat of the greatest magnitude for the Greeks forces the war came to an end by the treaty of Lausanne signed in Sevres. According to the terms of the treaty, Turkey was left in possession of territory in the mainland of Europe as it was on the eve of the outbreak of the war of 1914. Smyrna was restored to Turkey.

### **Modernisation of Turkey**

Turkey was proclaimed a republic in 1923 and Mustapha Kemal Pasha became the head. Though Mustapha Kemal exercised unbridled powers, his dictatorship contributed to the good of the people. He abolished the Caliphate in 1924 and made Turkey a secular state. He committed himself to the modernisation of the country. Turkey was steeped in orientalism. He extended religious toleration to one and all. He introduced western system of education was made compulsory. Technical schools were replaced by the simple Latin alphabet. Education became the concern of the state. Time-honoured customs were done away with. The practice of wearing fez cap was replaced by the European head-dress. He also fought against the seclusion of women. He accorded them equal political and social rights. They were given the right to vote. Polygamy was abolished. He introduced the Christian Calendar system. European dancing, music, sculpture and painting were introduced. The Mohammedan laws based on Koranic principle were replaced by European laws in both civil and criminal cases. Metric weights and measures were introduced in the country. In short, he wanted that his subjects should look every inch and European both in appearance and outlook.

Mustapha Kemal also contributed to the economic prosperity of the country. He promoted industries in the country. Steel, textile, paper and sugar industries were started in the country. Agriculture grew under his fostering care. More lands were brought under the plough. Machines were introduced in agriculture. Agricultural Colleges were set up. Within a very short time, Turkey which was an importer of food materials attained self-sufficiency in the productions by laying new roads, digging of canals and building of new railway lines. IN his foreign relations, Kemal maintained cordial relations with other countries. He received

able economic assistance from Russia. After serving his motherland in the most crucial stage of its history, he died in 1938.

## **The Second World War (1939 – 1945)**

### **Introduction**

The First World War wrought untold misery on the people. The horrors and terrors and terrors of the war shook up the conscience of the nations of the world. The clarion –call of the delegates of the peace conference at Paris was that World War I should be “a war to end war”. But within two decades, the clarion-call soon became the trumpet-call for another global war. The reasons for the war were not far to seek. The Versailles treaty itself contained enough inflammable material to fan the flames of another world conflagration.

### **CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

- **Unjust nature of the Versailles Treaty**

The Treaty of Versailles was unjust. It was drawn up with a vindictive motive. It severely penalised the vanquished countries. It humiliated Germany. She was declared guilty of war. A huge war indemnity was imposed on her. Her territories and colonies were shared by the victors. Her army was reduced. Hitler was waiting for an opportunity to tear the treaty to pieces. During the First World War, Italy entered the side of the Allies in the hope of greater territorial gains. But she was disappointed when he got only a few territories.

- **Failure of the League of Nations**

The League of Nations miserably failed in its most important aim of preventing war. Though the Covenant of the League contained a provision for disarmament, the League of Nations was not able to enforce it. On the contrary, the armament race went of unchecked. Economic sanction against an aggressor was too weak a weapon. Japan, Italy and Germany followed an aggressive imperialistic policy and annexed territories. The League remained a pitiable observer to all these acts of daylight robbery. The provision that nations could resign from the League if they did not like its decisions paved the way for the end of the League. One by one the aggressors left the League. When World War II broke out in 1939, it sealed the doom of the league.

- **The questions of National Minorities**

The Versailles Treaty recognised the principle of “self-determination” for the national minorities. But this principle was used to the advantage of the victors. The defeated countries especially Germany, were denied this right. There were large numbers of Germans in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Hitler was perfectly just when he put forward his claim for Greater Germany. It was on the basis of this principle that he annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia.

- **Remote Cause**

Japan, the land of the Rising Sun, had already entered on a career of aggression. In 1931, Japan invaded China and seized Manchuria. When the League of Nations protested, Japan

withdrew from it in 1933. In 1935, Mussolini invaded Abyssinia and annexed it in 1936. When the League protested, he withdrew from it in 1937.

- **Immediate Cause**

The aggressive activities of Germany went on unchecked. Hitler introduced conscription and rearmed Germany to the teeth and thus tore the League Covenant to pieces. In 1936 he marched his army into the Rhineland and thus blew the Locarno Treaty to the winds. By the treaty of Versailles, the Rhineland had been declared to be a “demilitarized” zone. By the Locarno Treaty of 1925, Britain, France Germany and Italy had agreed to maintain the existing Franco German frontier. In 1937, Germany, Italy and Japan formed an alliance know as the Rome - Berlin – Tokyo Axis. In 1938, Hitler annexed Austria. In the same year, he committed aggression on Czechoslovakia. He dismembered her by annexing Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia, on the excuse that there was a large German population. The Sudetenland affair might have flared up into a global war. But it was averted by Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Britain. By the Munich agreement between Great Britain and Germany, the latter was allowed to retain Sudetenland. Germany promised to seize no more Czech territory. In violation of the Munich agreement, Hitler occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia in 1939. In 1939, Mussolini annexed Albania. In 1939 Hitler forced got alarmed at the naked aggression of Hitler. They formed an alliance along with Poland and invited Rumania. Greece and Turkey to join the alliance. Communist Russia found a better ally in Germany to advance her interests and so did not join with Britain and France. In August 1939, a treaty was signed between Germany and Russia respecting their mutual interests in Western Poland and Eastern Poland, respectively. Germany also promised to give Russia a freehand in the Baltic States. Relying on Italian help and Russian neutrality, Hitler demanded from Poland the right to construct a military road through the Polish Corridor to connect Germany with East Prussia. He also demanded from her the surrender of Danzig. As Poland refused, German troops crossed the frontier of Poland on September 1, 1939. Britain and France wanted to honour their promises. So they declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. Thus the Second Global War broke out.

### **Course of The War**

- **War in Poland**

Hitler made a “lightning attack” known as “Blitzkrieg” on Poland in 1939. After a valiant resistance put up by the Poles, War saw the capital fell. In the meantime, Russia sent her forces and occupied Eastern Poland. Poland was partitioned between Germany and Russia. The latter went a step further and occupied Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Russia also attacked Finland which fell after a brief resistance. She occupied a small stretch of Finnish territory in 1939 in the plea that it was quitter essential for the safety of Leningrad. When the League of Nations protested. Russia withdrew from the League.

- **War on the Western Front**

The ambition of Hitler soared high. He turned west and overran Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxemburg land Belgium. Hitler’s next target of attack was France. The latter collapsed and surrendered. Italy entered the war on the German side. It was with very great difficulty that

Britain evacuated the trapped soldiers from Dunkirk. A puppet-government was set up in France under Marshal Petain.

### **3. The Battle of Britain**

Hitler then turned his attention to Britain and sent his Luftwaffe (Air Force) to rain bombs on Britain. His U-boats (submarines) torpedoed many British ships. During the months of August and September 1940, the Luftwaffe mercilessly rained bombs on many cities in Britain. The Battle of Britain – as it was called – did not frighten the British. They bore it bravely and calmly under the able leadership of Winston Churchill: The British Royal Air Force not only repulsed these raids but also retaliated them by raiding German towns and harbours.

### **4. War in North Africa**

The Italian forces under Mussolini invaded British Somaliland and attacked Egypt. But a British force under General Wavell defeated the Italians and took nearly half of Libya. Hitler came to the rescue of Italy and sent Rommel to North Africa. Nevertheless, the British army conquered the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland and expelled the Italian forces from Eritrea, British and Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia.

### **5. War in the East and the South – East Europe**

In 1940, Hitler subdued Rumania. He purchased the loyalty of Bulgaria and Hungary by forcing Rumania to surrender a part of her territory to each of them. In the meantime, Italy invaded Greece from Albania. But the Italians were driven out by the Greeks. So Hitler sent an army to the help of Italy. The army marched through Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria made common cause with Hitler. Yugoslavia opposed the mover and so was soon overrun – Greece fell after a brave resistance. Crete also fell.

- **Russian Campaign**

Germany and Russia soon quarrelled on the question of distribution of spoils in the Balkans. Hitler launched a massive attack on Russia with the view of conquering her. But this was a fatal decision. He met with the same fate as that of Charles XII of Sweden and Napoleon Bonaparte of France. The Russians adopted the ‘scorched – earth’ policy. Soon the winter came in all its fury. Hitler’s Russian expedition ended in disaster. The tide turned in favour of the Allies. While the German forces were perishing in Russia due to the ‘scorched – earth’ policy and the severe Russian winter, the Allies became active and bombarded Germany by air-raids.

### **7. America enters the War**

In the initial stages of the war, America helped the Allies with men and materials. Japan had already entered on a career of naked aggression. On December 7, 1941 the Japanese Air Force bombed the American fleet in the Pearl Harbour. SO America declared war on Japan and later against the Axis powers. In the initial stages of the war, Japan was successful. She bombarded the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies and Malaya peninsula. She succeeded in capturing the British naval harbours of Hong Kong and

Singapore. She invaded Burma and captured Rangoon and Mandalay. Japan bombed Vishakhapatnam and Chittagong in India and even threatened to invade India. Though fortune smiled on the Japanese in the beginning, the tables were turned against her towards the close. Dropping of atom bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima by America forced Japan to surrender unconditionally to the Allies.

## **8. End of the War**

While the German forces were perishing in Russia, the Allies became active and bombed Germany and occupied her territories. In 1943, the Allies invaded Italy from North Africa. Mussolini fell from power. In September 1943, the new Italian government surrendered. Then the Allies invaded France which was occupied by the Axis powers. In 1945, they entered Germany and completed the conquest. Hitler committed suicide. In May 1945, Germany surrendered and the war came to an end.

### **Causes for the success of Allies**

- The Allies commanded greater economic resources than the Axis Powers. Resources in men and materials poured to the Allies from different parts of the World. The resources of the Axis powers were slender and they were not able to withstand the strain for a long period of four years taken for the cessation of hostilities. 2. The Allies had team-spirit and oneness of purpose which were totally lacking among the Axis powers. Further, the Allies had able war-leaders like Winston Churchill of Britain, Roosevelt of America and Stalin of Russia. 3. In the initial stages, no doubt, Hitler scored brilliant victories. Had Hitler launched the attack on Britain, when she was not fully prepared, he would have gained an upper hand. The delay in launching an early attack on Britain gave sufficient breathing-space for Britain to strengthen the defence line. 4. The attack of Russian by Hitler proved suicidal to him. He met with the same fate as that of Charles XII of Sweden and Napoleon Bonaparte. 5. While the three Axis Powers – Germany, Italy and Japan – stood for dictatorship and imperialism, the Allies struggled for setting up a new world order based on democratic principles. It was no wonder that the Allies had the moral support of the right – minded people all over the world. 6. The entry of America in the war had a tremendous impact on the course of the war. It gave a psychological and moral boost to the Allies.

### **Results of the War**

- The destruction wrought by the Second Global War was on a much wider scale than that of the First World War.
- It sounded the death-knell of dictatorial forms of government in Germany, Italy and Japan. Germany was occupied by the Allied forces and later was divided into two parts - the west controlled by Britain, France and America and the East by Russia. Italy became a Republic. She was deprived of her colonies in Africa. At the end of the war, Japan was occupied by American forces under MacArthur. A constitution was drawn up and imposed on the people.
- The war greatly weakened Britain and France. Britain which once occupied the first place in the roll of honour emerged as two great world powers. The war, ended dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Japan but not totalitarianism in Russia. The present

cold war between the East and the West is the direct outcome of the rise of America and Russia as strong world powers.

- The 'war quickened the pace of the national movement for independence in the Near East and the Far East. On account of the valuable services rendered to England by the colonies, she gave a new turn to her imperial policy. India, Burma, Egypt, Ceylon and Malaya were granted independence. Philippines got independence from America, Indo-China from France and Indonesia from the Dutch.
- Russia obtained the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia
- To maintain everlasting world peace, the U.N.O. was set up.

## **United Nations Organisation (U.N.O)**

### **Introduction**

The two World Wars wrought untold misery on the people. The League of Nations set up in 1919 after the end of World War I had a run of 20 years (1919 – 1939). In spite of the fact that it had some achievements to its credit, it failed in its most important aim of maintaining peace in the world. It failed due to selfish motives and lack of sincerity. The so-called powerful nations talked highly but acted meanly. The weaker nations became helpless victims in the hands of stronger nations. It was no wonder that the League of Nations became a “League of Nations”. In 1945, fifty nations of the world met at San Francisco, (between April 25 and June 26) to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war solemnly resolved that the future history of man would never be written with blood and iron. The Conference drafted a Charter and it was ratified by the signatory states. Thus the United Nations Organisation came into being officially on October 4, 1945. The term “United Nations” was coined by Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America. The headquarters of the U.N. is in New York. It would not be too much if we call the “United Nations” as the child of the “League of Nations”.

### **Aims of the U.N.O.**

The First and foremost aim of the U.N.O. is to maintain peace and security in the world. The second aim is to develop friendly relations among nations based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples. The third aim is to promote international co-operation to solve international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. The fourth aim is to promote fundamental human rights. To give one of its earliest measures adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Apart from the above-mentioned four main aims, the U.N.O. also strives hard to create a healthy climate for peace to prevail in the world. It is also its aim to further the economic and political conditions of non-self governing territories.

### **ORGANS OF THE U.N.O.**

#### **General Assembly**

Each member-state sends not more than five members to the General Assembly. It stands for the promotion of international co-operation in economic, social, cultural and educational matters. It is a deliberative body where all international problems are amicably settled. It elects its own President for a period of 12 months to conduct its proceedings. By a

convention, it has now become the accepted practice not to have a member of the Big Powers as its President.

### **Security Council**

The Security Council is primarily responsible for the prevention of force and the promotion of peace. Originally, it consisted of 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent members. The five permanent members are U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France and Nationalist China. But on October 25, 1971, Nationalist China was expelled from the U.N.O and Communist China was placed in its stead. The number of non-permanent members was raised from 6 to 10 by an amendment in 1965. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a two – year term. So at present the Security Council is a 15 –man body armed with the most important power of maintaining international peace and security. An important measure to be carried out in the Security Council requires the affirmative vote of nine members. A veto by any one of the permanent five means the defeat of a motion. The ‘veto’ power acts as a check on the good work that might have been otherwise achieved by the U.N.O. But the effect of this provision is now neutralised by a motion called “The Uniting for Peace Resolution” adopted by the General Assembly itself could go into action in matters endangering peace in the world if the Security Council failed to arrive at an agreement. The first occasion on which this power was put into operation was in 1950, When north Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, the matter was placed before the Security Council. The Soviet delegate at the Security Council meeting was bent upon obstructing the business of the Council by the threat of the veto as a trump –card. It was then that the General Assembly passed this resolution which enabled it to despatch an U.N. emergency force to Korea.

### **Economic and Social Council**

Originally, the Economic and Social Council consisted of 18 members. Since 1965 it consists of 27 members. They are elected by the General Assembly on a three-years term. All the 27 members are not elected at a time. Each year the General Assembly elects 9 members. The Council deals with social matters the policies and activities of the U.N. and the various specialised and related agencies.

### **Trusteeship Council**

The Trusteeship Council acts as the guardian of the territories that were captured during World War I and World War II from the defeated countries. The object of the trusteeship system is not to annex the territories wrested from the defeated countries by any one of the victors, but to act as guardian for such non-self governing territories and promote their political, social and economic well-being until they themselves reach a stage to decide their own future. All the territories originally placed under the trust of the U.N.O. have become independent except the Pacific Islands.



## **International Court of Justice**

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges elected for a 9 – year term by the joint vote of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The seat of the Court in the Hague in the Netherlands. The Court deals with international cases.

## **Secretariat**

The Secretariat looks after the administrative duties of the U.N.O. It is under the Secretary- General. The Secretaries General of U.N.O. in succession are Trygve Lie of Norway (1946 – 1952). Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden (1953 – 1961), U Thant of Burma (1961 - 1971). Kurt Waldheim of Austria (1971 - 1981), Javier Perez de Cueller of Peru (1982 – 1991) and Boutros – Ghali of Egypt (1992 - ). Boutros –Ghali is the Present incumbent.

## **Specialised Agencies**

Apart from the above – mentioned six major organs, there are various specialised and related agencies which deal with specific international problems. They are the international Labour Organisation (ILO), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific , and cultural Organisation (UNESCO), World Health Organisation (WHO), International Development Association (IDA), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Finance Corporation (IFC), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), Universal Postal Union (UPU), International Telecommunication Union ( ITU), World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation (IMCO), The General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Refugee Organisation (IRO), United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), Economic Commission of Asia and Far East (ECAFE), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), International Telecommunication Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). The work of these specialised and related agencies is co-ordinated by the Economic and Social Council.

## **Achievements of the U.N.O**

### **1. The Arab – Israeli Conflict**

Palestine is the Holy Land of the Bible. In ancient times the Jews built a nation in Palestine. Later Palestine became an Arab territory and then a Turkish one. During the First World War the British ousted the Turks from Palestine. Palestine came under the control of Britain. The League of Nations made Palestine as the mandate territory of Britain . The British issued the famous ‘Balfour Declaration’ (a declaration of Lord Balfour, British Foreign Secretary) which promised the Jewish people that Palestine would some day become their homeland. After the First World War the ‘Jewish’ refugees, especially from Russia,

Poland and Hitler's Germany increased the Jewish population in Palestine. Zionism – the movement for a return to the Jews' ancestral Homeland – gained support. The Zionist organisation aimed at erecting a national state for the Jews in Palestine. But the Arabs of Palestine and the surrounding countries strongly objected to this. There were riots and fighting's between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Unable to maintain order, Great Britain appealed to the United Nations in 1947. The General Assembly set up a special committee to investigate the situation and make recommendations. After studying the committee's report the General Assembly recommended that Palestine be divided into two independent states. One Arab and one Jewish with international rule for Jerusalem. But the Arabs who formed a majority of the people in Palestine said they would never allow the existence a Jewish State in Palestine. But before the U.N. recommendations could be implemented, Great Britain withdrew from Palestine. One May 14, 1948. Britain gave up its control over Palestine. The mandate ended and a new Jewish nation of Israel was born on that day. May 14, 1948. David Ben- Gurion was their leader. The new state of Israel made up most of Palestine. It was recognised by the great powers of United States and the Soviet Union. But the neighbouring Arab states along Israel's borders (Egypt, Lebanon, Syria) bitterly opposed the creation of Israel and they wanted Palestine to be an Arab land. Hence they stepped in to support the Arabs in Palestine and the Arab – Israel war broke out on May 15, 1948. As the fighting did not stop, the United Nations intervened and sent a mediator (count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden) to work out a settlement between the Arabs and Jews. The U.N. mediator arranged a cease – fire that went into effect on July 18,1948. But in September 1948, he was killed by Jewish terrorists. Ralph Bunche, an American mediator sent by the U.N worked out an armistice on January 1949 acceptable to both the Jews and Arabs. (Bunche was awarded the Noble Peace Prize in 1950. He played an important role in Suez, the Congo and the Indo- Pal war of 1965). After the armistice, the U.N cared for more than a million Arab refugees from Palestine.

## **2. Kashmir issue**

When India and Pakistan became free (August 1947) Kashmir remained as a princely state. The Maharaja of Kashmir, signed the instrument of Accession (1947, October 26) and acceded Kashmir to India. But Pakistan which had wanted Kashmir to join her, sent troops into Kashmir and occupied a great part of it. Fighting took place between the troops of India and Pakistan in Kashmir. The Indian troops turned out the invaders from a major part of the State. In January 1949 a cease – fire was agreed under United Nations auspices and a cease – fire line was established in Kashmir.

The Kashmir issue was raised in the United Nations. Pakistan insisted that the Kashmir is should be allowed to decide their fate by Plebiscite. But as a legal accession had taken place India refused to agree to the terms of Pakistan. Pakistan opened offensive attacks in Kashmir and there broke out a great war between India and Pakistan in September 1949. The United Nations arranged cease fire and sent representatives to Kashmir to enforce it. But the U.N. could not avert the offensive war of Pakistan against India in December 1971.

### **3. Indonesian independence**

The East Indies were the colonies of the Dutch. In the course of the Second World War Japan occupied the Dutch East Indies. Yet by the close of the war (August 1945) the Japanese declared Indonesia an independent state. But the Japanese were defeated in the war and in 1946 the Dutch reoccupied all the East Indian islands except Java and Sumatra. In these two islands an independent Indonesian Government led by President Sukarno continued to function although not recognised by the Dutch, it claimed to rule the whole of Indonesia – that is the islands making up the former Dutch East Indies. But Netherlands wanted to reimpose the colonial rule in East Indies and in 1947 fighting began in Indonesia between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia. In 1948(January) the United Nations negotiated a truce between the Netherlands the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands. As the Netherlands resumed war, the U.N. arranged second truce. Due to the efforts of Nehru, the Prime Minister of India a conference was held in New Delhi and 17 member's states of the U.N. attended the conference. The conference demanded a settlement favourable to the Indonesians. After a conference of the United Nations Commission at The Hague the Netherlands granted independence to the United States of Indonesia on December 27, 1949.

### **4. The Korean War**

The armies of North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950 (June 25). The Security Council of the United Nations met immediately. It asked both sides to stop fighting and urged North Korea to withdraw its forces. But as this had no effect, the Security Council approved the sending of U.N. troops to Korea to restore peace. The U.N. forces under the commandship of Mac Arthur drove back the North Korean army over the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. In 1953 North Korea and the U.N. forces signed an armistice.

For the first time in its power under the charter to handle breaches of the peace. If the United Nations had not stopped the war in Korea, the war might have developed into another World War.

### **5. The Suez crisis**

In 1956 General Nasser became the President of Egypt. The western powers including the United States had promised to lend Egypt money to build a great dam at Aswan across the upper Nile River. But as Egypt was receiving heavy shipments of arms from the Soviet bloc, the United States and Britain withdraw their offers of help to the country. Thereupon Nasser seized the Suez Canal and nationalised (July 26, 1956) it. HE decided to use the profit of the canal to the dam's construction. Western Europe depended on the Suez Canal for its supply of oil from the Middle Eastern countries. By keeping the oil tankers from using the canal. Nasser hoped to injure the economy of Europe. This would also affect the profits of the Suez Canal Company whose owners were mostly British and French stock holders. Britain and France protested against Nasser's seizure of the canal. But Nasser declared that the canal belonged to Egypt as it was in Egyptian territory.

President Nasser organised Egyptian raids into the territory of Israel. Israeli shipping was also barred in the Suez Canal. Therefore the Israelis launched an attack into the Egyptian territory (October 29, 1956). They quickly advanced across the Sinai desert and came within sight of the Suez canal. Two days later Britain and France began their naval and air attack on

Egypt. The Soviet Union also threatened to intervene and help Egypt. The United Nations ordered a cease-fire on November 7, 1956 and United Nations observers entered the canal the next day. The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEP) arrived the British and French evacuation commenced in December 1956. Israel withdrew from Sinai in January 1957. The canal was cleared off sunken ships by a U.N. police force and shipping was resumed in April 1957.

## 6. Crisis in Congo

In 1960 Congo (Leopold Ville) now Zaire gained its independence from Belgium. The Belgians had done little to prepare their colony for the independence. As a result soon after independence (1960 June) order broke down in the country. The troops in Congo mutinied against their Belgian officers and there were popular riots. The province of Katanga declared its independence. Belgium rushed its own troops back into the Congo. Patrice Lumumba the Prime Minister of Congo, appealed to the U.N. to help to restore order. A U.N. international force was sent to Congo to restore order.

In order to seek a cease-fire between the U.N. and the forces of Katanga, Dag Hammarskjold the then Secretary – General of the U.N. was going in a plane to Congo. But unfortunately he died in the plane crash (1961). U Thant the successor of Dag Hammarskjold used the U.N. force to suppress the Katangese rebels and prevented its secession from Congo. By 1963 peace was restored in Congo. In 1964 the U.N. force was withdrawn. (General Premch and of India served as General officer in the U.N. military force that restored peace to Congo).

- **Cyprus issue**

Cyprus is a small island country situated in the north –east corner of Mediterranean Sea. About 80 of the country's inhabitants are Greeks and most of the rest are Turks. **Arch-bishop Makarios** was the leader of Cypriots. In 1964 fighting broke out in the island between the Greeks and the Turkish minority. Each community received military aid from its mother country – Greeks Cypriots from Greece, Turkish Cypriots from Turkey. The United Nations established an international peace-keeping force and appointed a mediator. The United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was sent to the island to restore peace. The U.N. force manned the island and brought peace (India's generals **Thimayya and Premchand** offered distinguished services as commanders of the U.N. peace keeping force in Cyprus).

The U.N. could not establish permanent peace in Cyprus. In 1974 the Turkish Cypriots resumed the fight in Cyprus and with help of Turkish army they occupied the northern third of Cyprus. In February 1975 they established the Turkish federated State of Cyprus. At Present each community has its own President, Council of Ministers, and legislature and judicial system.

- **The Arab – sraeli conflict**

In 1949 the U.N. enforced an armistice and stopped the fighting in Palestine. The sovereignty of Israel was recognised and it was admitted into the United Nations in 1949. But there was fighting between Israel and Egypt in 1956 and the U.N. arranged a cease fire agreement. In June 1967 another was (Six-day war) broke out between Israel and the

neighbouring Arab States. The war ended on June 10 and the U.N. enforced a cease –fire. The Security Council of the U.N. adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of Israel troops from all occupied Arab territory during the 1967 Six-day war. But Israel refused to pull out unless and until the Arab countries recognise its existence. In 1969 Mrs. Golda Meir was elected Prime Minister of Israel and after the death of President Nasser Anwar Sadat became Egypt’s President. With a view to recover the territory lost in 1967 Anwar Sadat sent troops across the Suez and another war between the Arab States and Israel broke out in 1976. After 18 days of fighting the war ended with a cease – fire agreement.

The General Assembly of the U.N. has approved the plan of establishing a Palestinian State for the Arabs in the Israeli occupied West Bank of Jordan river and Gaza Strip. It has invited the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation – Funded in 1964 by the Arab League) to participate in all U.N. deliberations on the Middle East. In December 1978, the U.N. Assembly endorsed a plan to help the PLO found a Palestinian State in the Gaza Strip and West Bank of the Jordan River, still under Israeli occupation.

The U.N. been rendering appreciable services in the Middle East. But it could not establish permanent peace in the land. (Much efforts had been taken outside the U.N. By resident Carter, Cyrus Vance United States Secretary of State, Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of Israel and Anwar Sadat the President of Egypt, to fine a lasting political settlement in the Arab – Israeli conflict. There had been much direct talks between the leaders of Israel and Egypt since November 1977. A Summit Meeting in September 1978 and some agreements were made. But even by the end of 1978 no peace treaty has been signed. The Nobel Peace Prize of 1978 has been awarded to Begin and Sadat for their peace efforts in the Arab – Israeli conflict).

- **African Problems**

- **‘Apartheid’** is a policy of racial segregation, followed by the South African Government. The non-whites in South Africa have been denied political and social equality. The apartheid policy of South African Government has earned the country the censure and condemnation of most of the civilized world. The United Nations under the leadership of Afro – Asian states has passed many resolutions condemning the racial discrimination in South Africa. Which is a member of the United Nations has been barred (1974) from attending the U.N. General Assembly for pursuing the apartheid policy. The Security Council of the U.N. has imposed (1977) **‘Arms embargo’** against South Africa.

- In 1920 the League of Nations granted South Africa a mandate over **South West Africa**. But South Africa extended its apartheid policy in South West Africa also.

The U.N. General Assembly voted to terminate South Africa’s mandate in October 1966 (on grounds the mandate had been abused). South West Africa has been a U.N. territory since 1966. For more than a decade the U.N. has been taking steps towards Namibian independence. The U.N. set up a council for South West Africa in 1967 and changed the name of the country to Namibia. The U.N. Assembly recognised the South West African

People's Organisation (SWAPO) as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people. But South Africa refused to conform with U.N. decisions revoking its mandate over Namibia.

A Special U.N. session on Namibia was held from April. 24 to May 3, 1978. It reaffirmed the rights of the Namibians to self-determination and national independence. It condemned South Africa for its 'illegal' occupation of the U.N. mandated territory (i.e.) South West Africa.

The 'Big Five' western powers (the U.S. Britain, France. Canada and West Germany) have taken efforts towards Namibian independence. In December, 1978, the U.N. Assembly has recommended sanctions against South Africa including an oil embargo for failure to implement the Council's mandate to hold elections under U.N. auspices. The birth of Independent Namibia is awaited.

- Rhodesia was formerly British colony. When the British government demanded a new constitution which could give more rights to the black majority, the whites at Salisbury under the regime of Ian Smith 'Unilaterally' declared Rhodesia's independence, in 1965. The independence of Rhodesia has been considered illegal'. There are about 270,000 whites and about 6,200,000 blacks in Rhodesia. A racist minority rule has been established in Rhodesia. The U.N. is striving to find a solution to the problem of racist minority rule in Rhodesia. It has urged its members to break off economic relations with Rhodesia. It has appointed General Premchand of India as the U.N. representative to play a crucial role in the transition of Zimbabwe (a new name of Rhodesia given by the Rhodesian nationalists) from white racist rule to full independence. On March 3, 1978 the black and white Rhodesian leader signed an agreement called "Internal Settlement". The Patriotic Front leaders of Rhodesian Nationalists have rejected the settlement. The Security Council of the U.N. adopted a resolution rejecting the 'Internal Settlement'. The birth of Zimbabwe is awaited.

- **Disarmament**

The United Nation has been striving to achieve disarmament as a means toward peace. It has set up (1952) a Disarmament Commission to work towards this goal. It repeatedly called on all nations to stop testing nuclear weapons and the result was the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty of 1963 signed by U.K.U.S. S. R. and U.S.A. The Treaty forbade the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space or under water. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1969 was the outcome of the ENDC (Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee) set up in 1961. This treaty bars the nuclear powers from giving nuclear weapons or knowledge to other nations. THE U.N. Assembly held a Five week special session (23 May to 28 June, 1975) on disarmament. This was the first time since 1932 that nearly all countries of the world had met to discuss the issue. The achievement of the U.N.

- **Services to Trust Territories**

The U.N. Trusteeship Council was responsible for eleven Trust Territories. The council offered its service to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. These territories gradually became independent and at present there is only one territory – Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

- **Help from the Specialised Agencies**

The Specialised Agencies of the U.N. (FAO, WHO, ILO, UNESCO etc.) have supplied valuable aid and helped to improve the levels of living in many developing countries of the World. The U.N. body for refugees in doing great help to the refugees. The Arab refugees from Palestine were greatly helped by this body. "Almost seventeen of every twenty, U.N. employees and nearly ninety-three cents of every U.N. dollar are engaged in economic, social and technical enterprises".

In the economic field, the work of the U.N.O. through her specialised agencies is really great. The I.L.O. has made the member nations improve the lot of the Labourers. the F.A.O. has assisted nations to improve food production. The I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D. are giving funds to member countries for their economic development. In the social field, a continuous war is carried on against T.B. and Cholera through the W.H.O. It also looks after the welfare of children. By granting scholarship and technical aid, it aims to drive ignorance out of the people's mind. The U.N.O. has contributed a good deal towards stimulating economic and social progress in the developing countries through its subsidiary bodies. It has raised living standard in developing countries.

### **Future of U.N.O.**

To-day the U.N.O. consists of 166 members. On October 25, 1971, Nationalist China was expelled from the U.N.O. and Communist China was placed in its stead. At present the U.N.O. is in deep and difficult waters . With respect to problems of war and peace, the confidence of the people in the U.N.O. is gradually waning. It is quite clear from the very limited role it has played in Korea and Kashmir. The U.N.O. was not able to prevent the attack of China and Pakistan on India, the assault of Malaysia by Indonesia and the invasion of Hungary and Czechoslovakia by Russia. Korea still remains divided, the Arab Israeli conflict still lingers on, the rift between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue continues, and discord between the Turkish minority and Greek majority continues in the island of Cyprus. The U.N.O. has failed to put an end to the cold war and the armament race. The chief defect of the U.N.O. is that it is not world organisation because some nations are not represented in it. The countries which are not represented in the U.N.O are Switzerland, Nationalist China and some non-self-governing countries. It has no armed forces at its disposal. It is not able to put an end to the policy of racial segregation followed by South Africa. She has only succeeded in expelling South Africa from the General Assembly in 1974 for its policy of racial segregation. The revision of the Charter can remove some of the defects in the composition of the U.N.O. This involves the enlargement of the Security Council and a complete change in its voting system and membership. The principle of the Big-Five unanimity should be put an end to. The Afro-Asian countries which comprise more than half of the total membership of the U.N.O. should be given adequate representation in the Security Council. The survival of the U.N.O. will rest on the enlargement of its field activities in peace keeping, economic assistance and humanitarian relief. The U.N.O. has shelved more problems than it has solved mostly because of the cold war alignments acting as a drag on it. We may hope that the "Big Brother attitude" of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. may ultimately lead to real brotherliness. As it stands, they seem to be wooing the world with the Dollar and the Rouble towards their respective ideologies. They advance economic aid

such as milk powder for peaceful purpose and gunpowder for warlike purposes. They carry on ideological propaganda to fish in troubled waters and sometimes trouble the waters in order to fish in them. Communist China has, now, emerged as another world power to be bracketed with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S. R. The ideological and political conflict between the U.S.S.R. and China contains enough inflammable material for a conflagration. Peace in the world to a large extent will depend upon the co-operation and mutual understanding of the U.S.A. U.S.S.R., and Communist China. If they fail to co-operate the goose that lays the golden egg will one day perish.



## **Unit – V**

### **Europe after World War II**

#### **Cold war**

Cold war is a conflict short of war existing between the Communist bloc led by the U.S.S.R. and the Western nations led by the U.S.A. on ideological, economic and political fronts. It is not really a war but a state of antagonism, mutual suspicion and rivalry between the two super powers. It is cold in the sense that no guns actually spit out fire. It is cold also in the sense that there is no warmth of friendship. It is more like a tug – of-war between the two powers. It is a state of confrontation in which Russia stands for world revolution as opposed to America's stand on maintaining the status quo of the existing governments.

The term "Cold War" came into use after the Second World War as a result of which the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have emerged as two great powers of the world. All other power receded into the background with the loss of their overseas territories and their backs being broken in the war. Cold War is a post war development accentuated by the collapse of the European powers in the early part of the war and the crumbling of the colonial order. Had the cold war warmed up before the discovery of nuclear weapons, it would have meant a total war. But as nuclear warfare would bring complete urban annihilation irrespective of the victors and the vanquished military strategy has shifted to means short of war. Soviet Russia which has been in a state of isolation between 1917 and 1939 was forced into an uneasy alliance with the U.S.A. and England for defeating Hitler, the common enemy. When peace came in 1945, the mutual suspicions of old reared their head. Russia was quick to repair her war-damages and embarked on a programme of expanding its influence westward in middle and eastern Europe and eastward at the expense of Japan, its old enemy, and southward into Greece. The U.S.A. was for the preservation of European territorial divisions and its own global markets as they existed before the Second World War and for containing Russia at any cost short of an actual armed conflict. This has brought about a confrontation between the two powers and given a shape and direction to world affairs ever since. In every area of international relationship, we find that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are racing against each other in problems such as the Partition of Germany and the Berlin Wall. Sporadic local wars, strategic treaty alignments, economic aid like milk powder for peaceful purpose and also gun powder for warlike purposes, and ideological propaganda to fish in troubled waters and sometimes trouble the waters in order to fish in them.

To prevent the spread of Communistic influence, America adopted a policy of containment against Russia immediately after the Second World War and with China after 1949. The first act of the American Government under this new policy of containment was the "Truman Doctrine" to help Greece and Turkey in 1947. The threat of communism became acute in the Mediterranean region due to the support extended by Soviet Russia to Communist guerrillas in Greece and exerting pressure on Turkey which would have resulted in Russian expansion in the Mediterranean. It was to outwit the ambitious designs of Russia that Truman, the President of the U.S.A., forged the "Truman Doctrine" in 1947 to render military aid to Greece and Turkey to resist communist aggression. The doctrine saved Greece and Turkey from that violence of armed minorities or outside pressure. It saved Greece from

disorder, assured the territorial integrity of Turkey and prevented the Mediterranean from coming under communist domination. Marshall, the Secretary of State, forged the “Marshall plan” in 1948 to help 17 countries of Europe with American dollars and machinery to recover from the damages caused during the war and to meet the Communist threat by restoring the economy of Europe. “The Point Four” programme of Truman speeded up technical assistance to the newly developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In 1948, America formed the Organisation of American States (OAS) along with 21 Latin American countries. It was meant to settle the disputes among themselves in a peaceful manner extend economic and social assistance to Latin America and make common cause in the event of aggression. The growing tension created by the ‘Berlin Blockade’ (1948 – 49) posed by Russia and the threats against Greece and Turkey led to the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949 by the U.S.A. and 11 other countries. Later on Turkey, Greece and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) were admitted. The practical application of this military alliance was put to the test in 1950 when America with the backing of the U.N.O. intervened in the Korean War in defence of South Korea against the attack of North Korea supported by Russia. To maintain security in the Pacific, America joined Australia and New Zealand and formed the ANZUS in 1951. The collapse of the French forces in Indo-China in 1954 was the immediate prelude to the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) formed in 1954 by the U.S.A. along with 7 other countries. It was designed to check further Communist infiltration and to promote economic co-operation, technical assistance and joint action in the event of aggression among the countries of the region. Not to be outdone, Russia formed the Warsaw Pact in 1955 along with her seven satellite states. What little of the world is left over has styled itself as non-aligned. If the cold war warms up, there are enough treaties to spark off a world war.

The U.S.A. extended active support to overthrow an alleged pro-communist government in Guatemala in 1954 and landed troops in the Dominican Republic in 1965 to prevent pro-Castro followers gaining an upperhand. The U.S.S.R. succeeded in a coup d’etat in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and suppressed revolts in East Germany in 1953 and Hungary in 1956. But she failed to bring to book Tito of Yugoslavia in 1948- 49. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 was the climax of the cold war tension. The timely detection and dismantling of the Russia missiles from Fidel Castro’s Cuba averted a major clash between America and Russia. Not satisfied with the already existing allies of the two rival blocs, they are wooing the nations of the underdeveloped. “third World”.

The U.N.O. which came into being after the Second World War has taken the place of the League of nations which died a natural death when that war broke out. It has a broader base in its ideals and a positive programme of promoting every activity favouring peace, But even here the cold war alignment and Russo-American rivalry have bedevilled many issues and muddled through many disputes. The U.N.O. has shelved more problems than it has solved mostly because of the cold war alignments acting as a drag on it. In all the conflicts of Asian and African countries, the ideological lines of cleavage are apparent. In Kashmir, the cease – fire line on the border of the Jammu&Kashmir, corresponds to the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel in Korea. The difference is that it was only a diplomatic confrontation between America and Russia. Though the war in Vietnam has ended, it was with a view to preventing the spread of Communism that the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel was drawn between the North and the South in Vietnam.

Russia is pro-Indian for the simple reason that America is pro – Pakistan. While America supports Israel, Russia supports the Arab countries. The America was in a state of confrontation with Russia's fleet in the high seas off India.

Even in the economic, cultural and scientific fronts, the lines of difference between the two countries could be noticed. Poverty is the breeding –ground of communism. SO it occurred to Truman, the U.S. President, that it would be better to spend millions of dollars on the development of underdeveloped countries and raise the standard of living of those people in the capitalist way than to spend millions in shooting them down after they have become Communists. From this came the Truman Doctrine, a new gospel of filling bellies and saving the souls of the underdeveloped countries by massive economic aid. The Marshall Plan was the practical implementation of this doctrine. Russia expects that the rest of the world will ultimately unite while America hopes that the rest of the world will turn its back on the Communist heresy and come into the fold of the free world and align itself. Ideologically, politically and strategically with the U.S.A. Both Russia and America are beaming their ideological propaganda on all the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa.

It is a significant development that the developed countries feel a sense of responsibility for the uplift of backward ones. “Enlightened selfishness” as a substitute for “altruism: is better than no substitute at all. The state of tension between the blocs makes them responsive to world opinion. Meanwhile, the backward areas get a chance of developing economically. It is to be hoped that the “Big Brother attitude” of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. may ultimately lead to real brotherliness. As it stands, they seem to be wooing the world with the Dollar and the Rouble towards their respective ideologies. A shift in the policy of the U.S.A occurred after 1971. In 1972 President Nixon of America visited Peking with a view to establishing friendly relations with China. A joint communiqué was released after due consultation with the leaders of China. The communiqué has expressed the hope to improve, U.S. Chinese relations. In the same year, Nixon visited Moscow. He conferred with Soviet leaders and entered into many agreements, including a disarmament pact. It was in the light of the altered outlook that America did not interfere in the Cambodian affair which has resulted in the overthrow of the pro-American government in Cambodia and the restoration of prince Nor Odom Sihanouk to power. America has now written off Vietnam. The American backed South Vietnam Government surrendered to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam on April 30. 1975. Communist China, has, now emerged as another world power to be bracketed with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. the ideological and political conflict between the U.S.S.T. and China contains enough inflammable material for a world conflagration.

Reaction against the two superpowers however set in during the late 1950's due to the miserable role of playing second fiddle to which the allies and satellites were driven to. Within the NATO itself, the six states of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg realising their pitiable position asserted their individuality by forming the European Economic Community. (Common Market) to advance their own economic and political unity. From among the Communist bloc, Rumania adopts an independent foreign policy and China projects itself with its own brand of Communism. Marshall Tito has resisted Russia's Imperialism and has demonstrated what Co-existence means in Cold war. The revolt of the new Afro-Asian countries is another reaction to the

American - Soviet conflict. Most of these countries unwilling to hitch their wagon to the star of either of the two blocs have adopted non-alignments as their foreign policy. These nations look forward to the United Nations for protection of their individuality and independence. China has now emerged as another world power to be bracketed with the two superpowers. In the light of such developments, the approach of the two superpowers has become cautious and calculative.

With the Ronald Reagan's regime in power in the U.S.A. the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen Alexander Haig, a close associate of Mr. Richard Nixon and Dr. Henry Kissinger is adopting anti-India postures with the pro-Pakistan tilt. The United States has decided to help Pakistan with arms-supplies and nuclear matters at a heavy cost. In addition to the substantial military equipment from China, a much larger flow of arms in to Pakistan from the United States, will certainly upset the military balance in the Indian sub-continent. There is bound to be greater tension which may lead to another armed conflict. The Republican rule of the Mr. Ronald Reagan is expected to be more anti-Soviet, more pro-Chinese and more pro-Pakistani, largely to counter the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The relation between the Soviet Union and the Communist China has gone to the worst. There is no prospect of any improvement in their mutual trust and good-will. The United States availing this golden opportunity, tried to improve its relationship with the Communist China in 1972. in order to keep the Soviet Union under Control. Thereupon the Soviet Union tried to improve its relationship with the United States thus averting China from helping the United States in the event of war between China and the Soviet Union.

The United States continued to support Iran till the fall of Shah in Jan, 1979. This was done only to maintain her influence and prestige in the Middle East against the growing influence of the Soviet Union in that region. Mr. Hafizullah Amin, the President of Afghanistan was overthrown in a coup on Dec. 27, 1979. Mr. Babrak Karmal, a former Vice President was installed as the New President with the active aid of the Soviet Union. Both Pakistan and Iran refuse to extend full diplomatic recognition to President Babark Karmal's regime. The Russians have come to stay in Afghanistan and have moved their civil servants into key-positions in all ministries. The Soviet Union invoked its veto for the 113 th time on Jan,7, 1980 when it blocked a U.N. Security Council Call for an immediate withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. During the end of June, 1980, the Soviet Union withdrew about 5,000 troops and 250 tanks from Afghanistan. The intervention of the Soviet Union is more a part of strategy to seize the oil rich Persian Gulf. So Pakistan is feeling insecure after the Russian occupation of Afghanistan and the strong ties between India and the Soviet Union. There is evidence that Islamabad's dream of production of Nuclear weapons, is nearer realisation. And so, Pakistan has started a frenzied campaign against India to justify its nuclear explosion. The non-aligned conference in New Delhi on Feb, 13, 1981, adopted a declaration embodying the consensus on withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

During the war between Israel and Egypt in 1973, the Soviet Union gave all possible help to Egypt, while Israel was fully backed by the United States. Then President Carter was successful enough in bringing the war to an end by winning over President Sadat of Egypt to his side and in March, 1979 a treaty was signed between Egypt and Israel. Then the Soviet Union, denouncing that treaty in strong terms, set Syria against Egypt. What is worse is, it

has alienated the United States from the rest of the Arab countries of West Asia. Even – though the treaty was signed between Egypt and Israel, the United States is said to supply arms and ammunitions to both these countries at a very terrible cost.

The region of Indian Ocean was once thought and hoped to be “demilitarized zone of peace”. Now it has become a cockpit of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Diego Garcia is a tiny island in the Chagos archipelago. This island is just in between Cape Comerin and Mauritius. It is located 1280 kms north east of Mauritius and about 1600 kms south of Inida’s southern tip. This island was once ceded to Britain by Mauritius in 1965 before her attaining independence. The understanding at that time was that Britain would use it as a refuelling port. Instead, Britain leased the island to the United States which now uses it, as a strategic American military base, making the Indian Ocean an area of confrontation with the Soviet Union. Mauritius has officially asked Britain to return the island. The demand for the return of the Diego Garcia to Mauritius was strongly supported by the O.A.U. ( the Organisation of African Unity), as it described the military activity, as a threat of Africa.

The Soviet naval squadron in the area of the Indian Ocean operates in the western p[art of the Gulf of Aden., around Socotra Island. The Russians have stationed some ships in the strait of Hormuz to keep a close watch over the American forces, in Diego Garcia Island which has become a full-fledged naval and air-base. In spite of protests made by India and other African countries, the Superpower turn a deaf ear.

Recent developments in Iran, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and unrest in the Muslim countries have upset the military balance in the Indian Ocean Region. Thus the Indian Ocean is likely to become the bone of contention between the United States and the Soviet Union. The biting winds of the cold war are found to be blowing again.

The two superpowers maintain two largest weapon arsenals in the world. The nuclear forces of China. France and Britain are smaller but still their arsenals are far more significant. Mover and countermoves are being made by the giant powers to meet imaginary situations, regard less of the cost. Despite the Non-proliferation Treaty (N.P.T.) signed by 115 countries, more and more nuclear weapons have been developed. In another decade the position may become uncontrollable.

The powerful nations of the world have forgotten the bitter experience derived after the two great divesting world wars. They are now failing in their duty to live in amity, peace, mutual good-will and co-operation. Thus in the world of today, there is confrontation everywhere – confrontation between the two superpowers, confrontation within the Communist block, confrontation among the Western countries, confrontation between the East and West, and following the policy of Non-alignment. The confrontation will lead to war which in turn will lead to total destruction of the entire mankind and extinction of civilization in the context of growing nuclear proliferation.

### **Disarmament**

‘Disarmament’ is a burning political problem that faces the world. The problem has become all the more important ever since the explosion of the first atomic bomb in 1945. Disarmament agreements have been placed on record form ancient times. After the two world

war's the problem has assumed greater dimensions. The Covenant of the League of Nations contained a provision for disarmament. During the interwar period, earnest efforts were made to bring about disarmament at all levels. But all efforts came to grief. Instead of disarmament, the armament race was going on at a faster rate which eventually resulted in the Second World War. The problem is now further made more complex and complicated by the possession of atomic weapons including hydrogen bombs and nuclear missiles by the superpowers. Unilateral disarmament is out of question because good sense and mutual confidence should prevail among the superpowers which is an impossibility. Unilateral disarmament on the defeated Axis powers after the Second World War was less severe. After the Partition of Germany, Western Germany joined the NATO and it is now armed to the teeth to counteract any flare-up from East Germany, Japan was allowed to rearm after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950.

When compared with the League Covenant, the U.N. Charter is much less specific regarding provisions of disarmament. Though emphasis was put on security, the U.N. Charter does contain provisions for disarmament. Article II of the U.N. Charter entrusts the General Assembly with authority to discuss and make recommendations on "the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments". In order to promote the establishment of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the World's human and economic resources", the Security Council was made "responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, plans to be submitted to the members of the established of a system for the regulation of armaments". The fumes of the first atomic explosion hovered round the atmosphere shortly after the U.N. Charter has been negotiated in 1945. So the U.N. set up an Atomic Energy Commission in 1946 to regulate and control the use of this weapon with out the consent of the Soviet Union. A parallel Commission for Conventional Armaments was also set up. But the two commissions failed to achieve anything due to the unwillingness of the Western powers to cut down armaments without any effective international control and the refusal of Russia to permit international inspection in its territory. However, the two Commissions were united into a single Disarmament Commission in 1952. The nomenclature of the Commission varied from time to time until and at last all the members of the U.N. were made members of the Commission in 1958. But disarmament talks however began only in 1960. Disarmament Conferences were going on ever since 1960 both inside the U.N. and U.N. sponsored conferences outside. But nothing was achieved in meantime; the international situation got worsened due to the Berlin crisis of 1961. At the height of the tension, the U.S.S.R. Exploded any small nuclear devices underground in 1961 and an atmospheric explosion near Christmas Island in the Pacific Ocean was tested on April 25, 1962. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 further worsened the situation. While the crisis was taxing the nerves of both America and Russia, the General Assembly of the U.N.O passed a resolution in 1962 stipulating that all nuclear tests should cease by Jan. 1, 1963. For the first time the three nuclear powers – America, Russia and Britain – agreed to conduct no more nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water or in outer space of course with the exception of testing underground. They arrived at an agreement in Moscow and it went into effect from Oct. 10, 1963. The Moscow Agreement was ratified by more than 100 countries. But France was a notable exception to this. Under the towering

leadership of General de Gaulle, France wanted to follow an independent nuclear policy. France exploded the first nuclear device in 1963. Not to be outdone, China which was then not a member of the U.N. exploded its first test in October 1964. A non-proliferation draft-treaty put up by America and Russia in 1968. As a follow-up measure, a conference of non-nuclear states was held at Geneva in August 4, 1968. The conference discussed proposals to prevent proliferation, to strengthen the security of non-nuclear states and to examine the peaceful uses of nuclear power. As Russia marched her forces into Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the question of attacking a non-nuclear country with conventional weapons came up for discussion in the conference, But the conference was not able to achieve anything substantial. However, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty came into force on March 5, 1970. The members of the 18 nations Disarmament Committee (ENDC) met in 1969 under a different name as the Conference of the Committee Disarmament. The members rose to 16, the new members being Japan, Mongolia, Netherlands, Hungary, Argentina, Morocco, Pakistan and Yugoslavia.

The Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) are strategic arms. In 1969, the United States and the Soviet Union held talks at Helsinki, Finland, in order to limit the use of Strategic Arms and this was known as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The talks were held in 1970 and 1971. And in 1972, the United States and the U.S.S.R. entered into an agreement called the SALT agreements. This was known as SALT –I Treaty. This was considered to be a great achievement. It limited the grave use of both the offensive and defensive ICBMs and ABMs, the strategic arms by the two superpowers. It is indeed a very remarkable forward step towards establishment of peace and harmony since it was sponsored and agreed for disarmament by the two superpowers themselves which possess enough nuclear weapons to wipe off the entire world in no time. But this agreement was made only for five years (1972 -77). So it expired in October 1977.

The Soviet Union and the U.S.A. were on the verge of finalising the SALT – II. Many important issues had been pending for a long time. The prospect of the early agreement on disarmament on both sides was hampered, when the U.S.A. announced in Dec, 1978, its decision to establish diplomatic relations with the Communist China. On the initiative of the non-aligned countries the special session of the general Assembly of the United Nations was convened. Almost all the countries of the world took part in the discussion on the issues of disarmament. It was a great effort to slow down the arms race saving the world's economy by \$ 400 million per year. After seven long years, on June 18, 1979, SALT – II was signed by both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Although any initiative and agreement to curtail the arms-race should be welcomed, the real worth of SALT – II is at best a debatable issue. The SALT – II has not eliminated the dreadful arsenals of piled up and growing nuclear arms. It has also not put a stop to further research and development of more deadly nuclear weapons. The attempt to enforce the terms of SALT – II ended in failure, The only solution to this mad and destructive and disastrous arms- race, is to abandon all nuclear weapons by all nations, super or pauper, nuclear or non-nuclear, let us hope and pray, wisdom prevails and humanity is saved before it is too late.

The two superpowers won't come down and bring about complete disarmament. On the face of it, it looks absurd because new nations such as France and China may fill the void and threaten the peace, safety and security of the world. The real question at issue is the non-use of force in settling international disputes. In the present world of ours good –will have bid farewell. The two superpowers know very well the gravity of the situation. If robbery is to be checked, the robbers should be entrusted with the keys of the city gates. Conscious of the danger involved in nuclear warfare, the two superpowers would approach the question at issue with caution and restraint, Why should history repeat itself with the old adage that when France sneezes Europe catches cold or why should we risk on the unknown by giving a chance to the sleeping giant (China) for when he wakes up he will shake up the whole world? With the feeling that a known devil is better than an unknown devil, the people of the world can sleep the more quietly in their beds with the two superpowers at the helm of affairs and the Third World which is mostly non-aligned keeping the balance between the two.

### **Marshall Plan & Various Alliances**

The Marshall Plan is a massive economic programme to rehabilitate European countries from the ravages of the Second World War, Marshall the Secretary of State of the United States, forged the “Marshall Plan” in 1948 to help countries of Europe with American dollars and machinery to recover from the damages caused during the war and to meet the Communist threat by restoring the economy of Europe. The 17 countries were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Western Germany.

### **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)**

Within three years of the end of the Second World War came the Brussels Treaty by the five Brussels powers (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) as if the world was preparing for defence in the next war. Within a year, this nucleus developed into the NATO in 1949 under the inspiration of the U.S.A. The 12 original signatories to the treaty are Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey joined the organisation in 1952 and West Germany in 1955. At present France is not an active member of the NATO. The headquarters of the NATO is at Brussels.

The main provisions of the treaty are that the signatories to the treaty should resolve all international peace and security, and justice are not jeopardised. The signatories should further develop peaceful and friendly relations. The signatories by self-help and mutual help should maintain their individual and collective capacity to resist armed aggression. Any aggression committed against one or more members should be deemed as an aggression against all. Under such an eventuality, all the members should take suitable action against the aggressor. Any action taken should be immediately reported to the Security Council of the U.N. If suitable action is taken by the Security Council to ensure peace and security, the action taken before should be terminated. Membership in the organisation is welcome to any European state provided it is in a position to stand by the provisions of the treaty. If any member so



desires as to cease his membership from the NATO can do so after the treaty has been in force for 20 years. The desirous member should also submit a notice for one year with regard to the withdrawal to the United States.

The NATO is out and a military pact. It is not meant for aggression but to resist aggression. The provision regarding the settlement of international disputes by peaceful methods is in line with the U.N.Charter. As the 20 years period has expired, the organisation has become more or less permanent. The NATO is chiefly designed against the Soviet Bloc. This is quite clear from the call made by Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States of America, in the NATO Summit Conference opened in London on May 10<sup>th</sup> 1977 for a long term programme to strengthen the Atlantic Alliance in the face of a growing massive Soviet military build-up in Europe.

### **South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO)**

South East Asia treaty organisation is a regional defence organisation signed at Manila on Sep, 8, 1954 by Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Britain, France and the United States. (Pakistan withdrew from the organisation in 1972). The headquarters of the organisation is at Bangkok, The members of the organisation used to meet once in a year in the capital city of a member country. The organisation was designed as a bulwark against Communist infiltration especially from China. The main objectives of the organisation are “to uphold the principles of self – determination in Southeast Asia and to provide the states of the region with the opportunity to achieve stability and economic and cultural growth free from outside interference”. While Formosa (Taiwan) and Hong-Kong were not brought under the protective umbrella of the organisation, Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam were brought under its protection. Whenever the security of the region is threatened, the members should take suitable measures short of armed attack for the common defence. But in the case of Communist aggression, the member nations were bound to take immediate action. The SEATO was chiefly designed against Communist infiltration and economic penetration. Though countries such as India, Indonesia, Burma and Malaysia are within the region, they did not take any part in it because it was dominated by Western powers. In spite of the fact that member countries subscribed forces during the Vietnam War, they were not able to avert the Communist takeover. In Sep. 1975, the Universal and Ministerial representatives of the existing SEATO countries (U.S.A. Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand decided in the light of the new situation in South East Asia, to phase out the organisation. The SEATO has thus ceased to have any more relevance in international matters.

### **Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO)**

The Central Treaty Organisation is a defence organisation among Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain. It was originally known as the Baghdad pact which came into being in 1955 through a treaty signed between Iraq and Turkey. Subsequently, in the same year, Iran, Pakistan and Britain joined the pact. As Iraw's pro-western government was toppled in 1958, it withdrew from the pact in 1959. SO the headquarters was transferred from Baghdad to Ankara in 1959 and the name of the pact was changed into Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). Even though the United States is not officially represented in the organisation, it

sends observers to its meetings. The organisation is purely an anti-Soviet alliance. The usefulness of its security problems is much limited.

Pakistan's unhappiness began when it found that its membership of the pact did not help her its wars with India in 1965 and 1971. Iran, Pakistan had announced their decision to withdraw from the CENTO. On March 12, 1979. Subsequently, on March 15, 1979 when Turkey joined hands with Iran and Pakistan in pulling out, the Western Asian defence alliance, founded in 1955, known as the Central Treaty Organisation, collapsed. With the withdrawal of Turkey from the organisation, Britain is the only remaining full member of CENTO.

The Asian partners of the pact used the alliance only to strengthen their own positions. It failed to achieve the unity of the Arab powers, Now the CENTO has no command – structure as the NATO has Moreover no specific National force has been assigned to CENTO. It is now as good as dead.

### **Warsaw Pact**

To counteract the designs of the NATO formed by the Western bloc, the Warsaw Pact was signed in Warsaw on May 1955. The signatories to the pact are the U.S.S.R., Poland Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and East Germany. The unified military command of the army is taken up by Soviet Russia and units of SOviet army are stationed in the statellite states. When rebellion broke out in Poland in 1956, Soviet Russia interfered in the internal affairs of Poland. The bullying tactics of Russia with her army was resented by the people and so the Soviet army was withdrawn from Poland. A similar rebellion broke out in Hungary in 1956. But it was crushed by Russia and the Soviet troops are still stationed there. IN foreign policy, to the dismay of Russia, Rumania has recognised the West German Government. Albania withdrew from the pact in 1968. Czechoslovakia was brought under her knees by the pact forces of Soviet Russia , East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria for her liberal policy and her free intercourse with West Germany. The pact is kept up more for political than for military reasons.

### **Common wealth of Nations**

The Common wealth of Nations is a free association of sovereign states which were once dependencies of Britain. These states recognise the British Queen as the head of the Common wealth and thus she stands as an indispensable symbol of unity. The members of the Common wealth are Australia, Antigua and Barbados, The Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Botswana, Ghana, Grenada, Cyprus, Dominica. The Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia , Maldives Malta, Mauritius, Namibia, Nauru, Newzealand , Nigeria, Pakistan Papua New Guinea, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands,. Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Uganda, United Kingdom, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Maldives, Narur, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Tuvalu are the special members of the Commonwealth, Countries such as Burma, Egypt, The Sudan, Iraq and the present constituents of former Palestine which were once dependencies of Britain did not become members of the Commonwealth. the Republic of Ireland and South Africa left the Common wealth.

The British Queen is only the symbolic heads of the Commonwealth and as such the commonwealth members are not bound by the advice of the Commonwealth policy. As sovereign states they can act independently the deliberations during the meetings are purely informal and in these meetings emphasis is put on consultation rather than action. The Commonwealth countries have benefited most by their association with Britain as is seen in Business, trade, Banking, technology, education, religion, law, etc. small and poor Commonwealth countries such as Malta, The Gambia and Malawi thrive due to financial aid given by Britain. Malaysia and Singapore obtain British military assistance. Above all, the cultural contact among the Commonwealth members is immense.

The Commonwealth has no written constitution to regulate its function Members of the Commonwealth are autonomous and equal in status, with a combined population of some 1000 million, about a quarter of the World's total. Members of the Commonwealth are represented by High Commissioners in other Commonwealth countries. The Headquarters of the Commonwealth is in London.

### **European Common Market (ECM)**

The European Economic Community (EEC) which is more popularly known as the European Common Market (ECM) came into being by the treaty of Rome signed in 1957 by six countries consisting of Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. On the first day of 1973, Britain, the Irish Republic and Denmark joined the European Common Market. On May 29, 1979, Greece became the 10th member. On Jan, 1, 1986. Spain and Portugal joined as 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> members. Its aim was to reduce progressively the tariffs among the members countries and finally abolish it in 1977. In 1975, the total reduction came to about 60 percent. The European Common Market covers more than 40% of the world trade. With the end of the transitional period, free import and export of commodities among member countries and the free movement of labour and capital from one state to another would come to stay. The ECM has also set up an European Investment Bank to assist less developed countries in Europe. From among the developing countries which have close connections with the EEC, preferential treatment in aid and the development of trade is shown.

The EEC functions through the Council of Ministers the Commission, the court of Justice, the Assembly or European Parliament and others dealing with specific subjects. The Council of Ministers consist of one member from each members state (usually the foreign minister or a minister concerned with the subject). It is the Council of Ministers which is the final decision making authority. The commission consists of 13 Commissioners nominated by each state. The duty of the Council of Ministers. The court of Justice is constituted by a judges assisted by 4 advocates-general. The Assembly consisted of members nominated by the member states. But the mode of nominating the members to the said assembly was subsequently changed and the European Parliament, History's first directly elected multi-national assembly, consisting of the member countries excepting Greece, was inaugurated on July 17, 1979. There are 410 members in this new Parliament. Even though this new Parliament has only limited powers, its chief feature is that. It will reflect the views of about 18 crore people to the heads of the member nations. The community is an economic union, but it is surcharged with political motives. It so the political overtone that prevented other

European Countries such a Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Iceland, Norway, etc.,  
from entering it.