

KEMAL PASHA AND MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY

Unit Structure

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- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Kemal's Early Career
- 1.3 Reforms of Mustapha Kemal Pasha
- 1.4 Foreign Policy of Kemal Pasha
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1.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to-

- 1. Mustapha Kemal Pasha's early career and his rise to power as President of the Republic of Turkey.
- 2. The various reforms of Kemal which contained his six principles and through which he successfully modernised and westernised Turkey.
- 3. Kernel's 'peaceful' foreign policy.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

After the First World War, the spirit of nationalism spread very quickly all over the Middle East. People here were determined to get rid of their foreign masters and establish independent nations for themselves. These two words, "nationalism" and "self-determination" influenced people's minds to a great extent. Turkey was no exception.

The Ottoman Empire had dominated Asia Minor, the Middle East, and the Balkan Peninsula since the mid-fifteenth century. But the early 19th century saw the decline of the Empire. The Balkan provinces broke away and by 1914, Turkey in Europe was reduced to Istanbul and a part of Eastern Thrace. But in Asia, Turkey had large territory. During the First World War, Turkey had joined the Central Powers. After losing the war, Turkey naturally had to sign a peace treaty. The Sultan's government accepted the Treaty of Sevres, which deprived the Empire of almost all her territory. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits, connecting the Black Sea with the Aegean Sea were demilitarised and placed under the control of the League.

The harsh terms of the treaty shocked the Turks and some of them decided to take immediate action. Their leader was Mustapha Kemal.

1.2 KEMAL'S EARLY CAREER

He was born at Salonika in 1880 and went to a military college for training. He developed into a first-rate soldier and at the same time was interested in revolutionary literature. He hated the Sultan's autocratic government and for some time joined the Young Turks Party. By 1919 he was back to study military techniques in France.

All his military training was put to the test when his country fought the Balkan Wars in 1912-13. But what established his reputation as a military commander was his defeat of the British in 1915 at Gallipoli.

After the war, he was angry at the harsh treaty that the Allies imposed on the Turks. He tried to persuade the Sultan Muhammad VI to fight the Allies. But the Turkish government was too frightened.

Kemal was not the type to be quiet for long. He went to Anatolia and reorganized the army. Then he started a nationalist party called the PEOPLE'S PARTY with the slogan, "Turkey for the Turks." This party met several times and decided not to accept the Treaty of Sevres. The parliament at Istanbul supported them. The British army replied to the situation by marching into Istanbul and proclaiming Martial Law. So in 1920, Kemal called a Grand National Assembly at Ankara and declared that this Assembly was the only representative of the Turkish people. The Assembly elected Kemal to be its President and Commander-in-Chief of its army. So, Kemal had set up a parallel government at Ankara.

Kemal's first act was to clear the country of foreign troops. He forced the Italian troops to move out from southern Anatolia, and the French troops from Cilicia.

The Greeks had got a lot of territory by the Treaty of Sevres, so they were keen to see that the Turks kept to the terms of the treaty. The British Government offered them financial support. In 1921, they attacked Turkey and moved towards Ankara. To their great surprise the Turkish troops pushed them back. Kemal then captured Smyrna and pushed out all Greek inhabitants from Asia Minor. On being so successful, Kemal wanted to cross the Straits. But the British warships prevented him from doing so. Kemal did not want to fight a war with Britain, so he concluded a peace with them.

Kemal's victory over the Greeks forced the Allies to revise the Treaty of Sevres. In 1923, they met at Lausanne to frame a new treaty. By this new Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey regained eastern Thrace, Constantinople was also given back to her. All restrictions on Turkey's army, navy and air force were removed. Foreign control on customs was lifted. Turkey agreed to the demilitarization of the Straits. This treaty was a great triumph for Kemal and a huge humiliation for the Allies. Kemal had shown that he was strong enough to secure what he wanted.

The Grand National Assembly had voted to depose the Sultanate and Muhammad VI had fled from Turkey. On 22 October 1923, Turkey was declared a Republic and Kemal was elected its first President. He was virtual dictator of Turkey. The only difference was that he used his powers for the benefit of the people and the good of the country.

On 1 March 1924, Kemal opened a new session of Parliament. In his speech he emphasised three main points:

- (1) The safeguarding and stabilization of the Republic.
- (2) The creation of a national and unified system of education.
- (3) The need to “cleanse and elevate the Islamic faith, by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument to which it had been accustomed for centuries.”

In other words, he wanted to separate the religion from the government. The Grand National Assembly now voted to abolish the Caliphate and to banish all members of the Ottoman house from Turkey. This was Kemal's first open attack on Islamic orthodoxy. He met with a lot of opposition, but he dealt with it firmly.

1.3 REFORMS OF MUSTAPHA KEMAL

Kemal was a man of courage and determination, and he used his authority in introducing -tremendous reforms. His programme contained six principles:

- (1) Republicanism
- (2) Secularism
- (3) Populism
- (4) Nationalism
- (5) Statism
- (6) Reformism.

He was determined to remove all ancient systems in the country and remodel Turkey on a western pattern. The modernization and development of Turkey became his goal.

1.3.1 Administrative Reforms:

The new Turkey had a democratic government. There was a written constitution, and the National Assembly was to be elected once every four years by universal adult suffrage. The Assembly would elect the President. In practice however, Kemal conducted the government of Turkey as a national dictator. There was only one political party, the People's Party, and Kemal was the leader. Since he controlled the Assembly, his election

as President was definite. He was also Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and had their total obedience.

The old administrative units of the Ottoman Empire were abolished. Turkey was divided into 62 VILOYETS (provinces). These Vilayets were sub-divided into 430 KAZAS (districts). Each Kaza was further divided into NAHIYAS (boroughs).

1.3.2 Legal Reforms:

Kemal felt that a radical reorganisation of the entire legal system was necessary. The old legal system based on the Sheriat or Holy Law was abolished. In 1926, the National Assembly adopted -

- (1) A new civil code based on the Swiss law,
- (2) A new penal code based on the Italian law, and
- (3) New commercial laws, which were based on the German commercial law.

Laws were passed regarding private debts and their collection. But the system of arresting and imprisoning debtors was done away with.

In the old system, certain families and individuals had always enjoyed special rights and privileges. However, the new constitution declared that all Turkish citizens were equal before the law and all privileges were cancelled. Kemal incorporated this idea into the word, 'populism.'

The new codes were western in nature. Polygamy was abolished and instead civil marriages and divorce with equal rights for both partners was introduced. The marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim was legally permitted.

1.3.3 Secular Reforms:

Kemal believed that Turkey would not develop if Islam continued to control the people. The strict laws of the Islamic faith were opposed to westernisation, and Kemal was determined to get rid of all Islamic influences.

In 1924, the Caliphate was abolished. Until then the Sultan of Turkey was also the Caliph (religious head) of the Muslims all over the world.

In 1928, the state was further secularised, and it was declared that Islam was no longer a state religion. Islam became a private and not a public concern. Sacred tombs were closed as places of worship.

One of his first reforms was very symbolic. A new law was passed which required all men to wear western hats instead of the Fez (traditional hat). To all others, the replacement of one headgear with another might seem very unimportant, but to the Turks it was of great significance.

The Muslim calendar was replaced by the Western calendar. The Muslim year 1342 became 1926 A.D. The weekly holiday was changed from Friday to Sunday.

Religious schools were converted into state schools. Religious instruction was banned in all schools. Kemal and his supporters tried their best to de-emphasize the place of religion in everyday life.

1.3.4 Educational Reforms:

Universal education was another expression of Populism. Kemal encouraged education both primary and secondary and set up schools in most towns. All children between the ages of six and sixteen had to attend school. Adult education was promoted and all Turks under forty years of age were made to take lessons in reading and writing.

The Turkish language was still written in the Arabic script. So Kemal appointed a committee to prepare an alphabet using the Roman (Latin) alphabets.

Kemal also made provisions for teacher training institutes to be set up in different parts of the country.

For higher studies, students were encouraged to go abroad, and they were given scholarships.

1.3.5 Military Reforms:

After the defeat of Turkey in World War I, Kemal decided to develop the Turkish armed forces on modern lines. Special emphasis was placed on discipline, training, and education of military officers. Soldiers too were trained and provided with new and modern weapons. The air force was modernised, and the navy was developed. A large share of the budget was kept for developing the army so that Turkey could defend herself if necessary.

1.3.6 Social Reforms:

Kemal introduced sweeping changes in the social life of the people. His most important and worthy efforts were the reforms to 'emancipate women.' So far women had always been considered inferior and had been denied any rights. So, Kemal decided to make women equal partners with men. Polygamy was abolished and instead civil marriage was introduced. The marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man was permitted. Divorce was permitted with equal rights for both parties. The 'burkha' was not banned but women were discouraged from using it. Schools were established for girls and women were allowed to become doctors, lawyers, etc. In 1929 women were granted the right to vote in local elections and five years later in national elections.

Other cultural reforms were introduced. Men and women were encouraged to wear western dress in public. The Muslim style of greeting

was abolished, and the western style of shaking hands was encouraged. Western dance and music were promoted among the youth.

Mustapha Kemal was proud of being a Turk and he wanted all Turks to be proud of their race and heritage. Many of his reforms were to promote nationalism. Removing all Arabic words revived the Turkish language. Then all the Turks had to adopt surnames. The National Assembly gave Kemal the surname of ATTATURK, which means 'Father of the Turks.' All titles were abolished and replaced by the words, BAY and BAYAN that means Mr. and Mrs. Kemal Ataturk's new slogan was 'Turkey for the Turks and the Turks for Turkey.'

1.3.7 Economic Reforms:

When Kemal became President, he introduced a new economic policy. He stressed the need for greater economic activity by the State. This did not mean that Turkey was turning Socialist. He had no intention of eliminating private enterprise from industry and commerce, or of collectivising agriculture. The purpose of state control was to start and develop projects in fields, which were very important to the country.

Banking Industry:

Attention was first paid to the Banking industry. There were two major banks, 'Banque Ottoman' and 'Banque Agricole.' The Industrial and Mining Bank was started in 1925 and the Mortgage and Trustee Bank was started in 1926. The sound monetary policy of the banks and their proper functioning helped to bring about a favourable balance of trade.

State Monopolies:

The tobacco and cigarette industries were made a state monopoly. Mining concessions were also placed under government supervision. The profits made from these and the monopoly of the salt industry were used to finance the development of other industries.

Industry:

To increase industrialisation, manufacturers were permitted to import machinery without paying any duty. They were also allowed to transport goods on the railways at reduced freight rates. Important industries were free from taxation for the first ten years and after that they were taxed. These measures yielded great profits.

The policy of accepting foreign loans at high rates of interest was discouraged. For multinational companies operating in Turkey, 50% of the capital had to be Turkish. A law was passed making it compulsory for all firms to use the Turkish language in all transactions. This was done to prevent damaging the Turkish reputation.

Agriculture:

Perhaps one of the most serious defects of the entire economic programme was the limited development of agriculture. Most of Turkey was a high barren plateau with and soil. But nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population was engaged in agriculture. Kemal introduce land reforms by dividing the large estates. His government subsidized agriculture by the free grant of cattle and ploughs to deserving families. He encouraged agricultural production by better methods of cultivation. Farmers were motivated to grow cash crops like cotton and tobacco, which were in great demand. Agricultural colleges were set up and agricultural banks started to lend money to farmers. Model farms were set up where the latest machinery was displayed. Kemal had his own model farm on which he himself worked, driving his own tractor.

Means of Transport and Communication:

Kemal realised that the means of transport and communication would have to be developed if Turkey was to have a self-sufficient economy. Before World War I Turkey had a limited railway network. The construction of strategic railways was necessary from the point of view of defence. It was also essential to create the infrastructure for development and growth of industries. Turkey decided to employ foreign contractors to construct the railway.

The Government also started a programme of construction and improvement of harbours. Ports on the Black Sea were developed. The Government also built narrow-gauge railways to connect the important ports.

Finally, the Government gave priority for the construction of roads and bridges, and they employed the latest technology. An ambitious plan of constructing over 5000 Km. of roads was begun.

Public Works:

At another level, Kemal saw that the Municipality provided the people with civic amenities. They started massive programmes of drainage and water supply. Villages and towns all over soon received electricity. The construction of dwelling houses and public buildings offered many job opportunities to the skilled and unskilled labourers. By 1930, the capital city of Ankara was one of the most modern cities in the world.

Check Your Progress:

1. Briefly explain the reforms of Kemal Pasha.

1.4 FOREIGN POLICY OF KEMAL PASHA

At first, Kemal was suspicious of the Western Powers because of the harsh treatment Turkey had received after the First World War. Hence, he was drawn into friendly relations with Russia. In 1925, he concluded a treaty of mutual guarantee and neutrality with Russia. But he remained suspicious of Russia's plans to spread Communism. Russia in turn did not approve of Turkey suppressing Communism, and the relations between the two were not so good.

In 1932 Turkey joined the League of Nations. Next Kemal Pasha tried to develop diplomatic friendships with all Turkey's neighbours.

After an exchange of Turks living in Greece with Greeks living in Turkey, good relations were maintained with Greece.

As the threat of fascism increased, Turkey drew closer to Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia by signing the Balkan Pact in 1934.

This was followed by the Eastern Pact by which Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan promised not to interfere in each other's internal affairs and to consult each other on matters of international concern.

The peaceful attitude of Turkey won her the sympathy of the Western Powers. With the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, Turkey felt it was necessary to fortify the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. The Allied Powers agreed to this request. Though the Straits were declared open to all countries during peace times, Turkey had exclusive control during times of war.

The only country with which Turkey did not share a good relation was Italy. Mussolini's attempt to convert the Mediterranean Sea into an Italian lake, was not approved of by the Turkish people. Turkey supported the League of Nations and protested against Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. When the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was formed, Turkey was worried about her security. She signed treaties of mutual assistance with Britain and France.

Check Your Progress

1. Write a short note on the foreign policy of Kemal Pasha.

1.5 CONCLUSION

The renaissance of Turkey must be attributed in a large measure to the personality of her ruler. Mustapha Kemal was a man of swift and decisive action. Under him, Turkey was an authoritarian State, ruled by a government based on a one-party system. But the Turkish State was not totalitarian like Italy or Germany. Kemal showed a great respect for human and legal standards, which was in contrast to other dictators. He was an inspired leader who snatched the "Sick Man of Europe" from his deathbed and gave him a new life. He was aware that a mere outward

modernisation was worthless-what was necessary for Turkey was fundamental changes in her society. He permitted a wide field of initiative in education, cultural and social activities.

1.6 SUMMARY

After her defeat in World War I, Turkey was forced to accept the Treaty of Sevres. The terms were very harsh, and Turkey would lose practically all her territory. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, a Turkish military hero, organised a national movement since the Sultan's government would not reject the treaty. He conducted victorious military campaigns until the Allies agreed to renegotiate the treaty. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923, and Turkey got much better terms.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha was the founder and first President of the Republic of Turkey. He served as the country's President from 1923 until his death. Under his leadership, Turkey adopted major reforms that changed the political, economic, and social conditions in the country. He was a great visionary, and his reforms were based on the European model. The policies of modernization and westernization adopted by Kemal Pasha came to be known as Kemalism.

Kemal secularized the country by first abolishing the Caliphate and the Sultan was exiled. Then Turkey adopted a parliamentary system of government. The old religious law was replaced by modern scientific civil codes. Education was given top priority and even adults were made to learn to read and write. Women were given equal rights under the new law. The initiative shown by the Turkish women not only in occupations and professions but also in rising to positions of leadership made Turkey unique among Muslim countries. Numerous cultural reforms were introduced but more attention was paid to economic reforms. Industries, trade, and commerce were developed. Special attention was paid to the development of harbours, railways, and roads. Public works were started, and the city of Ankara rebuilt. As a result of sustained efforts of Kemal Pasha, Turkey made great progress in the economic field which led to the prosperity of many Turks.

Kemal's foreign policy was one of friendly relations with all neighbouring countries. He did not involve his country in war after independence had been won.

1.7 QUESTIONS

1. Describe the modernisation of Turkey under leadership of Kemal Pasha?
2. What were the important reforms carried out by Kemal Pasha in Turkey?
3. Discuss the foreign policy of Kemal Pasha?

1.8 ADDITIONAL READING

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REZA SHAH AND REFORMS IN IRAN

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 The Anglo –Iranian Secret Agreement
- 2.3 Early life of Reza Shah
- 2.4 Reforms of Reza Shah Pahlavi
- 2.5 Foreign Policy
- 2.6 Questions
- 2.7 Additional Reading

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to-

1. Understand the background of the Anglo – Iranian Agreement.
2. Discuss the early life of Raza Khan.
3. Explain the reforms of Reza Shah Pahlavi.
4. Describe the foreign policy of Reza shah Pahlavi.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Reza Shah Pahlavi's Iran had been the centre of the ancient civilization. One group of Aryan settled in the North-West, founded the Kingdom of Media and the other group settled in the Southern part of Iran came to be Known as Persis. These two areas together called Iran, means the Land of Aryans. In 550 B.C. it came under the control of Cyrus the Great of Achaemenid dynasty and in 331 B.C. Alexander the Great of Macedonia conquered it and made it a province of Greece. Iran came under the rule of Sassanians, Arabs, and Seljuk Turks. Seljuk and other Turkish tribes ruled Iran from 1000 A.D. to 1220 A.D.

Iran never experienced peace, because it became victim of campaigns of Genghis Khan Mongol and later Tartars under the leadership of Tamerlane. In Sixteenth Century, Turkish tribes Known as Safavid controlled it and ruled up to 1722 A.D. It plunged into turmoil for nearly a period of seventy years, and in 1795 Agha Muhammad Khan brought all area of Iran under his rule and established the rule of his Qajar dynasty which ruled Iran up to 1924.

2.2 THE ANGLO –IRANIAN SECRET AGREEMENT

The big powers Like Russia, England and France had interest in Iran for their own ends. British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon wanted to create a chain of Vassal States stretching from the Mediterranean to the Pamirs in which Iran was the most vital link. In order to put this plan into action, the British troops, immediately after the world war I, on their way to help the 'Whites' in Baku and Caucasus in their civil war against the Bolsheviks occupied whole Iran. Meanwhile in 1919, England induced the Iranian Prime Minister to sign the Anglo-Iranian Agreement giving the former substantial control over Iran. By this agreement England recognized the integrity and sovereignty of Iran on certain conditions. Accordingly, England helped Iran in all possible areas. This agreement would have made Iran a virtual protectorate of England, which the Iranian people would not have agreed. Even the other powers like the U.S.A. never approved it. The internal and external forces pressurized the British to withdraw her forces from Iran.

The Coup d'état:

Due to the disapproval of the Anglo- Iranian Agreement England was unhappy with the developments taking place in Iran. Moreover, England became suspicious about the Iran- Soviet Treaty of 1921 because this treaty retained some vestiges of Tsarist imperialism in Iran. England, therefore wanted a strong central government in Iran to safeguard British interests and keep Soviet Russia at bay.

The Political instability in Iran alarmed all nationalists including Reza Khan, An army officer of Iranian Cossack Brigade. Reza Khan was a man of little education, but his courage and initiative had risen him to a position of command. His long association with Russian officers and bad experience of them had turned him against Russia. Reza Khan took advantage of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and wrested power from them. He wanted to explore the chaotic conditions in Iran and convinced that he must do something about it. However, he needed a partner, who knew politics, could make speeches, and do many things for which he himself was not yet prepared. He found such a partner in Ziauddin Tabatbai, a newspaper publisher and admirer of the British institutions. Ziauddin Tabatabai too wanted to bring about a change in the Iranian government, but he was convinced that he would not be able to stage a coup without military support. Thus, these two persons, Reza Khan and Ziauddin Tabatbai had the same object but did not know each other. The British Legation, who knew them both, put them in touch with each other and let them work out their plans to achieve their goals.

On 21st February 1921, Reza Shah and Ziauddin Tabatbai entered Tehran with 2500 Cossacks, who fired some machine gun shots and completed the coup d'état against the government of Ahmad Shah. Ziauddin became the Prime Minister and Reza Shah was declared as the Commander –in-chief of the Iranian Armed Forces without any Cabinet post. But the Government of Ziauddin could not last long due to differences between

him and Reza Shah. Meanwhile, Reza Shah excluded all Russian officers from the Cossack Brigade and established himself as the Supreme Commander of the Iranian forces. Reza Shah forced Ziauddin to resign from the post of Prime Minister, Iran and assumed the office of the Prime Minister of Iran. On 31st October 1925, a specially convened Assembly deposed Ahmad Shah. On 12 December 1925 the Constituent Assembly amended the constitution and proclaimed Reza Khan as Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. Thus, Reza Khan became Shah mean King of Iran.

Check Your Progress:

1. Write a short note on Anglo -Iranian Secret Agreement and the coup d'état of Raza Shah.

2.3 EARLY LIFE OF REZA SHAH

As mentioned above Reza Khan and Ziauddin came together, former being a soldier commanded the Cossack division and the latter being a radical writer provided a political ideology. It was an amiable combination, which subsequently became inconsistent. The Cossack division was created in 1878 on the line of the Russian army, which became the most efficient brigade of the Iranian army. The Russian officers used to be in command of this Cossack Brigade, which protected the Russian interest in Iran during the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Reza Khan, who became Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1925, was born in month of March, 1878 at Savad KHU village in the Caspian Province of Iran. The family of Reza Khan produced several soldiers, who served the country with remarkable distinction. Although, Reza had no formal education, he had very strong and robust common sense by which he judged people accurately in his life. He had good wisdom and winsome manners which secured him many foreign friends. Reza rose from the ranks to the higher position by dint of his merit like Hyder Ali of Mysore in India who rose from the ranks to that of a ruler. Reza was a man of fortune but behaved as irreligious person whereas Hyder Ali was more liberal in his religious outlook. Reza was aware about confusing conditions in Russia, which he wanted to explore and exploit. These plans of Reza Khan were fully supported by British strategically for their own interest. When Soviet Russia tried to drive all British out of Iran, the British strengthened their position in Iranian army and asked Reza to dismiss all Russian officers appoint British officers in the positions. Consequently, Colonel Smyth, a British officers commanded the Cossack brigade for some time. Reza Khan himself commanded the army after the British officers imparted him all concerned technical know-how and advised him properly. He marched towards Tehran and stayed in coup in 1921. Finally, the Iranian Majilis depose the Shah and proclaimed Reza Khan as the Shah of Iran in 1925 that ended Qajar dynasty in Iran.

Reza Shah wanted to modernise Iran by adopting Western technique on the line of his role model Kemal Pasha in Turkey. He was to consolidate his position to rule Iran for a longer time. He was to strengthen the Iranian army and make the central Government strong enough to enforce several reforms in the country.

2.4 REFORMS OF REZA SHAH PAHLAVI

He was a far-sighted man and wanted to modernise his country like Kemal Pasha of Turkey. To achieve this objective, he introduced several reforms and created national awakening, social reorganization, economic reconstruction and chalked out a sound foreign policy to enhance the national prestige.

1. Establishment of Law and Order:

Reza Shah created safety and security of masses in the country – using stern measures against the people who oppressed the common man. He was a god sent deliverer to the peasants and the masses. He reorganized army to subdue rebellions, disarm the tribes and to bring every corner of Iran under the rule of the central government. Due to his ruthless methods all villages became safe and for the first-time transport and communication could take place in all parts of Iran without fear and molestation.

2. Transport and Communication:

The development of transport and communication is very essential in the economic development of any country. Reza Shah realized this important factor and built roads across the country. He constructed wireless service and took over the operation of the telegraph company from the British government. His greatest achievement in the field of transport and communication was the construction of rail roads throughout Iran, in which the important railroads were the Caspian and Persian Gulf roads, which were completed in the year 1939 and covered the distance of 865 miles. These railroads facilitated the movement of troops, goods, raw material, personnel, and machinery – to industrialize the country and enhance economic development of Iran.

3. Economic Reforms:

After the coup in 1921, Reza Khan introduced a programme of economic reforms as

- a) In 1922 he employed Dr. Arthur Millspaugh of the United States as financial adviser to the Iranian government, who improved the finances and regulated the budget of Iranian government.
- b) Iran began to finance the state-owned industries, which was the direct result of the rehabilitated economy under the new regime.

- c) The Iranian government began to appoint officers to recover revenue properly on regular basis.
- d) Reza ordered the State Trading Agency to carry on the greater part of foreign trade.
- e) Reza Shah established a National Bank and took over the privilege of issuing bank notes from the British.
- f) He established several factories like cement, sugar, and textile factories in various parts of Iran.
- g) He also introduced government monopolies on all trade and commerce.

4. Reforms in Education:

Reza Shah had realized the importance of educating Iranian youths on the modern lines of Europe. He wanted to achieve two objectives by way of reforms in education as one was to modernize Iran based on western countries and the other was to undermine the influence of orthodox clergy, who neither appreciated liberalism nor adopted progressive policy in the country. Accordingly, he opened schools for men and women and started the same educational institutions to educate adults in Iran. He made primary education compulsory and established a university at Tehran in 1934 to bring coordination in all educational institutions. Reza Shah sent Iranian students to various European countries for study and allowed all western missionaries to continue with their educational institutions in Iran to maintain the level and standard of education in the country.

5. Religious and Judicial Reforms:

There were several authorities in religion in Iran namely, the Clergy, Landlords, the Shah, and the foreigners, who created confusion in the administration of Law. To put an end to the chaotic and confusing legal systems, Reza Shah introduced the reforms as under:

- a) In 1922, he introduced a law by which all titles and properties had to be registered.
- b) He made provisions to put down the opposition of the Mullahs to this law with an iron hand and took away the control of religious endowments from their hands to curb their power forever.
- c) Reza Shah abolished the Shariat and introduced the new Penal Code in the country. He adopted the French judicial system to speed up the secularization of Laws to benefit the people as early as possible.
- d) In 1935, Shah passed a law by which all marriages and divorces had to be registered with the government and the records should be maintained properly.

- e) He confiscated the Waqf properties and abolished the extraterritorial privileges of foreigners. He also relegated the Mullahs to background and ignored all religious institutions run by them in the national life or Iran.

6. Social and Cultural Reforms:

In addition to the above reforms, Reza Shah carried out the following Social and Cultural Reforms in Iran:

- a) He pressurized people to adopt the European attire.
- b) He made women optional to wear Veil. When the Queen herself attended a prayer at the Mosque unveiled, the cleric admonished her in the congress, the Shah ordered his forces to flog the concerned clerk and put down the opposition with stern measures.
- c) Reza Shah asked the Iranian Parliament to enact Laws against polygamy and exaggerated privileges of males.
- d) He made women eligible to hold public offices, however, they were not granted with political rights.
- e) Reza Shah minimized Islamic influence on Iranian Society for which he adopted old Persian solar calendar in place of Islamic Lunar calendar. He also established a Persian academy to enable the people to read Persian Language with Arabic words encouraged the poets and writers to choose the conventional subjects of the past with the style of European novels.
- f) He permitted Western music, arts, architecture, and cinema their presence felt in the modernized Iran.
- g) In 1935, Reza Shah officially rechristened his country as Iran. Thus, Reza Shah tried his level best to modernise Iran.

1. Check your progress:

Briefly discuss the reforms of Reza Shah.

2.5 FOREIGN POLICY

Although, Reza Shah required foreign technical expertise for his newly started industrial development, he tried to avoid involvement either with England or Soviet Russia. Because he felt that he would bring Iran under the influence of those countries Like France, Germany, and Italy. But this led Iran to be in trouble after 1939, when England and German began to fight against each other in the World War II. Although, Reza Shah declared neutrality of Iran in the war, England ask Iran to expel all German experts, technicians and other people who were spying and sabotaging the British in their Anglo- Iranian oil Company. Reza Shah

could not comply with the demand of the British government because it was against the interest of Iran, and it would have affected very adversely to the industrial development of Iran. But England and Russia did not agree with Iranian neutrality because they wanted to use the Trans- Iranian Railroad as an alternative route for transporting supplies from the Persian Gulf to the Soviet Caucasus region. Thus, Russia and England who had come together against Germany in 1941, attacked on Iranian forces and defeated them. The prime Minister of Iran resigned, and Muhammad Ali Farooqi accepted the term of Allied Forces as new Prime Minister of Iran. The British captured Reza Shah and shifted him to the Island of Mauritius, where he died on 26 July 1944. Muhammed Reza became new Shah of Iran after the abdications of his father Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1944.

2.6 QUESTIONS

1. Assess the reforms carried to by Reza Shah Pahlavi.
2. Examine the role of Reza Shah in the modernization of Iran.
3. Briefly describe the foreign policy of Reza Shah Pahlavi.

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BIRTH OF ISRAEL

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Factors Responsible for Zionist Movement
- 3.3 Declaration of Birth of Israel
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Questions
- 3.6 Additional Reading

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After the study of this unit the student will be able to

1. Understand the Zionist movement.
2. Explain the various factors responsible for the rise of Zionist movement.
3. Perceive the conditions in which the birth of Israel took place.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In two thousand B.C. Arabs original in today's west Asian countries Like, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordon, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. The word Arab first appeared in the Assyrian documents dated back to 850 B.C. The documents suggest that the early Arabs were nomads, camel herders and inhabited in the areas known as Jordon and Israel. Thereafter, they spread to northeast, south and central Arabian Peninsula. The Arabs had no social harmony, as they inhabited different regions, developed their own social, cultural, and political character. They were nomad initially and carried on caravan trade in dates and palms. They had no sufficient food items for which they were to depend on the neighbouring countries. Arabs faced cultural diversity, as well as political diversity and lack of well-defined religion. Each Arab tribe had its own religion and system of governance. But all Arabs were brought together when they visited Kaaba to worship their holy idols once a year.

The birth of Israel took place on 14 May 1948 at Tel Aviv in the territory of Palestine where the Jews and the Arabs have been living since the time immemorial. Although these two communities belonged to the same racial groups, divided by religion into Judaism and Islam which led to involve into a deadly conflict. They defied the solutions suggested by the international communities to their problem for last half a century. Even

today, the state of Israel is involved in a struggle to maintain her identity and keep intact her security to the requisite minimum.

Zionism:

The movement that led to the foundation of the state of Israel was Known as Zionism. This was the Jewish nationalist movement aimed at uniting all Jews exiled in Europe and America to settle in the territories of Palestine, which was their ancient homeland. This Zionist movement was called after the ancient hills Zion in Palestine in 1890. Zionist movement originated in the nineteenth century had its roots in the Biblical period. The association of the Jewish people with Palestine existed for over 3500 years. In the sixth century B.C. the Jews were carried off to captivity to Babylonia and thereafter, they moved to various countries in the world due to the struggle with the Arabs. Their prophets encouraged to believe that one day their god would allow them to return Palestine or the Land of Israel. Over the centuries, the Jews spread in various countries, associated the hope that God would send the Messiah, a saviour to liberate them. Thus, the Jews in groups or individual began to migrate to Palestine, to materialize their dreams of separate Land for themselves, which came to be Known as the State of Israel.

3.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Initially, the trend of Jews in Europe was towards assimilation into European society, which allowed them to adopt German culture or, the culture of their respective country. The Jews in revolutionary France achieved political equality, which spread throughout Europe in the following decade. But this became a temporary phenomenon. The Jews in Europe began to get suppressive and oppressive treatment in various countries of Europe, which led them to start the movement to move towards their original land Palestine. Among the factors which influenced Jews to start the Zionism, whereas 1) The French Revolution and its aftermath, 2) Dreyfus affair, 3) Assassination of Tsar Alexander II in Russia, 4) Organization of anti- Semitic parties in Germany and Austria – Hungary and were the most important. Almost all European countries began to treat Jews differently. To escape from the persecution of European people, the Jews began migration to the United States of America. But a smaller group of Jews believed that their security Lay only in a Homeland of their own, which was Palestine. Thus, these Jews began to migrate towards Palestine with the financial support of a French Jewish Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Moses Hess, a German Jewish Socialist, got inspiration from the Italian national movement, published a book Known as Rome and Jerusalem, in which he rejected the idea of assimilation of the Jews into the European society and insisted that the essence of the Jews problem was their lack of a national home. In 1896, Theodor Herzl an Austrian Journalist published a short book called ‘The Jewish State’ and gave a political turn to the Jewish problem. He regarded assimilation as the most desirable solution but in view of anti- Semitism it

was impossible to realize. He argued that the external forces forced the Jews to form a nation to lead a normal existence in one territory and that would be their original home Palestine.

Theodor Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland in 1897 which was attended by two hundred delegates from all over the world. This Congress formulated the Basel programme which became the fundamental platform of the Zionist movement till the realization of their dream, the creation of Israel an independent State for themselves. Vienna was made the centre of Zionist movement, from where Herzl published the official weekly came to be Known as 'The World'. The Zionist Congress used to meet yearly until 1901 and thereafter every two years. When the Ottoman Government refused Herzl's request for Palestine as the national home for Jews, the British offered to explore the possibility of Jewish colonization in Uganda an East African territory. This proposal of the British people brought out a split in the Zionist movement. The Zionist delegate from Russia accused Herzl of betraying the Zionist Programme, which Herzl could not bear and died a broken heart in 1904. After the death of Herzl, the Zionist leadership went on changing from Vienna to Cologne and then to Germany.

The Balfour Declaration:

After 1904, the Zionist movement popularized their programme through pamphlets and newspapers in their own language known as Hebrew. The major achievements of the Zionist movement during the twentieth Century were two-fold as one was the commitment of the British Government made in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the second was the actual establishment of the Independent State of Israel in 1948. During the world war I, the British tried to please the Zionist to secure the strategic control over Palestine, which was under the rule of Turkey and to gain the support of all Jewish people from all over the world for the cause of Allied powers. The declaration, which was made contained in a letter dated 2 November 1917, from the Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to a British Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann approved the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Because, Palestine had shifted from Turkey to the British control. This led Weizmann to emerge as an unchallenged leader of the Zionist movement. The serious setback was sustained to this due to two reasons as one was the Communist rule of Lenin in Soviet Russia which prevented immigration of Russian Jews to Palestine and the second reason was that the rift was erupted between Louis Brandeis an American Zionist and Chaim Weizmann a British Zionist Leader. Due to this dispute, the American Jews directed their major part of charity to the relief of European Jews rather than the Jews in Palestine until the World War II. Naturally in 1929 Weizmann was forced to set up a chain of Jewish Agency throughout the world to coordinate the financial support to the Jews in Palestine from various organizations philanthropist in the world.

British Mandate in Palestine:

After the world war I the League of Nations came into existence to create Law and order in the world. In 1922, the League issued a mandate and control over Palestine to England. It entrusted England to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, this created encouraging effects among the Jews world over, who began to arrive to Palestine in large groups. The Jews immigrated to Palestine between 1919 to 1939 were in large number who began to contribute towards the all-round development of the Jewish community. The Jews who immigrated from Russia between 1919 and 1923 laid the foundation of basic and comprehensive development of social and economic infrastructure, development of agriculture, establishment of collectivization and provided chief labour for construction of housing and roads connecting Jew locality with each other. Between 1924 and 1932 around sixty thousand Jews immigrated from Poland to Palestine, they developed and tried to enrich the urban life in Palestine as they established various businesses in the cities Like in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem. In 1933, Hitler came to power in German, who began to prosecute the Jews to recover a large wealth from them. To avoid increasingly ruthless persecution at the hands of the Nazi Party, around One lakh fifty thousand Jews immigrated to Palestine. Another important factor, the economic recession in Europe combined with the international enthusiasm towards the Zionist movement from Western and Central Europe led them to migrate to Palestine in the Late 1930's. Among these migrants, many were highly educated and professionals, their skills and experiences raised the standard of business and improved their urban and rural life which broadened the cultural life of all Jews in Palestine.

The migration of Jews and their development in Palestine created suspicion in the minds of Arabs. This generated full scale rebellion by Arabs against the Jews in the 1920's. The recurrent riots between 1936 and 1939 made coexistence with Arabs very difficult for the Jews. Despite this situation, the Zionist leaders adopted various approaches as the foundation of a joint Arab-Jewish State advocated by Judah Magnes, President of the Hebrew University and the proposal of David Ben-Gurion, the future Israeli Prime Minister to make Jews a majority community in Palestine.

Check Your Progress:

1. Write a short note on the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate in Palestine

The White Paper:

To appease the Arabs, the British Government changed its policy towards Palestine before the World War II. The British published the White Paper in May 1939 and terminated its commitment to Zionism. It also provided for the establishment of a Palestine State within the period of ten years.

The British guaranteed the Arab majority by a Clause along with a provision of migration of 75000 Jews to Palestine within the period of subsequent five years, but the additional entry of Jews thereafter would be depended on the consent of the Arabs over there. This White Paper of 1939 broke the traditional Anglo-Zionist Alliance and provoked Jews to undertake violent protest in Palestine, which disturbed Law and order in the area.

The Biltmore Programme:

The Jews in the World were helping the democratic forces during the World War II as they did in the World War I. The Nazi regime under Hitler did not like this and carried out a plan to murder all Jews in Europe. As German armies swept through Europe, Jews were captured and sent to concentration camps, where they were put to death by sending them to gas chambers. It is said that around six million Jews were killed at the hands of the Nazis during the World War II. The Jews, therefore, made America as the centre of their activities from 1942. They held a Zionist conference in New York and chalked out a programme which came to be Known as the Biltmore Programme. The Programme rejected British restrictions on immigration of Jews to Palestine and urged the British to fulfil the Balfour Declaration and establish a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The British did not budge from their earlier stand. The Jews, thereafter, instituted a secret network to immigrate illegally to Palestine. As the result around 85000 Jews reached Palestine through secret routes to make it their permanent homeland.

Check your Progress

1. Discuss the factors responsible for the birth of Israel.

3.3 DECLARATION OF BIRTH OF ISRAEL

England was totally exhausted due to the World War II and wanted to reconsider her position and policy in Palestine as the mandate power. It had already failed in negotiation with the Arabs and the Jews for an amicable solution. In February 1947, England under these circumstances referred the Palestine issue to the U.N.O. to thrash out a solution. After the assessment of the situation, the UN Special Committee on Palestine proposed to partition the territory of the British mandate west of the River Jordan into Arab and Jewish states keeping Jerusalem under international control. The United Nations adopted the partition plan submitted by the Special Committee on 29 November 1947. The US and Soviet Russia were in favour of the plan, the Zionist movement accepted the partition as the best solution under the present political circumstances. The Arabs denounced and rejected the plan of Partition. England had already abstained from voting. Meanwhile, the British colonial Secretary announced the end of their mandate on 15 May 1948 over Palestine. After the departure of the British from Palestine, brought in one of the bloodiest wars in the area. These developments led the Jews National Council to declare the birth of an independent State of Israel for Jews at Tel-Aviv.

3.4 SUMMARY

The United States of America & the Soviet Russia accorded recognition to the new state one after another. On 17 September 1950 India granted recognition of Israel did not mean that India endorsed Israel's stand with neighbouring Arab countries. India also did not establish diplomatic relations immediately with the state of Israel. Thus, Israel came into existence. Ben Gurion declared that Israel was the expression of the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation. Although, all Arab states came to help the Palestinian Arabs, there attempts to overthrow the new state were failed one after another on the contrary it enabled Israel to possess more territories than allotted to her under the partition plan including Jerusalem

3.5 QUESTIONS

1. Account for the rise of Zionist movement.
2. Examine the various factors that led to the birth of Israel.
3. Assess the role of British mandate in Palestine in the birth of Israel.

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FASCISM

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Early Life of Benito Mussolini
- 4.3 Rise of the Fascist Party
- 4.4 Fascists in Power
- 4.5 Domestic Policy of Mussolini
- 4.6 Foreign Policy of Mussolini
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Questions
- 4.9 Additional Reading

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying the unit, the student will be able to

1. Understand the factors responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy.
2. Explain early life of Benito Mussolini.
3. Describe the domestic policy of Mussolini.
4. Discuss the foreign policy of Mussolini.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Reasons for the Rise of Fascism in Italy:

In spite of being a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy had remained neutral in the first year of the war. When the Allies promised her TRENTO and TRIESTE, she changed sides and fought against Germany and Austria-Hungary. But she regretted her actions. She suffered defeats and hardships during the war. But she did not withdraw from the war, because she hoped that she would gain territory after it ended.

At the Paris Peace Conference, she was handed over Trentino and Trieste as promised. But Italy felt that she deserved more and asked for German colonies in Africa and the port of Fiume on the Adriatic Sea. Her extra demands were rejected.

There was a general sense of disappointment at the treatment given to Italy at the Paris Peace Conference. Most felt the Italy had not been sufficiently compensated for her efforts and sacrifices during the war. The people

wanted the government to make a stronger demand, and when the delegation returned to Italy, it was jeered at by the crowds.

Economic Problems:

Secondly, the post-war conditions in Italy had turned from bad to worse. Poor before, she was poorer now because of war expenditure. Industry and trade were disorganised, agriculture was stagnant, and, in the cities, unemployment was increasing. The value of her currency had depreciated so much that the people were unable to buy the necessities of life. Public debt had increased due to the war and post-war budgets showed even bigger deficits. In some of the industrial regions of the north, there were serious labour strikes.

Failure of The Democratic Government:

Due to so much misery people lost their faith in the democratic government. Political instability was a common feature. Between 1919 and 1922, there were as many as six coalition governments. Politicians were corrupt and the administration was inefficient.

Catholic Party:

There was another movement, not at all revolutionary but very troublesome to the government. This was the rise of a Catholic political party called the POPULAR PARTY, led by the priest Luigi Sturzo. Catholic intellectuals and peasants who wanted social reform supported this party. The Government under Nitti and Geolitti proved incapable of dealing with the situation. Bold leadership was what was needed, and this was finally supplied by the Fascists.

There were however many strong patriots, mostly belonging to the middle-class, who were worried that the government was doing nothing against the Communist activities. They wanted to save the country from Communism, even by force if necessary. To prevent anarchy and revolution in the country, these Patriots formed an association. This association finally developed into a highly disciplined political party called the Fascist party (the full name being FASCIO DI COMBATTIMENTO meaning 'Union for Combat') under BENITO MUSSOLINI.

4.2 EARLY LIFE OF BENITO MUSSOLINI

Born in 1883, his father was a blacksmith and his mother a schoolteacher. After he completed his university education in Switzerland, he worked there for some time. He started as a teacher, then turned into a socialist, and finally became an Editor of a Socialist newspaper. Because of his revolutionary activities, he was asked to leave the country. He returned to Italy for required military training but was soon arrested for revolutionary activities. Later he became Editor of AVANTI, a newspaper of the Italian Socialist Party.

Mussolini's break with the Socialist Party began over the question of participation in the war. The majority opposed while Mussolini was in favour of joining. He joined the Italian army and fought on the battlefield. His army career was cut short because he was wounded. After his recovery he founded the newspaper called, 'IL POPOLO D'ITALIA.' He used it to attack the Socialist party, as well as the existing government for being unable to control the economic unrest and violence. He got the support of many ex-soldiers, property owners and young intellectuals for the new movement, which he called FASCISM.

4.3 RISE OF THE FASCIST PARTY

The Fascists were so called because they organised themselves into a group or FASCIO (bundle) like the FASCES or bundle of rods, which the Roman Lictors carried as a symbol of authority. Just as Garibaldi's volunteers had worn 'red shirts'; Mussolini's men wore 'black shirts.' They organised themselves into semi-military companies and saluted their chief-IL DUCE-with the outstretched hand of the old Roman salute.

Between 1921-1922, there was a rapid rise of the Fascist Party and the opposition groups weakened. Mussolini strongly fought the Communists. It was this fight together with militant nationalism, which won the hearts of the bourgeoisie class, the ex-soldiers, peasants, and workers. All these people were disgusted with the Government and the Communist take-over of the factories.

The Fascist Party had two aims. The first was to restore the full authority of the government. The second was to encourage Italian Nationalism. To achieve these aims, the Party conducted a vigorous PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, through patriotic speeches, books, papers, and pamphlets. The Black Shirts even trained school-children and made them parade with slogans, "Believe, Obey and Fight." In 1921, 35 Fascists were elected to the Parliament and their methods became even more radical. They used castor oil, lathes, and guns to torture their enemies. Mussolini attacked the communists in his editorials and got the sympathy of the middle-class, industrialists and merchants. They contributed lots of funds to the party. The black shirts broke up the meetings of the other parties and the police were useless.

4.4 FASCISTS IN POWER

In October 1922, the Fascists held a Congress at the city of Naples. Forty thousand of them paraded the streets in military formation, and Mussolini in a grand speech, declared that "EITHER THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE GIVEN TO US OR WE SHALL MARCH ON ROME." On October 27 the Prime Minister resigned, and the Fascist army moved from Naples to Rome. The regular army did not stop them, and King Victor Emmanuel III, without a government had no option but to send for Mussolini and ask him to form the government. Mussolini had hardly expected that his bluff would bring down a government, but that explains his popularity with the people.

Mussolini realised that his opponents were waiting to overthrow his government. So, he demanded dictatorial powers for a year to end the disorder and violence in the country. He then proceeded to extend and consolidate the Fascist organisation throughout the country.

- (1) Since he had the power Mussolini began to appoint his loyal supporters to important positions in the administration.
- (2) He then concentrated on establishing his supreme control over the legislature. He passed a revolutionary ELECTION LAW, according to which the party that secured the largest number of votes, automatically got 2/3 of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies (lower house.) In the 1924 elections the Fascists got a majority of votes and so they got 2/3 of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The opposition parties were threatened, some of their leaders were kidnapped or murdered. By 1928, there was hardly any opposition worth mentioning. He took other steps to maintain his control over the country.
- (3) The municipalities of towns and cities lost their local autonomy.
- (4) The press was censored.
- (5) Mussolini became the Supreme Commander of all the armed forces and he was responsible only to the King.
- (6) He ruled over the country with the help of a GRAND COUNCIL. The members of this Council were all Fascist Party members. They occupied ministerial positions, drafted laws, and discussed national and international issues.
- (7) All educational institutions were controlled by the state. The textbooks glorified the state and preached loyalty to Il Duce. Fascist teachers and professors dominated the educational institutions.
- (8) A secret police force was formed, and the death penalty was revived. Thus, in all respects Italy became a TOTALITARIAN STATE.

The machinery of the Fascist Party and that of the Italian State were closely inter-linked and the supreme manipulator of both was Mussolini. He was Chairman of the Grand Council and through its military he was master of the entire country. He was also Prime Minister of the State appointing officers, advising the King, drafting laws and much more. Very few statesmen had exercised such wide and dictatorial powers

Check Your Progress:

1. Account for the rise of Fascism in Italy.

4.5 DOMESTIC POLICY OF MUSSOLINI

Fascism achieved much for Italy. It restored the nation's confidence and made the administration of government very efficient. It brought about a

total transformation in the political, social, and economic life of the country.

4.5.1 Economic Development:

Mussolini dealt firmly with the economic problems facing his country. THE KEY-NOTE OF HIS ECONOMIC POLICY WAS TO BRING ABOUT SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THE STATE IN ALL ASPECTS. Efforts were made to reduce the country's dependence on imports of wheat, cotton, and tobacco. High tariffs were introduced on imports and incentives were given to exports. He financed hydro-electric projects and encouraged the shipping industry. He introduced economy in the administration by dismissing the unproductive officials. Strikes and Lockouts were banned. These types of measures brought about a sound economy and a balanced budget. A variety of public works including repairing ancient and historic monuments were undertaken. Transport and communication were improved.

4.5.2 Corporate State:

Mussolini gained the support of the working classes by undertaking social reform and substituting a "CORPORATE STATE" for the previous "liberal state." In 1926, a law abolished non-Fascist trade unions and prohibited strikes and lockouts. The law also established thirteen SYNDICATES, six of employers, six of employees and one of professional men. In 1927, he introduced a "CHARTER OF LABOUR," which guaranteed private property. For the employees it guaranteed minimum hours of work, medical, accident and old age insurance. In 1928, the electoral law gave the thirteen syndicates' political functions, i.e., to nominate parliamentary candidates. In 1930, the thirteen syndicates were transformed onto "CORPORATIONS" under a general Fascist Confederation of Industry. In 1934, a National Council was created of deputies from the various corporations to advise parliament on economic and social legislation.

The achievements of Mussolini in the economic sphere impressed many. Trains ran on time. There were no strikes. The tourist industry flourished. Education was made compulsory for children. The Italian currency (lira) became stable, so also with the banking system. Unfortunately, the economic depression of 1929 seriously harmed the Italian economy. Millions were rendered unemployed. The government was unable to cope with this problem. To divert people's attention from these problems, Mussolini concentrated on his imperialist foreign policy.

4.5.3 Settlement with the Catholic Church:

One of Mussolini's outstanding achievements was the settlement of the long-standing dispute with the Pope. The conflict between the Catholic Church and the State began with the annexation of Rome in 1870. All efforts to pacify the Pope had not succeeded. The Catholics loyal to the Pope were naturally not loyal to the State. Mussolini decided to end this conflict by offering some compensation. Pope Pious XI too, was eager to

end the conflict. After some negotiation, the Pope and Mussolini signed the LATERAN TREATY in 1929.

The Lateran Treaty consisted of three documents, —a political treaty, a Concordat, and a financial settlement. By the first, the Pope recognized the House of Savoy as the legitimate rulers over Italy, in return King Victor Emmanuel III recognized the Pope as the ruler of the Vatican City and the religious head of the Catholics.

The second document— the Concordat— defined the future relations between the State and the Papacy. The Roman Catholic faith was recognized as the sole religion of the State. The Pope could appoint all bishops, priests and other officials and the State would not interfere.

The last agreement was a financial agreement. Money compensation was paid to the Pope for the loss of Rome.

After the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini declared, “the citizen is Catholic, and the Catholic is a citizen.” The Pope then replied, “God has been restored to Italy and Italy has been restored to God.” The Lateran Treaty removed a threat to the Fascist state.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly describe the Domestic Policy of Benito Mussolini.

4.6 THE FOREIGN POLICY OF MUSSOLINI

One of the fundamental principles of the Fascist policy was to increase the prestige of Italy in the eyes of foreign nations. The Fascists glorified war as a symbol of national virility. They dreamed of the glories of the ancient Roman Empire and adopted their customs and rituals to some extent in their daily life.

The Fascists encouraged population growth, through early marriages and large families. The purpose of increasing the population was to make Italy a strong country. All children above the age of six were given military training. The army and navy were expanded. Mussolini declared the soon Italy would become a world power and the Mediterranean Sea would become an Italian lake (Mare Nostrum.) An ever- increasing population brought its own problems. Food production was less. Italy was left with no other option but to establish colonies. Mussolini adopted a vigorous policy of expansion.

4.6.1 Early Conquests:

He turned his eyes to TUNISIA and CORSICA, which were French possessions, and said that Italy had a better right to them. Mussolini’s speeches put a severe strain on the relations between France and Italy. Mussolini then turned to Eastern Europe for expansion. He first secured the DODECANESE ISLAND and then in 1924 the port of FIUME.

Italy's relations with Yugoslavia were not good, as Yugoslavia wanted Dalmatia from Italy. They both wanted control of the ADRIATIC SEA. This conflict became worse when Mussolini conquered ALBANIA in 1939.

4.6.2 Conquest of Abyssinia (Ethiopia):

But the most spectacular of Mussolini's achievements was the conquest of ETHIOPIA. He wanted to wipe off the humiliation of Italy's defeat in 1896. But the real cause was that Italy needed colonies to improve her prestige and to find more room and food for her growing population. Mussolini attacked Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. The King Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations. The League immediately declared Italy to be the aggressor. Mussolini however, defied the League, conquered Abyssinia, and proclaimed King Victor Emmanuel III as the Emperor of Ethiopia in 1936.

4.6.3 Support to General Franco:

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, Mussolini looked upon it as a struggle between Communism and Fascism. He decided to support General Franco and sent Italian troops to Spain. He also had selfish reasons to support General Franco. He realised that a friendly Spain would be of great help in checking French and British influence over the Mediterranean region. Then it would be so much easier for Italy to control that region.

4.6.4 Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis:

After this war Italy drew closer to Germany and further away from France and Britain. Mussolini came to an understanding with Hitler, and they formed the ROME-BERLIN AXIS in October 1936. A month later Germany and Japan entered the Anti-Comintern Pact against Russia. Italy also joined this Pact, and this gave rise to the ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXIS.

When World War II broke out and France collapsed, Mussolini joined Germany and declared war on Britain and France. However, the Italians did not win great victories, and finally in 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini, and obtained an armistice with the Allies. In the final days of the war, Mussolini tried to escape with his mistress. He was captured and shot, by Italian freedom fighters. His body was hung by the heels in Milan. Few Italians wept for him or the end of fascism.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly discuss the foreign Policy of Benito Mussolini.

4.7 SUMMARY

Fascism was a political movement of the less wealthy members of the middle class. Their ideology was a mixture of anti-communism, racism, anti-intellectualism, extreme nationalism, and hatred of democracy.

Mussolini founded the Fascist Party in 1921. The post-war conditions were not good. Thousands of soldiers and workers were unemployed. Industrial development was low, and inflation was high. Parliamentary democracy was not working well. Mussolini was able to get the support of the army, the industrialists, socialists and the poor unemployed. By the end of October 1922. Mussolini and his party were firmly in power in Rome. He had become IL DUCE (the leader).

The domestic policy of Mussolini was impressive. His economic re-organisation was successful. The Charter of Labour made the workers happy. Industrial and agricultural production increased. To some extent the problems of national deficit and unemployment were solved. Mussolini signed the Lateran Treaty with the Pope and even gained the support of the Church.

On the international front, Mussolini was able to give the Italians some of their lost national pride. He managed to get Ethiopia, which was a long-cherished dream of the Italians. By the agreement with Hitler, the power and position of Italy was further enhanced.

In the beginning, the Italians did benefit from the reforms introduced by Mussolini. The country made progress in all spheres of life. But Mussolini's greed for power and his contempt for all democratic institutions, in the end brought disaster to Italy.

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. Account for the rise of Fascism in Italy. How did Mussolini take control of the country?
2. Analyse the domestic and foreign policy of Mussolini.
3. How and why did Fascism emerge in Italy? Bring out the salient features of Mussolini's dictatorship.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Reasons for the rise of Fascism in Italy.
 - (b) Mussolini's domestic Policy.
 - (c) Mussolini's foreign policy.

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NAZISM

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Causes for the Rise of Nazism
- 5.3 Early Life and Career of Hitler
- 5.4 Hitler's Domestic Policy
- 5.5 Hitler's Foreign Policy
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Questions
- 5.8 Additional Reading

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to understand -

1. The causes for the rise of Nazism in Germany.
2. The early life and career of Hitler—the formation of the Nazi Party
Hitler's rise to power as chancellor of Germany.
3. Hitler's domestic policy.
4. Hitler's foreign policy.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Nazism was a political movement - and later a form of government - that developed in Germany in the 1920's. The Nazis led by the dictator Adolf Hitler, controlled Germany from 1933 to 1945. Nazism was a fascist movement i.e., it tightly restricted personal but permitted private ownership of property. The Nazis called for aggressive nationalism, militarism, and the expansion of Germany's borders. They glorified the Aryan race. They claimed that Jews, Slavs, and other minority groups were inferior. Nazism opposed democracy, socialism and other political systems that favoured equality. It promised to build a peaceful and prosperous society for the Germans. Instead, it brought terrorism, war and mass murder.

There were many factors that contributed to the rise of Nazism. The humiliating Treaty of Versailles created severe economic problems for Germany. She could not cope with the inflation, the war indemnity, and the loss of territory and raw materials. Not being allowed to maintain an army, made her feel totally insecure. It was no wonder that the Germans

supported Hitler when he promised them what they did not have. Hitler was a great orator, and he convinced the people that unless they went against the terms of the treaty of Versailles, Germany had no future. The Germans also felt threatened by the spread of Communism. The Weimar Republic seemed to be an ineffective government and the Germans blamed it for all their problem.

5.2 CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF NAZISM.

The Treaty of Versailles:

The defeat of Germany in World I and the humiliation that she later faced, made her want her revenge. The Treaty of Versailles caused a deep wound on the minds of the Germans. It was not a matter of choice for them. Their delegates were not even allowed to participate in the drafting of the treaty but were forced to sign it. The entire burden of the war guilt was placed on her, branding her an aggressor.

War Indemnity:

By the treaty she was practically stripped of everything she had and had to agree to pay a ridiculously high war indemnity. The coal mines of Saar were given to France for fifteen years. Germany lost 1/6 of her arable land, 2/5 of her coal, 2/3 of iron, and 7/10 of her zinc. The war indemnity was fixed at \$33 billion. The Allies knew that she would not be able to pay this amount even if she borrowed from friendly nations. The Germans not being in a position to meet all the demands were only waiting for an opportunity to revoke the treaty.

Territorial Losses:

They were forced to give up territory. They surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium northern Schleswig to Denmark, Posen to Poland, Upper Silesia to Czechoslovakia, and Danzig was made a free city. All her colonies were taken away and her position in China she surrendered to Japan.

Incapable Weimar Government:

The Germans were not willing to accept the Weimar Republic, which the Allies had set up for her. The new government was not able to cope with the problems of inflation, rising prices, and unemployment. There were severe food shortages also. After the Depression of 1929, the Germans lost their faith in the democratic government and were looking for someone to pull them out of their problems.

Economic Conditions:

The economic problems seemed uncontrollable. Inflation was very high, and the German Mark lost all its value. In 1923, France occupied the Rhur valley because Germany had failed to pay its indemnity. The value of the Mark dropped to 40,000 for a dollar. By November 1923, it was quoted as

4,200,000,000,000 marks per dollar. Not only the middle-class but also the rich were affected. Hitler gained his support from this group. The lower classes were poverty stricken and were prepared to follow anyone who promised a better future.

Limitation on Armed Forces And Armaments:

In their determination to keep Germany down, the Allies had limited Germany's armed forces. She was not permitted an Air Force at all. Her army was cut down to 100,000 men and the navy to 15,000 men. Factories producing war materials had to be destroyed. The Rhineland was demilitarised. Germany complied with all these requirements, but around her the other countries continued with the production of war materials. It was but natural that Germany would be upset. The League of Nations failed to check the race for armaments. The disarmament Conference held at Washington was not successful. So, Germany secretly started manufacturing weapons and small battleships. In 1935, Britain permitted Germany to increase the strength of her navy. It was a typical case of guilty conscience since the Allies had not kept to their word of disarming themselves after the war. This gave Hitler an excuse to defy the Treaty of Versailles.

Policy of Appeasement:

One of the key factors, which gave rise to Hitler's aggressive nationalism, was the policy of appeasement, followed by Britain and France. While Hitler was breaking the Treaty of Versailles clause by clause these countries did not have the courage to stop him. A joint armed intervention on their part would have been sufficient but they preferred to remain quiet. Hitler's acts of aggression, namely the invasion and annexation of Austria, Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia remained unchecked.

Growth of Communism:

The German businessmen were worried about the steady growth of Communism in the country. The number of Communists in the Reichstag (parliament) increased. Hitler had strong anti-Communist views and he spoke of Germany as a 'bulwark against a world socialist revolution'. The German industrialists and businessmen supported him with money, so that the Nazi troops might help to destroy the trade unions etc.

Hitler's Personality:

Hitler was a great orator, and he exploited the psychological state of the Germans to win them over. Through his speeches he played upon the deep discontent of the people. He promised food, employment to thousands who were unemployed, to fight inflation and so on. His speeches against the Jews, Germany's foreign oppressors and the harsh Treaty of Versailles, secured millions of votes for the Nazi party. He sensed that the spirit of revenge burned deep within every German's heart. He played on their fears of Russia and the Communists, on their anti-Semitism; and he stirred the discontented Germans with promises of a

new and greater Reich to rise from the ashes of the war to revenge the humiliation and suffering the Allies had heaped on Germany.

Check Your Progress:

1. Explain the main causes responsible for the rise of Nazism in Germany.

5.3 EARLY LIFE AND CAREER OF HITLER

Adolf Hitler was born on 20th April 1889, in Austria. He belonged to a peasant family and his father was a customs official. After going through terrible hardships in his early life, he finally chose the profession of an artist. He could not secure admission into the Imperial Academy, so he earned his living by being a house decorator. It was during this period that he realised the problems facing the Germans and Austrians. He developed hatred towards the Jews as they controlled the financial institutions.

He went to Munich (Germany) in 1912, and when the war broke out in 1914, he joined the army. He was wounded in the war, and for his bravery he was given the Iron Cross. The defeat of Germany and the hardships she faced caused him great distress. He remained unemployed.

It was at this time his political career began. In 1919, he formed the GERMAN WORKERS PARTY. He was able to gather around him men like Herman Goering and Joseph Goebbels, who became his strong supporters. In 1923, he participated in a coup (the Putsch) led by Ludendorff, which failed. He was arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment.

During his prison days he wrote his memoirs called MEIN KAMPF. This book contained his deep-rooted prejudices on many issues, and it outlined the programme of the National Socialist Party. It included:

- (1) His plans for expanding the German Empire—LEBENSRAUM.
- (2) Plans for terminating the Treaty of Versailles,
- (3) Equality on armaments.
- (4) Regaining of colonies.
- (5) Anti-Semetism or anti-Jewish Policy.
- (6) Superiority of the Aryan race,
- (7) Removal of German war guilt,
- (8) Land reforms,
- (9) Better conditions for workers,
- (10) Nationalization of trusts and the like.

Hitler was freed within a yew, and he turned to reviving his party. The party was converted into the NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY (Nazi Party). The party adopted the brown shirt as its uniform and the SWASTIKA as its emblem. Hitler was called the FUHRER and they borrowed the Roman salute from Mussolini. He raised a body of Storm Troopers, (Schutzstaffel or SS for short) and used them in rioting, street fighting and general political terror. However, he had learnt from his previous failure that a show of legality would achieve much more than only violence. So, though he used his Storm Troopers, in public he vowed to use only 'legal' means to attain power.

The strength of the party kept increasing from 7 members in 1919, to 27,117 in 1925, and to 176,426 in 1929. In the 1924 general elections, the Nazi Party secured 32 seats and in 1932 230 seats. It became the single largest party in the Reichstag. The party's spectacular victory at the polls was due to two factors. First was the Great Depression of 1929, and secondly, was Hitler's ability to make speeches and sway the public.

In January 1933, President Hindenburg invited Hitler to act as the Chancellor even though the Nazi Party did not have a clear majority in Parliament. Hitler used his powers to crush all opposition. On the eve of the March elections 1933, Hitler stage-managed a fire in the Reichstag building and blamed it on the Communists. The Nazi Party then won the elections with a huge majority. Most of the Communists were imprisoned or killed.

President Hindenburg then ordered the old flag to be replaced by two new flags: the black, white, and red of the Old Empire, and the Swastika of the new Nationalism. On April 1, the Reichstag voted to give its powers to the Hitler government for a period of four years. Thus, the democratic German Republic formally came to an end, and was succeeded by the THIRD REICH (Third German Empire.) This new government was inaugurated with great pomp and popular support. The press, radio and cinema were used to stir up patriotic emotions. There were huge parades with the brown-shirted soldiers saluting, the youth singing and waving swastika flags, and the leaders making patriotic speeches. Such methods were usual with the Nazis and were developed and utilised effectively. Joseph Goebbels, one of Hitler's chief lieutenants, was appointed Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment.

Hitler used the supreme power given to him in organising campaigns against the Jews and Communists. On the same day that the new government was established, it sponsored a nation-wide boycott against Jewish shopkeepers and professional men. Then it declared that only ARYANS could occupy civil or military posts or serve as judges, policemen, school teachers, lawyers and professors. Next, Jews were dismissed from public offices, and discriminated against in business. Thousands of German Jews fled abroad, and those who could not, suffered tremendously at the hands of the Nazis. In Germany, the antisemitic policy was glorified as a policy, which generated unity and patriotism.

Hitler was also anti-Communist. Parades were organised to demonstrate the power of the Nazi labourers, and Nazi soldiers threatened Communist and Socialist workers into silence. The government then banned all Marxist propaganda in the country, abolished Socialist and Communist trade unions and confiscated their funds. The National Socialist Party then organised a single labour union, called the “German Labour Front.”

Taking advantage of the popular enthusiasm for the ‘new Germany,’ Hitler and his Nazi lieutenants decided to get rid of all possible opposition. All parties were suppressed, and Hitler declared that Germany would have only a single political party, the Nazi Party. Those who opposed were either sent into exile or to concentration camps.

Next, in 1934, came the purge (cleansing) of his own party. Hitler together with Goebbels, Goering and the secret police took drastic action, to terrorize the National Socialist Party into unity and the country into obedience. Several hundred people were murdered, including senior party members. The only explanation that Hitler gave was ‘reasons of state’ and ‘morality.’ The fact that the people accepted this explanation without question, showed the strength of his control and power over them.

In 1934, President Hindenburg died, and Hitler took charge of two offices: the President and the Chancellor. In August 1934, a plebiscite was held and thirty-eight and a quarter million Germans voted ‘yes.’ At last, by popular will, Adolf Hitler became the sole and supreme ruler of Germany.

Check Your Progress:

1. Briefly describe the early life of Hitler.

5.4 HITLER’S DOMESTIC POLICY

5.4.1 Administrative System.

Hitler’s domestic policy was authoritarian and totalitarian in every sense. He abolished the separate provincial governments and unified Germany under a central government at Berlin. The Reichstag had passed a law, which abolished the provincial diets, deprived the states of their sovereign rights, and changed them into only administrative districts of the Empire.

A single party, that of the Nazis, ruled the state and all opposition was suppressed. The Jews and Communists were looked upon as anti-German and they were cruelly persecuted.

5.4.2 Education:

Every activity was subjected to state control. Individual freedom practically disappeared from the country. The educational system was used to create a Nazi mentality and absolute loyalty to the Fuhrer. People were made to understand that “to serve Hitler is to serve Germany, to

serve Germany is to serve God.” Many intellectuals and scientists who could not tolerate the situation fled the country.

5.4.3 The Church:

Hitler had experienced some difficulties in his relationship with the Christian Church. The Catholic Church had not supported the Nazi Party. So, Hitler had negotiated with the Vatican, promising religious freedom. The Nazis however, had done their best to suppress Christian practices, schools, and religious orders. The relations between the two remained shaky and the Christians though willing to co-operate politically, wanted total freedom in the religious sphere.

5.4.4 Economy:

One of the causes of Germany’s collapse had been the breakdown of her economic system and shortage of food supplies. Hence Hitler made every attempt to secure economic self-sufficiency for Germany. Imports were discouraged, exports were encouraged, and raw materials were rationed. Wool, rubber, motor fuel was made by artificial process from such materials as wood and coal. So, substitutes for imported articles were manufactured. The tariffs increased and shipping lines were reorganized. Strikes and lockouts were prohibited. From 1936 onwards Germany moved into a war economy and all the national resources were used to improve the country’s defence system. Millions of Germans were recruited into the armed forces and employed in ammunition factories. In this way the unemployment factor was dealt with. It was only after building a militarily strong Germany that Hitler planned for world conquest.

Check Your Progress:

1. Briefly discuss the domestic policy of Hitler.

5.5 HITLER’S FOREIGN POLICY

5.5.1 Aims:

When Hitler came to power, he promised to recover for Germany the position of power and importance, which she had held before world war I. His plan included the formation of a “Third Reich,” or empire which would include all Germans in a new or greater German State. This would mean absorbing or annexing the German-populated regions of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Thirdly, he was determined to tear away the Treaty of Versailles which had humiliated Germany and imposed heavy restrictions on her.

Briefly the three goals of Hitler’s foreign policy were:

- (1) The union of all people of German race by the right of self-determination in one great Germany.

- (2) The cancellation of the Treaty of Versailles
- (3) The acquisition of more territory for the support and settlement of the surplus population.

5.5.2 Germany's Rearmament:

Hitler's first significant step in this direction was to withdraw from the Disarmament Conference.

On 16th March 1935, Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles by introducing conscription.

Next, Hitler left the League of Nations and openly sent troops to remilitarize the Rhineland. Britain was not willing to act against Germany for her violation of the treaty of Versailles. France dared not act against Germany without the co-operation and collaboration of Britain. This policy of appeasement only encouraged Hitler to take larger risks.

5.5.3 Annexation of Austria:

During the Spanish Civil War, Hitler had learnt all he needed about the weakness of the Allies. He had found that his intervention in the Spanish problem, had not met with any resistance from the Great Powers. So, he found the courage to embark upon a policy of naked aggression. He turned his attention to Austria whose union with Germany was prohibited by the treaty of Versailles. He encouraged Nazi agitation, bullied the Austrian Chancellor to appoint a Nazi minister in his cabinet. In 1934, when Nazi agents started a revolt and the Chancellor Dr. Dolfuss was murdered. The Austrian government was unable to contain the trouble, so Hitler sent the German army into that country and brought about the ANSCHLUSS (union with Germany.)

5.5.4 Annexation of Sudetenland:

After Austria, Hitler turned his attention to Sudetenland where many Germans were living. He accused the Czech government of oppressing the German minority. The Czech government denied this and said they had given the Germans all privileges. Hitler refused to accept the explanation and demanded that Sudetenland be ceded (given) to Germany, or he would take it by force if peaceful means failed. At this point Britain and France were very concerned. To check the growing ambition of Hitler, the leaders of France, Britain and Italy signed the MUNICH PACT with Germany on 8th September 1938. Hitler was allowed to annex Sudetenland to Germany. This policy of appeasement exposed the weakness of France and Britain. They were not prepared for another war.

5.5.5 Non-Aggression Pact with U.S.S.R.:

Hitler concluded a non-aggression pact with U.S.S.R. 23rd. August 1939 and secured Russia's neutrality. Stalin was angry with Britain and France

because he was ignored at the Munich Pact. He accused western democracies of encouraging Germany to attack Russia.

5.5.6 Attack on Poland:

Knowing that Hitler would turn his attention to Poland, Britain and France gave her a guarantee of protection. Hitler put pressure on Poland to return the city of Danzig. The whole world was shocked at the bullying tactics of Hitler and his war-mania. Having the backing of Britain and France, Poland refused Hitler's demands. Hitler then attacked Poland on 1st September 1939. Britain and France honour their promise to protect and thus the world was drawn into another war.

The story of Adolf Hitler only ended when he committed suicide at the end of the war in 1945.

Check Your Progress:

1. Briefly discuss the foreign policy of Hitler.

5.6 SUMMARY

The treaty of Versailles played a big role in the rise of Nazism in Germany. It humiliated them, it robbed them of territory, it burdened them with a huge war indemnity, it did not permit an armed force and finally placed the entire war guilt on the Germans. It was but natural that the Germans were ready to follow Hitler, since he promised them all that they had lost as well as much more. His personality was such that people were prepared to obey any of his commands.

He started the Nazi Party and gradually increased its strength in the Parliament. His own personal army created fear in the minds of those who opposed him. By 1933, he had established himself as Chancellor of the Third Reich in Germany. He eliminated all opposition whether it was the Communist Party or whether it was opponents in his party.

Hitler's domestic policy was authoritarian and totalitarian in nature. He controlled everything, including the Church and education. On the positive side he revived the German economy. Industries developed, and since he stopped paying the indemnity, there was more money to spend on Germany's development. He rebuilt the armed forces and ordered conscription.

Then he embarked on his foreign policy. This included violating the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. He signed an agreement with Italy and Japan which was referred to as the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Russia and Germany signed a Non-aggression Pact. He invaded Austria and Sudetenland announcing that he wanted all the German speaking people to be united in one country. Finally, he invaded Poland and that was the beginning of the Second World War.

5.7 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the reasons for the rise of Nazism in Germany. What was the policy of the Party?
2. Describe the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. What was his domestic policy?
3. Examine the domestic and foreign policy that Hitler followed.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Causes for the rise of Nazism in Germany.
 - (b) Hitler's domestic policy.
 - (c) Hitler's foreign policy.

5.8 ADDITIONAL READING

English Books

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MILITARISM IN JAPAN

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Causes for the Rise of Militarism in Japan
- 6.3 Unrest among the Workers and Peasants
- 6.4 Rise of Ultra- Nationalist Groups
- 6.5 The Manchurian Crisis
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 Additional Reading

6.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to-

1. Comprehend the background of Japan
2. Understand the reasons responsible for the rise of militarism in Japan.
3. Explain the attitude of western countries towards Japan.
4. Perceive the aftermath of the rise of militarism in Japan.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the later half of the nineteenth century Japan was opened to the western powers, which transformed her from a medieval slumber to an ultra-modern nation. Japan adopted all those ideas and institutions that made the western countries progressive and powerful, which led her to emerge as a world power in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Japan had transformed her military set up totally during the Meiji restoration. It remodelled its armed and naval forces on the line of Germany and England, which led her to become a strong military power in the world. The period between the two wars proved to be the golden age for Japanese militarism. The Manchurian crisis, the second Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and her entry into the Second world war manifested the deep-rooted cult of militarism in Japanese people.

It was unfortunate that the world did not learn a lesson from World War I, for hardly two decades later the world was at war again. Beginning with Hitler's invasion of Poland and ending with atomic bombs being dropped

on Japan, this war proved to be as disastrous as the first. At the same time the second war differed in many respects from the first.

6.2 CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF MILITARISM IN JAPAN

There were several factors responsible for the rise of militarism in Japan. Some of the important factors were as under:

1. Military Tradition in Japan:

Japan had a very long and strong tradition of militarism with the emperor as its head of honour and authority. During the regions of the Heian and the Kamakura dynasties, the Japanese army occupied the position of importance in the socio-Political set up of the country. The emperor conferred the title of Shogun on Yoritomo, the head of a powerful clan. Naturally, the Shoguns became the supreme commanders in the army of Japanese Emperor, who dominated politics and administration from sixteenth century to the twentieth century Japan. Thus, it helped rise militarism in Japan to some extent.

2. Rise and Fall of Party System in Japan:

During the First World War, the militaristic Germany and autocratic Russia were defeated, and apparently weaker democratic nations became victorious. This situation impressed Japanese and led them towards the foundation of Liberal and party government. The expansionist policies were manifested by the Twenty-one demands and Siberian campaign of Japan were criticized strongly everywhere. The lowering of military leadership in the war contributed much to the rise of party system in Japanese politics. In 1918, Hara Takashi, the leader of political party secured a seat in the lower House and made him to be Prime Minister of Japan. He selected all members of his cabinet from his own party and announced several reforms in the country. But his rule could not last long, because he was assassinated in 1921 and brought two more governments to power which were non-party Cabinets and headed by naval officers namely Admiral Kato and Viscount Kiyoura. These cabinet generated social and economic unrest which led Japanese to introduce universal manhood suffrage and bring to power one more party government. The Japanese working class began to engage itself in forming political parties and trade unions, consequently, the communist party of Japan came into existence in 1922. This paved the way for the establishment of several proletarian and peasant's parties in Japan.

Japan had several limitations on its Liberalism because between 1918 and 1932, there were only three Prime Ministers from the rank of common people. There were several reasons for this situation as 1. There was lack of deep-rooted tradition of elective and responsible government. 2. The parties in Japan were not with definite ideologies but were comparatively loose organizations. 3. These parties were depending on powerful personalities then their political principles. 4. There developed

factionalism and corruption among the members of all political parties. 5. These political parties were supported by the middle class, trusts, professionals, universities, and newspapers benefiting to urban industrial workers and peasant farmers. Thus, the party systems at large showed that the actual benefits of liberalism were highly, exaggerated. There was a never strong faith in democratic process that made parties vulnerable to challenges of militarist and disgruntled sections in society. Naturally, this paved the way for militarism in Japan.

3. Political Influence of the Zaibatsu:

In 1920, the party politics increased the political influence of the Zaibatsu class and gave birth to their large firms Like Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Yasuda Sumitomo. These firms controlled one fourth capital of Japan such as finance, bank, insurance business and enabled them to corrupt members of the 'Diet' and political parties. Due to their influence Japanese politics, they always swayed cabinet decisions in their favours and scrapped the anti-trust Laws and the Laws regarding the growth of trade unions. Both politicians and bureaucrats began to receive huge donations and bribes from the Zaibatsus which obstructed the creation of sound economic foundation for political and social democratic set up. Due to favourable policies of the successive governments towards the business interest of the Zaibatsu, the welfare of common Japanese was totally neglected. This situation created the following as 1. resentment of conservative nationalists against the Zaibatsus support to political parties. 2. intense struggle between the young military officers and Zaibatsus. 3. feeling in the military class that Zaibatsu prevented the expansion of army and navy. 5. dislike in radical army officers about Zaibatsus economic independence and aristocratic status. 6. Public opinion extremely hostile towards the politicians, bureaucrats and the Zaibatsus. Thus, the Japanese favoured the military to control the government in Japan and it speeded the rise of militarism in Japan.

Check Your Progress:

1. Write a short note on the political party system in Japan.

6.3 UNREST AMONG THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The Governments which came to power failed to create a stable economy and satisfactory living standard for common people. The problem became more serious when a period of slump occurred in Japanese economy and created unemployment and social discontent. Since 1913, Japanese government had not addressed to any problems of industrial workers, which generated general discontentment among the people. The Japanese government also neglected the interest of the people and passed legislations in favour of business and industrial magnets. Although, agriculture was the backbone of Japanese economy, the political party governments in Japan never tried to improve the position of agriculture

and the small-scale industries which were based on the agricultural production that led to create discontent among the peasantry of Japan. On the contrary, the Japanese government under Hara imported rice and agricultural raw material when prices of agricultural production were falling at home. Thus, the party Governments were criticized openly for callous disregard towards the workers and peasants and people began to advocate the old policy of colonial expansion.

Setback in Foreign Relations:

Japanese increased occupation of the German islands appeared a danger to American positions in the Philippines and south Pacific areas. England also felt uneasy about Japanese presence in her neighbourhood. Under these circumstances an attempt was made to achieve the naval disarmament and political resettlement in the Far East. The United States, therefore, convened the Washington Conference in 1921-22.

At the Washington Conference the Japanese were forced to terminate the Anglo- Japanese Alliance of 1902 and accept the Four Power Pact, which ratified the existing territorial possessions in the Pacific region. Japan was compelled to sign the nine power Treaty by which the signatories were bound to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity of China and respect the open-Door policy announced by U.S.A. in China. Japan was pressurized to withdraw her forces from Siberia and restore political control of China in Shantung. Finally, the Five Power Naval Treaty established the unequal ratio of Britain, America, and Japan in the proportion of 5:5:3. Thus, the outcome of the Washington Conference was considered as a great setback by the Japanese military and ultra – nationalists. They blamed the party government for its inability to secure more favourable terms for Japan at the Conference of 1930. Japan tried to change the unequal naval ratio 5:5:3 determined at the Washington Conference of 1921-22. but Japan did not succeed in her efforts. This led the Japanese military to hate the policies of the Liberal government and the rise of militarism took place in Japan.

Check form progress

Q. Write a short note on the contribution of the Zaibatsu towards the rise of militarism in Japan.

6.4 RISE OF ULTRA- NATIONALIST GROUPS

After the Washington Conference of 1921-22, there came up several ultra-nationalist groups, radical societies, and terrorist organizations in Japan, which paved the way for the rise of militarism in Japan. Some of the important groups were as 1. Gen Yosha 2. The Black Dragon Society. 3.The Japan National Socialist Party.4. The State Shintoists 5. The Sakurakai. Among these groups the first group Gen Yosha was popularly Known as the Sea of Genkai, that was founded in 1881 and had three aims as crossing the sea of Genkai means adopting the policy of expansion,

patriotic devotion to the emperor and the support for the movement popular rights. Thus, this group favoured the rise of militarism in Japan. The other groups like the Black Dragon Society and the Japanese Production Party emphasized on the attainment of national economic self-sufficiency and equitable distribution of sources of income. They advocated the expansion in the Japanese empire in the Amur River region and realization of its empire in the Greater East Asia. The Black Dragon party had very dominant leaders like Kitalkki and Dr. Okawa Shumei, who advocated the reconstruction of Japan around the military and the high status to the soldiers and peasants. They influenced the younger and petty military officials, who believed in the emperor worship cult and opposed to Liberalism, Socialism and communism. Their ideology was authoritarian, anti-Parliamentarian, anti- democratic and opposed to disarmament and were suspicious about the work of the League of Nations. There were several terrorist organizations in Japan, who tried to establish a military dictatorship in Japan, when it failed, they plotted to assassinate the whole cabinet and bring the whole government into their hands. However, before the plot was materialized, the leaders involved in the plot were arrested. Finally, the terrorist groups, assassinated to successive Prime Ministers namely Hamaguchi in 1931 and the second Inukai in 1932. Thus, these developments paved the way for the rise of militarism in Japan in 1932.

Check form progress

1. How far the setback in foreign policy of Japan led to the rise of militarism in the country?

6.5 THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS

This crisis also contributed to the rise of militarism in Japan. In 1931, there was a clear split between the Liberal Government in Tokyo and the military classes. This was further divided into armed clashes by an explosion of bomb on the Southern Railroad near Mukden, on the night 18-19 September 1931. This incident provoked the Japanese armed forces to control Mukden, the Capital of Manchuria and Later whole Manchuria based on protecting Japanese people and their property. After the critical assessment and coming to a certain conclusion of the crisis by the League of Nations, Japan declared that there was no interference of Japan, but it was the work of the independent State of Manchukau and gave up her membership of the league of Nations, in order to avoid any action by the League of Nation. Thus, Manchurian incidence brought military leadership to the forefront in Japan and led her to enter the age of militarism, giving whole Japanese administration in the hands armed personnel.

6.6 SUMMARY

After, the rise of militarism in Japan in 1932, it launched the military campaigns in the Far East, the mainland of China and started the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. This incident led Japan to enter the second World War in 1939 and finally it was to face the consequences of its policy i.e., bomb attack by America in 1945.

6.7 QUESTIONS

1. Account for the rise of militarism in Japan.
2. Explain the role of the Zaibatsu in the rise of militarism in Japan.
3. Discuss in brief the foreign policy of Japan after the World War.

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WORLD WAR II

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Nature of the Second World War
- 7.3 Causes of the Second World War
- 7.4 Main Events of the Second World War
- 7.5 Peace Treaties after World War II
- 7.6 Consequences of the Second World War
- 7.7 Summary
- 7.8 Questions
- 7.9 Additional Reading

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to understand -

1. The nature (character) of the war.
2. Causes (factors) that led to the war.
3. Main events (course) of the war.
4. Consequences of the war.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The seeds of the Second World War were sown much earlier. In 1919, France humiliated Germany and forced her to accept the dictated peace and sign the Treaty of Versailles. France not only recovered Alsace and Lorraine, but also took away the rich Rhur Valley. Germany was unable to pay the heavy war compensation. Germany's economy soon crumbled. These factors made her to prepare for the Second World War and tear up the treaty of Versailles which had brought her these troubles.

The causes that brought the Second World War were many. Some were fundamental causes, and some were immediate. Some of the main factors were (a) failure of the League, (b) failure of disarmament efforts, (c) rise of dictators, (d) aggressive nationalist (c) problem of national minorities, and (f) policy of appeasement.

7.2 NATURE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

It was a 'total war'— a war in which all the resources of the country and all the activity of the country was mobilised for the war purpose. The power of the State was fully exercised. It took control of all the activities

of every sphere of life and subordinated them to the needs of the war. Food and many other things were rationed private houses taken over by government, factories controlled, the universal blackout was declared — these and many other factors brought the war home to every family. In a sense everybody was made to contribute to the war effort.

Secondly, the scope of the war was worldwide and so was its strategy. Its battles were fought in every part of the globe—in the deserts of Africa, in the jungles of Burma, in the islands of the Pacific in the Far East.

Thirdly, this war was different in strategy and method. The First World War was static, and its main feature was trench-warfare. In the second war the armies moved with great speed. Hitler's BLITZKRIEG, or lightning war struck down six countries in a period of three months. This was possible because of the close co-operation between the German land and air forces and the perfect organisation of the supply services. Another feature of the war was the powerful use of the air force.

Lastly, it was a war of ideas and of nations. The Nazis were motivated by their philosophy of the superior Aryan race and their belief that the inferior races must work for them. This philosophy made them very aggressive. Nazism stood for a totalitarian state in which there was no room for individual freedom. Hence it was a challenge to the western democratic way of life. The struggle between the two worlds did not permit any compromise. The Nazis did not bother about human rights or moral considerations and committed terrible crimes against humanity. Hence to fight against Nazism was to fight for freedom and civilization. President Roosevelt summed up the war aims of the Allies as consisting of four freedoms, freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of worship and political freedom. Thus, the ideology of the Allies was totally different from that of the Axis Powers. Much more than political liberty was at stake, civilisation was being threatened.

7.3 CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

7.3.1 Treaty of Versailles

The injustice of the Treaty of Versailles was largely responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. This treaty showed a spirit of vengeance by imposing severe terms and restrictions on Germany. It had stripped her of all armaments and left her powerless before the enemy. It deprived her of all her colonies, burdened her with a huge war indemnity, and placed the war guilt only on her shoulders. All this was done without giving Germany any opportunity to negotiate. Forced to accept a dictated peace treaty the Germany felt deeply humiliated. They felt that a deep injustice had been done to them. The series of economic problems that followed only increased the resentment that the Germans felt towards the Allies. They wanted to be free of their economic problems. Hitler promised to get rid of the root cause of their problems and he began by defying the treaty of Versailles. Had the Allies shown good sense and revised the treaty from time to time, then the war would not have

happened. But the short-sighted and selfish policy of the Allies was as much responsible for the war as was Hitler's aggressive policy.

7.3.2 Failure of the League of nations:

Had the League of Nations done its duty well, there would have been no war. The League failed to come up to the expectations of the peoples of the world. The League had become nothing more than a debating society since the powers used it for their own personal objectives.

Britain used the League as an alternative to Bolshevism

France used the League to see that Germany did not break the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. To her the League was an instrument to guarantee her security against a revengeful Germany.

The Nazis called the League, "a joint-stock company for the preservation of the booty won in the war".

The first shock to the League came from Japan. In 1931, she occupied the Chinese territory of Manchuria and set up a puppet government there. Though the League condemned the act, Japan walked out of the League in 1933. This was a serious blow.

Hitler very systematically violated the Treaty of Versailles and then left the League.

In 1935, Mussolini attacked Abyssinia. The League declared Italy to be the aggressor and applied economic sanctions. Unfortunately, the sanctions were not applied seriously by the members of the League. After occupying Abyssinia, Mussolini withdrew from the League in 1936. The action of Italy was a shattering blow to the League. It proved beyond a doubt, that the League had no "teeth" and could not prevent its members from fighting with one another. It proved that collective security was an idle dream.

7.3.3 Problem of Minorities:

When the U.S.A. entered the First World War in 1917 the Allied Powers promised to fight for the principle of 'self-determination' of all people. But this was not what happened at the Paris Peace Conference. There were nearly 30 million minority groups living in lands not their own. In Rumania for example there were about one and a half million Hungarians, and some more Hungarians lived in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In Czechoslovakia there were nearly three and a half million Sudeten Germans. Likewise, there were Hungarians, Poles, Germans, Italians Bulgars, Albanians, Russians, and Macedonians living in other countries. The principle of self-determination had certainly not been applied for them. Austria had not been allowed to join Germany. As a result, Hitler found justification for annexing Austria and Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. He invaded Poland in 1939 for the same reason.

7.3.4 Failure of Disarmament Efforts:

The question of disarmament is closely connected with security. All nations were concerned with security, but this would remain on paper only, until they were persuaded to disarm themselves. Each country waited for the other to begin disarming first. By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had been forced to disarm. She had hoped all nations would also bring about a certain degree of disarmament, since the terms of the League Covenant provided for it.

Some success was achieved in the field of naval armaments. In 1921, at the Washington Conference, U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy agreed to limit their navies in a fixed ratio.

Attempts were also made to secure a limitation on land armaments. The World Disarmament Conference met at Geneva in 1932 but came to nothing. From the beginning, France and Germany had totally opposite viewpoints. Germany demanded parity with France. France would not disarm because to her, security meant the isolation and total disarmament of Germany. Britain and U.S.A. could not convince France and so the final attempt of the League ended in failure.

7.3.5 Aggressive nationalism:

The First World War resulted in the toppling of four monarchies and the collapse of their empires. It led to the creation of new nations based on the principle of self-determination as proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson. It was but natural that the people from these nations should feel proud of their countries. Unfortunately, the nationalistic spirit took an extreme and aggressive form. Nationalism was emphasized and promoted by Mussolini and the Fascist Party. Italians were continuously reminded of their past greatness and their future destiny as a nation. Mussolini tried to revive the glory of the ancient Roman Empire and advocated the use of force to attain such a goal. The Germans had been humiliated after the war. Hitler promised to restore the national pride and glory by tearing up the Treaty of Versailles. Through his speeches, Hitler promoted a sense of militant nationalism.

Militant nationalism was used to promote imperialistic expansion. Japan's activities in the Far East, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, and Hitler's invasions of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland finally brought the world to another war.

7.3.6 Rise of Dictators:

Practically all countries faced severe problems after the war. Governments were unable to cope with unemployment, food-shortage, and inflation. The Great Depression of 1929 brought even more hardships. So, countries became a breeding ground for the rise of dictatorships. In Italy Mussolini came to power with promises to set things right. In Russia, Stalin started five-year plans by which the people gained economic development at the cost of their personal liberty. Out of the civil war in

Spain, General Franco emerged as dictator. Similarly, Portugal also welcomed a dictator. In the Far East, the military generals supported the Japanese Emperor. The political scene was fast changing, and it is no small wonder that Germany too embraced an ambitious dictator. These dictatorships used violence at home and had no problem using it abroad. It was a prime means of securing and strengthening their hold on their people. These dictatorships were militantly aggressive.

7.3.7 Policy of Appeasement:

European affairs between March 1938 and April 1939 were dominated by the full-scale implementation of Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. This policy was based on a number of considerations.

- (1) Britain and France did not agree on many issues. France wanted Germany to be economically crippled. Britain disagreed, because British economic recovery depended on German economic recovery.
- (2) The most significant basis of this policy was the fear of Communism. Britain, France and U.S.A. did not want Russia to become a world power.
- (3) This policy also rested on a careful calculation of the balance of power. Germany, Italy, Japan and other dictators too, were against Communism and ready to destroy it. The Western Powers wanted to see Germany, Japan and Russia fight each other and perhaps destroy each other.
- (4) This policy was also based on their internal weakness. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain believed that the policy of appeasement would either avert a war or at least delay it long enough for Britain and France to be ready for the war.
- (5) Finally, the British did not really understand the new generation of dictators. Neville Chamberlain believed that once the injustices in the Treaty of Versailles were removed, Hitler would not fight a war.

7.3.8 Hitler's Foreign Policy:

One of the promises that Hitler made to the Germans was that he would recover for Germany her position of power. His view of the Third Reich was an Empire that included all Germans within one nation. He intended to annex territory that had a German population, which meant Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

- (1) Hitler first turned his attention to Austria. He encouraged Nazi agitation within Austria, bullied the Austrian Chancellor to appoint a Nazi minister and forced him to conduct Austria's foreign policy at Germany's dictation. In 1938, Hitler sent German armies into Austria and brought about ANSCHLUSS (union) with Germany.
- (2) The Nazi dictator then turned his attention to Sudetenland where many Germans were living. He accused the Czech government of

oppressing the German minority. The Czech government replied that it had given equal privileges to all its citizens. Hitler was not satisfied and said that he would help the Sudeten's. Britain and France were very concerned with this development and in September 1938, together with Italy they signed the MUNICH PACT. Hitler was permitted to annex Sudetenland on condition that in future he did not want more territory.

- (3) This policy of appeasement exposed the weakness of Britain and France. Hitler became bolder and he conquered Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. Hitler forced Lithuania to hand over Memel to Germany.

7.3.9 Immediate cause of the War:

Hitler's plans involved Poland. He demanded that Danzig be returned to Germany and the Polish Corridor as well. This demand proved too much for the British. Chamberlain gave up his policy of appeasement and announced that in case Poland was attacked, Britain would come to her aid. He concluded a formal alliance with France and Poland, and the three Powers agreed to guarantee one another's independence and territorial integrity. Hitler moved swiftly and signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Russia for ten years. Hitler was convinced that Britain and France would not fight. On September 1, German troops invaded Poland without any declaration of war. On 3 September Britain and France declared war on Germany. Thus began the Second World War.

Check Your Progress:

1. Trace the causes of the World War II.

7.4 MAIN EVENTS (COURSE) OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Blitzkrieg:

The long war began with Germany's invasion of Poland. It was here that the new German strategy of BLITZKRIEG or lightening war was first demonstrated. The Polish capital of Warsaw fell in two weeks. Russia invaded eastern Poland according to her Pact with Germany, and Poland was partitioned between them.

Hitler next attacked NORWAY because he wanted the iron mines for his war production. Then one after another he took control of HOLLAND, BELGIUM, and FRANCE. The German army entered France on June 5, and in less than three weeks the French General Marshal Petain signed an unconditional surrender. The world was shocked at the success of Hitler's Blitzkrieg.

Mussolini joined the war on the side of Germany and seized NICE from Italy.

The Battle of Britain, 1940-1941:

With the fall of France, Britain was left alone to fight Germany. Hitler chose not to invade Britain immediately. He tried to break down the British morale by heavy air attacks and large-scale sinking of British ships. The Luftwaffe (German air force) bombed Britain's industrial areas, the ports and London itself, for a year (August 1940 – June 1941.) But the British fought back with great determination. They had a skilful system of air-raid precautions. The pilots of the British Royal Air Force did a splendid job in fighting off the Germans. WINSTON CHURCHILL, the war-time Prime Minister of Britain, paid rich tributes to the R.A.F. pilots with these words, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." It was during this time that U.S.A. supplied war materials on a lend-lease basis to Britain.

Invasion of Russia:

The Non-Aggression Pact signed between Russia and Germany proved to be for a short time only. Stalin did not like the German occupation of Balkan territory. The conquest of Yugoslavia by Germany and quarrel over sharing the territory created a division between the two countries. In June 1941, Hitler attacked Russia by ordering a well-coordinated and massive attack. The German army advanced from three directions. In the south, the German advance was swift but as the Russians retreated, they destroyed all bridges, factories, railways and even crops growing in the fields. It was a "scorched earth" policy, to prevent the Germans from getting any kind of advantage. In the northern area, the German troops laid siege to LENINGRAD. It was a matter of life and death for Russia and her patriotic citizens fought it out. The over-confident Hitler did not take into account the Russian winter. The Russian winter froze the German soldiers and the Battle for Russia turned out to be a great disaster for Germany.

Pearl Harbour and Japanese Success:

The war was converted into a global conflict when Japan invaded the U.S.A. naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii on December 7, 1941. Three days later they sank two British battleships. They captured Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore, and Burma. The Dutch East Indies were conquered, and the Philippines surrendered after four months of fierce fighting. By October 1942, Japan was at the gates of India's eastern frontiers, and controlling an empire stretching over three million square miles.

Allied Victories In North Africa And Italy:

From the beginning 1943, the prospects of the Allies improved in the west. The Eighth Army under the command of General Montgomery won a historic battle against General Rommel (German tank Commander) at EL

ALAMEIN. At the same time a large British and American force under General Eisenhower landed in northwest Africa near Algiers. The two Allied armies after some fierce fighting, joined up in Tunisia and compelled the whole enemy force to surrender in May 1943. The German struggle in North Africa came to an end.

The Allies next invaded and took Sicily. From there they began to march to Rome. Mussolini fell from power and Italy surrendered unconditionally. But the German army in Italy offered a tough resistance and Rome was only taken in June 1944. Before this, Mussolini had been shot dead by the anti-Fascists.

The D-Day Invasions:

One of the most spectacular events of the second world war was the Allied invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944, led by General Eisenhower. Before this day the Allies bombed Germany fiercely. The Ruhr and other industrial centres, the railway and canal system-all were heavily damaged by this constant bombing. When the Allies landed, the Germans put up a stiff resistance but were pushed back everywhere. In August, Paris was liberated. Soon after the Germans were expelled from Belgium and Holland. The Allies penetrated through Germany's weak defences and moved across the German frontier. Meanwhile the Russians had opened their great offensive through Poland and were fighting in Berlin. Hitler committed suicide, and on May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered. Hitler's successor Admiral Doenitz signed the peace agreement.

The Pacific War:

Although the guns were silent in Europe, the war had not ended. Japan continued to fight. A British and Indian army fought Japan steadily in the jungles of Burma, while the Americans attacked the Japanese bases in the southwest Pacific. The battle was fierce, and the Americans took island by island, till they reached Okinawa. Both sides suffered heavy casualties in the battle for Okinawa, but the Americans won.

The Allies then issued an ultimatum threatening Japan with prompt and utter destruction if she did not surrender. The Japanese government turned down the proposal. The Americans were left with no options, and they dropped the atom bombs on HIROSHIMA and NAGASAKI. The two cities were destroyed and Japan realising the hopelessness of the situation surrendered on August 14, 1945. The nuclear holocaust came as a finale to the Second World War.²

Check Your Progress:

Briefly enumerate the main events during the World War II.

7.5 PEACE TREATIES AFTER WORLD WAR II

Regarding the fate of Germany, the Allies had made their aims known through the Atlantic Charter and the Conferences held in Teheran, Yalta,

and Potsdam. Germany and her capital were to be divided into zones and occupied by Russia, France, Britain, and U.S.A. The Nazi leaders were to be tried for their offences and punished. The Franco-German frontier of 1939 was restored. After a plebiscite the Saar was annexed to Western Germany. Russia and the Western Allies quarrelled over many issues and the unification of Germany remained unsolved.

A Council of Foreign Ministers prepared drafts of peace treaties to be signed by Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Finland. The Paris Peace Conference was held in July 1946, which was attended by 21 nations. In February 1947, these countries signed their treaties after pleading their cases.

- (1) Italy surrendered all her territorial conquests gained after the First World War. Albania became independent and Communist. Trieste was divided into two zones and occupied by Anglo-American and Yugoslav forces.
- (2) Austria was separated from Germany and occupied by the Four Powers until 1955.
- (3) Hungary and Bulgaria came under communist governments.
- (4) Finland ceded some territory to Russia.
- (5) The Allies under General Mac Arthur occupied Japan until 1951. Japan signed treaties with Britain, France, and U.S.A. She gave up her control over Korea, Formosa, Sakhalin, and Kurile Islands, and signed a defence treaty with the U.S.A. permitting her forces to remain in Japan.

7.6 CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

The Second World War like the First, brought economic, social, and political changes. In 1945 the most drastic economic and social changes came in central and Eastern Europe, and where many countries underwent a complete economic reorganization under Communist control. The greatest political upheavals came in the Asiatic countries of China, India, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia.

World War II produces catastrophic results, unparalleled in the history of mankind.

- (1) During the five years and ten months of war, it was estimated that twelve million soldiers were killed in action. Another twenty-five million died due to starvation and disease. About 1,60,000 people died in Japan because of the atom bombs. Even today the children of those who survived the holocaust, suffer from skin diseases and cancer. The numbers will never be accurate, but this time women and children figured very high on the death roll.

- (2) The U.S.A. spent nearly 350 billion dollars. The other countries may have spent something like a trillion dollars (i.e., 1,000 billion.) In terms of damage the cost was another trillion dollars.
- (3) At the end of the war Europe found itself completely ruined. Almost every European State had witnessed heavy bombing. Industries were destroyed, ports, railways, bridges were destroyed and civilian homes as well.
- (4) The war caused sufferings to millions of people all over the world. Everything was in short supply. There was scarcity of foodstuff, kerosene, building materials etc. Prices shot up and the standard of living went right down.
- (5) Every country found itself bankrupt and this affected political life. European nations came to be influenced by socialist and leftist ideas. E.g., the Labour Government came to power in Britain soon after the war.
- (6) The people of the world were horrified at the MORAL DEGENERATION of all humanity. Man had committed the worst possible cruelties and atrocities on other innocent human beings. The Nazis had massacred millions of Jews in the most terrible way. The dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki proved that man was prepared to wipe out his own species. Acts like these showed the depth of moral degradation.
- (7) The three great Axis Powers i.e., Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militarist Japan were completely crushed. (a) GERMANY was split into four zones, and each zone was put under the control of U.S.A., Britain, France, and Soviet Russia respectively. The capital city of Berlin was also divided into four zones. These zones were under foreign military control between 1945-1948. (b) Italy lost all her colonial possessions. She had to pay a war indemnity and Russia got a hundred million dollars as reparation from Italy. She collapsed economically, and the Marshall Plan helped her to recover. (c) Japan too lost her entire colonial empire including Korea, Manchuria and Taiwan. The Allied Forces (SCAP) under General Eisenhower of the U.S.A. occupied her. Today all these three countries under democratic governments have staged an economic recovery.
- (8) World War II brought about changes in the positions of then Allied countries as well. Britain and France lost their positions as superpowers, and they gave up this position to U.S.A. and USSR. After the War Britain and France were faced with domestic and external problems. Both could no longer hold their respective colonies. Their economies were almost bankrupt.
- (9) One of the surprising results of the war was the rise of USSR as a superpower. She was partly responsible for the defeat of Germany. The heroism shown by her people at the time of the war, could hardly be forgotten.

- (10) The U.S.A. played a pivotal role in winning the war. The U.S.A. had benefited financially in a tremendous way and her industrialists had made huge profits. During the war the U.S.A. had loaned money to many countries. After the war, since her financial position was secure, she continued to loan money to war-torn countries.
- (11) These two new Superpowers, U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. represented totally different ideologies. U.S.A. represented the Capitalist bloc and USSR represented the Communist bloc. The “cold war,” between the two lasted from 1945 -1989.
- (12) The most far-reaching consequence of the war was the colonial revolution. The people of the colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland revolted against the domination of the white man. They were determined to have their freedom. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Indochina, Israel, Iran, Syria, Ethiopia, Libya and states in Africa, all won their independence soon after the war.
- (13) The United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.) was born in 1945. Although the League of Nations failed, mankind did not lose its hopes of making the world a safer place. The UN Charter was signed at San Francisco, and it contains the hope that countries can work together to maintain peace.

Check Your Progress:

Bring out the important effects of the World War II?

7.7 SUMMARY

Even though all countries in Europe and the world had suffered so much due to the First World War, they did not seem to have learnt a lesson. In less than 33 years these same countries were at war again.

Though there is no doubt that the rise of dictators like Hitler and Mussolini was responsible for the war, yet we should not overlook the deeper reasons. The Treaty of Versailles had humiliated and hurt Germany deeply and destroyed her economically. Germany wanted her revenge. Nationalism all over became aggressive and national minorities fought for their independence. Though the League of Nations had tried to stop the race for armaments, it was unsuccessful. Once again, the world was an armed camp. Surprisingly, Britain and France followed a policy of appeasement, whenever Hitler went against the Treaty of Versailles. Nobody stopped him and he took advantage.

Hitler invaded Austria, Sudetenland and finally Poland. This led the whole world into war again. On one side were the Axis Powers i.e., Germany, Italy, and Japan. On the other side were the Allied Powers who included U.S.A., Britain and France. Russia at first was with the Axis

Powers but when Germany attacked her, she was forced to join hands with the Allies.

The Allies were finally successful, but they paid a heavy price. There was immense loss of life and destruction of property. When Japan refused to surrender, the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Allies were careful not to be harsh at the peace conference. The Second World War saw the rise of two new Superpowers, U.S.A. and USSR. Britain and France were now second-rate powers. Germany, Italy and Japan were economically destroyed. Japan was occupied by SCAP to help with its economic recovery. Finally, the U.N.O. was established in an attempt to maintain peace and cooperation among all nations.

7.8 QUESTIONS

1. What were the major causes of World War II?
2. Analyse the causes of World War II.
3. Discuss the Important effects of World War II.
4. Write short notes on the following,
 - (a) Nature of World War II
 - (b) Course of World War II
 - (c) Main events during World War II

7.9 ADDITIONAL READING

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THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 The Atlantic Charter
- 8.3 Aims and objectives of the U.N.O.
- 8.4 Membership of the U.N.O.
- 8.5 Organisation of the U.N.O.
- 8.6 Specialised Agencies of the U.N.O.
- 8.7 The Achievements of the U.N.O.
- 8.8 Summary
- 8.9 Questions
- 8.10 Additional Reading

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying of this module, the student will be able to –

1. Appreciate the significance of the Atlantic Charter
1. Perceive the objectives and aims of the U.N.O.
2. Understand the organisation of U.N.O.
3. Comprehend about the special agencies of U.N.O.
4. Describe the achievements of the U.N.O.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

When Woodrow Wilson had put forward his Fourteen Points, he had hoped it would bring about a peaceful settlement after the war. He argued that unless all countries collectively tried to maintain peace, there would be no peace. All countries had to respect each other's territorial integrity. Based on these ideas, he proposed the establishment of an international association called the League of Nations.

The main aim of the League was to prevent war, promote peace and international co-operation. The League functioned through the main organs of the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. There were other auxiliary organs like the International Court and the World Health Organisation.

Unfortunately, the League failed in its main purpose of preventing war. It was the member nations themselves who, failed the League as they

refused to obey orders. The League did not have any military force with which to compel members to obey. When the League asked Italy not to colonise Abyssinia and to withdraw, Italy withdrew from the League instead.

But in the field of social and humanitarian work it accomplished much. Its agencies did much to suppress the illegal drug trade, prostitution of women and children and to abolish slavery. The League was also successful in promoting educational and intellectual Co-operation and in co-ordinating health and scientific organisations throughout the world.

Wilson and other statesmen who designed the League hoped it would lead nations to stop seeking protection through secret alliances. Instead, they favoured a system of 'collective security.' In this system the security of each member would be guaranteed by the protection of all. For collective security to work, it was necessary that all members come to the aid of each other if any member was attacked. The League could not force nations to help each other. It had to be a voluntary action. Each nation had to believe that a threat to the peace of any nation however small, was a threat to its own peace.

Why the League failed was most dramatically illustrated when Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935. The League declared that Italy had gone against the Covenant and asked members to impose sanctions against Italy. Members agreed to stop all imports from Italy and to send no money or war materials to Italy. But the U.S.A., Japan and Germany were not members. It was left to Britain, France and Russia to strongly oppose Italy. However, Britain and France were not willing to use force to stop Italy, as it might lead to war. They did not impose the oil sanctions against Italy, and finally Italy conquered Ethiopia in May 1936. The Ethiopian crisis completely discredited the League as an instrument of maintaining peace.

The U.N.O. was culmination of various war time conferences. Historically it was the grand alliance against Axis Powers was the background of it. During the second world war, various peace efforts were attempted through some major conferences for co – ordinating the war effort and military strategy of the allied powers. The fundamental principles for the post war reconstruction and maintenance of peace were laid down. The foremost effort was the result in the Atlantic charter which contained the principals of world peace and co – corporation among nations.

8.2 THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Course of Peace Efforts – In the Midst of Second World War, the “Big Three” – Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin attempted to reassure the war battered humanity of peace and freedom. The statesmen and diplomats were putting their maximum effort in examining the weakness of the existing system of international system and plan of action to have the remedial measures. It was concluded that there was an urgent need form

the establishment of a stronger and effective international order after the war.

The Atlantic Charter – The first step to have the Atlantic charter was taken when on 14th August 1941, the American President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill met aboard on an American cruiser in mid Atlantic Ocean. A joint declaration of the principal known as the “Atlantic Charter” was issued. Both the leaders declared their commitment to have an idealist program of international peace and justice to denounce any attempt of territorial expansion. This declaration was to promote the right of every country to choose its own form of government. The Charter believed that all the nations of the world must end the race for militarization for realistic as well as spiritual reasons. It’s stated that the race for armament and deployment of the arms and ammunitions at land, sea and air were the immediate threat to the neighbouring countries and threat to the world peace. It was understood to generate race for armaments among the peace-loving nations also. Both the leaders realized that economic prosperity can be achieved through the long-lasting peace and equal opportunity of trade and economic corporation for the development of every nation of the world either small or big.

The charter clearly stated that both the leaders pledge to work for durable peace. The president Franklin D. Roosevelt in a speech guaranteed to the world the freedom of speech and religion and freedom from want and fear. This charter assured permanent peace by giving the guarantee for the freedom of seas and security based on disarmament.

The U.N. Declaration – On January 01, 1942, the delegates of 26 governments pledged solidarity against the Axis Power. At Washington they declared that each government would exploit its resources to the maximum level for the destruction of Axis Powers. They also pledged not to have any separate armistice for peace with the Axis Powers. They declared their commitment to the principals of Atlantic Charter. The Declaration of 26 countries was designated as United Nations declaration.

Later, the proposal to have an international organisation was discussed in various subsequent meeting and conferences by the “Big Three” at Dumbarton Okas Washington, (1944) and Yalta (1945). Eventually, the delegates from 51 nations assembled at San Francisco (U.S.A) in the United Nations Conference during the month of April to June 1945.

These several consultations and meeting resulted in the framing on basic charter of the United Nations. It was ratified by the majority of the member nations by 24th October 1945, the day when U.N.O. officially came into existence.

8.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE U.N.O.:

The U.N.O. Charter has 111 Articles, and these Articles defuse, the purpose, principles, and the way the U.N.O. was to be organised. According to the Preamble, the U.N.O. will work to achieve and promote

social progress and better standards of living it will strive to establish conditions of justice.

The UNG Charter contains four clear objectives:

- (1) To maintain international peace and security,
- (2) To promote friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination of peoples,
- (3) To achieve international cooperation in solving various problems, and
- (4) To promote respect for human rights, dignity, and freedom.

To achieve these objectives, the U.N.O. has accepted certain principles. They are:

- (1) Equality of all members,
- (2) Membership is open to all peace-loving nations,
- (3) Each member is expected to fulfil its obligations in good faith,
- (4) No member nation shall use force against any state and no other state shall support the aggressor state.
- (5) The U.N.O. shall not intervene in the internal affairs of any member state.

8.4 MEMBERSHIP OF THE U.N.O.

When the U.N.O. began in 1946, it had 51 original members. These founder members included not only the Great Powers but also Asian nations.

There is a definite procedure for admitting new members. Firstly, membership is open only to peace loving nations that are willing to accept the obligations contained in the Charter. Secondly, the Security Council should recommend the new member and the General Assembly must accept it by a two-thirds majority.

There is no provision for the withdrawal of membership. But on the recommendation of the Security Council, the general Assembly can expel or suspend a member nation which has violated the Charter.

8.5 ORGANISATION OF THE U.N.O.

The main organs of the U.N.O. are (1) General Assembly, (2) Security Council, (3) the Economic and Social Council, (4) the Trusteeship Council, (5) the Secretariat, (6) the International Court of Justice.

Besides these there are many subsidiary and specialized agencies under the supervision of the Economic and Social Council.

8.5.1 The General Assembly:

This is the main organ of the U.N.O. and is made up of all the members. The Assembly can discuss and make recommendations on any matter of international importance. The Assembly is concerned with matters of security and health, education, finance, politics, and social welfare. Its function is to review, criticise and supervise the actions of the U.N.O.

In the General Assembly all countries are equal. Every country can send five representatives, but they have only one vote. Decisions on important matters are made by two-thirds of the members present and voting.

The General Assembly regularly meets each year in September. Special sessions can be held. The Assembly elects a different President for each session.

The General assembly has exclusive control over the finances of the U.N.O. It must approve of the budget of any of the specialised agencies like the UNESCO, the F.A.O., and the I.L.O.

The General Assembly is responsible for electing members to the Trusteeship Council and the ECOSOC.

The most important election duty is that of the six non-permanent members of the Security Council.

The Assembly appoints the Secretary- General on the recommendations of the Security Council.

8.5.2 The Security Council:

The main organ established by the U.N.O. to preserve peace and security is the Security Council. It has the authority to investigate any dispute between nations and to recommend peaceful solutions. It has the right to use diplomatic and economic measures to preserve peace. It also has the right to use air, naval or land forces against the aggressor, to restore international order. It is both a peacemaker and a policeman.

The Security Council is made up of 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent members. The permanent members are, Britain, France, U.S.A., USSR, and China. The first non-permanent members were Australia, Brazil, Poland, Mexico, Holland, and Egypt.

It seems like the small nations have a majority. But this is balanced by the VETO VOTE of the permanent members. To reach a decision on important matters, the five permanent members must all agree. Even if one member opposes by casting a veto vote, a decision cannot be taken.

However, to apply economic, military, or diplomatic sanctions, all five permanent members and two non-permanent members must agree.

The Council has complete authority to decide whether peace is being threatened or not. Its power of investigation is unlimited. It works

efficiently and can act in seven days. It can go into session at any time and function immediately.

8.5.3 Economic and Social Council:

ECOSOC is a strong cooperative agency for human welfare. Its aim is the promotion of social and economic well-being. It seeks to provide solutions for economic, social, health and related problems. It seeks to develop respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, sex, language, or religion.

The Council is made up of 18 member states, each with one representative. Decisions are made by a majority of members present and voting.

The scope of the Council extends to every human activity of international interest. ECOSOC has created various Commissions to help people.

The Economic and Employment Commission is concerned with devastated areas and employment.

The Social Commission deals with standards of living, food, clothing, health care etc.

The ECOSOC co-operates with other agencies like the UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, the WHO—World Health Organisation, the FAO — Food and Agricultural Organisation.

The job of ECOSOC requires action on a co-operative and not a political basis. Its future depends on the intelligence and goodwill of the people of the member nations.

8.5.4 The Trusteeship Council:

This council takes care of the people living in territories held under the League of Nations mandate or the territories surrendered by the Axis Powers coming under trust. It also receives reports on the progress made in the trust territories under the concerned powers. People in these areas were also permitted to present complaints or petitions.

The Trusteeship Council is composed of Big Powers, member-nations which administer Trust territories and members elected by the General Assembly. This Council elects a President at the beginning of each session and meets twice in a year.

8.5.5 The Secretariat:

This is the administrative organ of the U.N.O. It serves as a permanent liaison between the different branches of the U.N.O. and between the specialised agencies also. It prepares for every session of the Assembly, of the ECOSOC and of the Trusteeship Council.

The General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council appoints the Secretary-General. He represents the U.N.O. in the eyes of the whole world.

He has the power to appoint the entire staff of the Secretariat. He must present the annual report to the general Assembly.

The most important function of the Secretary-General is his right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Finally, he is responsible for preparing the budget, allotting funds and controlling expenditure, and for collecting contributions from member states.

8.5.6 The International Court of Justice:

This court is situated at the Hague in Holland. It consists of fifteen judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council. No two judges can be from the same country. The judges are elected for nine years. Only the Court can dismiss them.

Many countries have signed an “optional clause,” by which they accept the court’s decision as binding in all legal disputes.

An important function of the court is to provide “advisory opinion,” to the general Assembly and the Security Council on request.

8.6 SPECIALISED AGENCIES OF THE U.N.O

To deal with the economic, social, educational, scientific cultural and humanitarian activities, the U.N.O. has certain specialised agencies. These agencies are independent organisations with their own secretariats, administrative and executive bodies. Some of them are:

- (1) THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. (I.L.O.)
Established in 1919, it works to improve the conditions of workers all over the world.
- (2) THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION (F.A.O.)
This agency works to raise food production in the world. It also tries to improve nutrition levels in developing nations.
- (3) THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. (I.M.F.) It is a banking agency to help members pay foreign debts, stabilise their currency and promote international trade.
- (4) THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (I.B.R.D.). This agency was set up in 1944 and is also known as, the World Bank. Its aim was to encourage economic progress by providing loans for reconstruction and development projects.

- (5) THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION (W.H.O.). The headquarters of this agency are at Geneva. It attempts to improve health conditions throughout the world. It tries to eradicate epidemics like malaria and helps nations to improve health services. It gives assistance to victim of floods, famines and earthquakes.
- (6) THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (UNESCO) This agency seeks to increase respect for justice, law, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people. It stresses the development of education the increase and peaceful use of scientific knowledge.
- (7) THE UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND (UNICEF). Established in 1946, it aims at providing food, clothing, and shelter to poverty-stricken children. It also provides medical relief for sick children.

Check Your Progress:

Bring out the main organisations of the U.N.O.

8.7 THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE U.N.O.

The U.N.O. has had to deal with numerous situations over since it was formed. Some it has been able to solve and some, it has not. While it has been able to deal with local conflicts successfully, on the international front it has not been able to eliminate the possibility of a global war.

We will record a few of the successful attempts of the U.N.O. in the political sphere.

- (1) In 1946, the U.N.O. intervened in a dispute between Iran and U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union was asked to withdraw its troops from Iran, which she did.
- (2) In 1947, the U.N.O successfully stopped a civil war in Greece and saved its independence and sovereignty.
- (3) In 1948, British troops withdrew from Palestine and the new state of Israel was formed. It was situated in the middle of Arab States. The Jews expelled the- Arabs from Israel and this led to a war. The U.N.O. intervened and arranged for a cease-fire.
- (4) Another serious problem faced by the U.N.O. was the Suez Crisis. President Nasser of Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company in 1956. Britain and France joined Israel in invading Egypt. The world almost fought another war, since USSR threatened Britain and France. The U.N.O. conducted 'quiet diplomacy.' She managed to restore peace in the area.
- (5) In 1960, the, U.N.O. sent her peacekeeping forces to Congo to help stop a civil war.

- (6) In 1965, India and Pakistan fought over Kashmir. The U.N.O. intervened to maintain a cease-fire.

It is not possible to list out all the situations where the U.N.O. has intervened. In many of these cases she has not been successful, and the cases have not been solved. But the fact is that the U.N.O. is the only forum through which all disputes can be settled. Many times, the U.N.O. has not been consulted. Many times, the concerned countries settled the dispute by themselves. Many times, the peacekeeping forces have only brought about a temporary truce. Very often the U.N.O. has not been effective, because of Superpower rivalry. One country or the other has exercised its veto power, thus limiting the scope of the U.N.O.

In the non-political field the U.N.O. has an impressive record. Many developing countries have received financial assistance from the World Bank and other agencies. The UNESCO and UNICEF have done an extremely good job in the third world countries. They have tried to improve the quality of life for these people. Through the efforts of the WHO, diseases like malaria, T.B. leprosy and polio have almost been eradicated. The ILO has rendered valuable service in the improvement of the conditions of labour. One of the greatest achievements of the U.N.O. has been the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, unanimously adopted in 1948 by the General Assembly.

Finally, the U.N.O. can be successful only if the member nations want its success. The peace and welfare of the world depends on them. If they chose not to co-operate with each other, especially the Permanent Members, there will never be peace.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss in brief the achievements of the U.N.O.?

8.8 SUMMARY

As noted above, the need for a peace-keeping body was felt during the second world war itself. People and the leaders of the countries realised that by destroying life and property, no real victory was won. Selfishness in world politics had led to the war. Now countries needed to co-operate with each other, so that they might live in peace with each other.

Many meetings were held, and plans drawn up, to form a peace body after the war. The Atlantic Charter was one of the first attempts, followed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the San Francisco Conference. Finally on 24 October 1945, the United Nations Organisation was formally inaugurated at New York.

The aims of the U.N.O. are clear:

- (1) To maintain international peace and security,
- (2) To promote friendly relations,

- (3) To achieve international co-operation, and
- (5) To promote respect for human rights, dignity, and freedom.

There are many subsidiary and specialised agencies through which the U.N.O. functions. There are five main organs—the General Assembly, the Security Council the ECOSOC, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice. Besides these there are the specialised agencies at work to promote economic, social, educational, and cultural wellbeing of the people of the world.

It is an extremely difficult task to list out the achievements of the U.N.O. In the political area there have been many serious situations where the U.N.O. has not been able to maintain peace. But in many situations the peace-keeping forces have maintained peace in trouble areas. Very often the U.N.O. conducts quiet diplomacy and manages to bring about a compromise between the parties. India and Pakistan fought in 1965 over the Kashmir issue and the U.N.O. intervened to bring about a cease-fire.

In the non-political field, the U.N.O. has a very impressive record. The World Bank and the IMF have given much financial assistance to developing countries. The UNESCO and the UNICEF have helped in improving the quality of life in third world countries.

The U.N.O. as a body has its weaknesses, but if the ideals must succeed and peace must be maintained in the world, then it is up to the members of the U.N.O. to maintain peace.

8.9 QUESTIONS

1. What are the aims and objectives of the U.N.O.?
2. Describe the organisation of the U.N.O.
3. Write short notes on the following.
 - (a) Specialised agencies of the U.N.O.
 - (b) The Security Council
 - (c) General Assembly.
 - (d) Atlantic Charter.

8.10 ADDITIONAL READING

English Books

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DR. SUN-YAT-SEN AND CHINA

Unit Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Beginning of National Awakening
- 9.3 The Three Principles of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen
- 9.4 Summary
- 9.5 Questions
- 9.6 Additional Reading

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After the study of this module, the student will be able to understand the factors that led to the rise nationalism in China:

1. Describe the cause of the Revolution of 1911.
2. Discuss the three people's principles.
3. Comprehend the role of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in the history of China.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The Manchu dynasty ruled China since 1650. But the rulers were weak and inefficient. Power passed in the hands of feudal officers called war lords. The country remained politically unstable, economically backward and exploited. Foreign countries took advantage. They entered the country as traders. Gradually they forced the rulers to grant concessions for trade. They smuggled opium into China. The youth fell a prey to opium addiction. When the Manchus objected the western nations fought two opium wars against China. The Manchus were defeated. They had to sign treaties according to which many Chinese ports were opened to western nations. The British captured Hongkong. The French, Germans, Belgians, and Americans, were interested in exploiting the country. The Open Door Policy was formulated, by which the foreign countries, divided China into spheres of interest. It meant that politically China would be ruled by the Manchus, but economically every foreign nation would dominate over its sphere of interest. Thus, the condition of China was miserable.

China faced exploitation by European and other imperialist powers. Politically the country was not captured, but it was economically exploited. The weak Manchu dynasty and subsequent weak Presidents could not escape humiliation. Finally, Mao-Zedong organised the communist party, which fought against foreigners and other forces, which kept the country divided.

9.2 BEGINNING OF NATIONAL AWAKENING

The educated involved into secret revolutionary societies. They protested several times. A major episode was the Boxer's rebellion in 1900. The Boxers attacked European missionaries and foreign embassies. To save themselves America, England, Russia, Germany, and Japan sent armies into China. The rebellion was suppressed. China was once again forced to accept the humiliating terms of the treaty, which was signed.

Early Life Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen:

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen has been respected the father nation of China as Mahatma Gandhiji has been respected as the father of nation of India. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was senior by three years to Mahatma Gandhiji i.e., he was born on 12th November 1866 at a village Hsiang-Shan, in the district of Tsui-Hang in prosperous farmers family. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen studied at his village up to the age of 14 and then he was shifted to the Church of England school, Honolulu, where his elder brother had a business establishment there. He studied mathematics, History and English in that school, which created profound impression in his tender mind. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was further shifted to Hongkong, where he studied medicine and became a qualified surgeon. Sir James Cantlie, one of the reputed surgeons of his time became a good friend of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, who induced him to undertake social work with him and converted him to Christianity. After completing his medical degree at Queens College, Hongkong Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen went to Macao to start his medical practice over there, but the Portuguese Government of Macao did not permit him to start the practice because Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen had no medical degree from a Portuguese institution. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was terribly stunned due to this institution. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was terribly stunned due to this experience and decided to become a revolutionary like Dr. Ho-Chi-Mink of Indo China.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen as A Revolutionary:

He himself established as a major revolutionary up to 1885, in which his secret Society known as the Revive China Society, played an important role and helped him to get married with a daughter of Charles Jones, a wealthy merchant of Shanghai, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen made Hongkong his base for revolutionary activities and tried to seize canton, but he could not succeed, which made him to go underground for some time. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen left for Tokyo, Japan to avoid arrest by Chinese police. Japanese Government helped him with men and material for revolutionary activities, which he supervises from Tokyo. In 1896, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen left Japan for London, where he was arrested by the Chinese intelligence, but Sir Charles Cantlie, once his British friend, managed to secure his release. His arrest and subsequent release made Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen extremely popular as a revolutionary and reformer, who was fighting against the autocratic government in China. The London episode led him to acquaint with the European revolutionaries and brought Chinese soldiers very close to him, who helped Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in the revolution of 1911.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen and World War I:

During the first World War Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen had been out of any scenario. There was a struggle between parties for powers. Despite the allied had forced China to enter the war against Germany. General Chen one of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen's followers defeated his adversaries and declared Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen as a President of the Chinese Republic at Canton in 1920. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen expected help from the western powers, but it was not possible because they wanted a strong man as a ruler of China not a democrat. The western powers had decided to continue their imperial interests in China for which they needed a despotic ruler rather than Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen. This dismayed Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen and reminded him the betrayed of China at the Versailles by the Western Powers.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen got a favourable response from communist Russia, who sent Adolph Joffe to help him Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in organisational work in China. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen had a dream of bringing whole China under the control of his Republic but Wu-Pel-Fu, one of the warlords was creating problems in the Northern China, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen wanted to overpower as soon as possible. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, therefore, sought alliance with Tuan and Chang the other two war lords of China but they took decision on their own before Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen reaching the meeting at Peking. These warlords did not help him, he saw his dreams shattered and died of a broken heart on 12th March, 1925. His death made him a legendary hero, the father of Nation of China.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was a Chinese patriot. He founded the Chinese Revival Society to save the nation. He aroused people by his anti-Manchu and anti-foreign speeches. Young students got attracted to his thoughts. Sun wanted to reorganise China on modern lines. He devised his own programme of social reform based on three principles. This later became his revolutionary philosophy.

9.3 THE THREE PEOPLE PRINCIPLES OF DR. SUN-YAT-SEN WERE

1. Min-tsu-chu-i or Nationalism
2. Min-chuan-chu-i- or Democracy
3. Min-sheng-chu-i- or Peoples livelihood.

He formed a secret party called Tung-meng-hui. Its branches were established in many provinces. This party was later called Kuo Ming tang or KMT.

People in China were tired of the weak Manchu regime. They were aroused by the revolutionary organisations. The revolution of 1911 began suddenly. A police firing in Hankow led to the publication of a list of conspirators. So, they revolted immediately. The local armies joined, and the revolt spread rapidly. Dr. Sun was at Tokyo. He directed the activities from there.

The Government tried to suppress the uprising Gen-Yuan-Shi-kai was told to put down the same. Meanwhile the revolutionaries captured South China and proclaimed it independent. Yuan found it difficult to save monarchy. He compromised with the revolutionaries, on the condition that he would be the President of the new state. The people had no resources to carry the struggle. So, Sun-Yat-Sen offered the post to Yuan. The Manchu ruler Pu-Yi transferred power to Yuan since he was helpless. Thus, monarchy was overthrown, and China was proclaimed a republic.

China between 1912 and 1928:

After becoming the President, Yuan grabbed all power. His ambition was to become the emperor. Chinese people did not like this. There were protests, uprisings etc. leading to decrease of his power. War lords emerged in provinces. They considered themselves independent.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen therefore, tried to get foreign support. Yuan died in 1916, leaving China as divided as before. Dr. Sun had to organise the party to establish control over China. He was influenced by the success of Bolsheviks in Russia. He asked help from Bolsheviks. They agreed. Michael Borodin was sent to reorganise KMT on communist lines. But the alliance of KMT and communists was temporary. The communists tried to side track Dr. Sun. He could not do much and died a sad man in the year 1925. His successor to the KMT party was Chiang kai shek. Chiang was the President of China. But hardly, any China was under him. It was grabbed by the war lords Secondly, he also to face the Japanese and Communists.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss briefly the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

9.4 SUMMARY

China suffered immensely due to foreign interference. The Chinese were fully exploited, not only by Europeans, but by their own monarchy. In the 20th century Dr. Sun-Yat Sen laid the foundation of the national movement. Mao-Tse-Tung arrived on the scene and led the country to sovereignty.

9.5 QUESTIONS

1. Account for rise of nationalism in China.
2. Discuss role of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in the Revolution of 1911 in China.
3. Describe briefly the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen

9.6 ADDITIONAL READING

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MAHATMA GANDHI AND INDIA

Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Gandhian Movement
- 10.3 Summary
- 10.4 Questions
- 10.5 Additional Reading

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After the study of this module, the student will be able to

1. Perceive the rise of Mahatma Gandhiji in the Indian National Movement.
2. Comprehend the Non-Cooperation Movement Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhiji.
3. Understand the Civil Disobedience Movement of Gandhiji.
4. Discuss the quit India movement of Gandhiji of 1942.
5. Describe the attainment of Independence of India.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit deals with the Indian national movement. India was colonised by the British. About two-thirds of India was under direct British rule. There were attempts to revolt against the British. Some uprisings failed, but they aroused the people. The Indian National Congress and other parties waged a long struggle against the British. In 1947 India got freedom.

The British came to India as traders. Their East India Company played a politics, conquered almost all India by using the 'Subsidiary Alliance Systems and the Doctrine of Lapse' to the indigenous rulers. They exploited India using various ways and methods. Indians, however, were exposed to new ideas of democracy and liberalism through the introduction of Western education. This aroused a sense of partition among the Indians. They revolted against the British on several times. The Revolt of 1857 was the most important uprising against the British because it brought all Indians together and created the sense of nationalism.

10.2 GANDHIAN MOVEMENT

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885. It was the first organised movement. The first phase of it was dominated by the western educated, middle class, intellectuals. It is called the Moderate period. They followed constitutional methods of agitation. They asked the British to introduce reforms. However, some young congressmen became frustrated because the British government neglected the demands of the Congress. They felt that moderate methods would not succeed. These people believed in strong action. They were called Extremists. Their main objective was to get Swaraj. They believed in Swadeshi and burnt English goods. The third phase of the national movement is called Gandhian era. After 1919 we find that Gandhiji directed the national struggle.

10.2.1 Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi:

He was born at Porbandar on 2nd October 1869. He studied law and went to South Africa. There he launched his non-violent satyagraha against racial discrimination. He also promoted swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of untouchability and upliftment of women.

He returned to India and took active part in the national movement. His first major action was the Champaran Satyagraha. He took up the cause of indigo plantation workers. They were in a miserable condition, being exploited by the British. Gandhiji then organised a strike of textile mill workers of Ahmedabad for better wages. Then he instigated peasants of Kheda to ask for tax remission since crops had failed. All his actions proved a success. He was acknowledged as a leader.

10.2.2 Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy:

The Rowlatt act imposed restrictions on Indians and gave arbitrary powers to the police. Gandhiji took over matter. He asked Indians to observe hartal on 6th April 1919. All activities on that day were to be suspended.

In Punjab, things became serious. The government arrested two political leaders. To protest this, thousands of Indians gathered at the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. General Dyer entered the place and without any warning fired the innocent crowd. Hundreds were injured and killed, within 10 minutes. All Indians vehemently protested the British. There was widespread violence. Gandhiji requested the people to be non-violent and observe satyagraha.

Gandhiji joined the Khilafat movement, so that he could bring Muslims closer to the Congress.

10.2.3 The Non-Cooperation Movement 1920 - 1922:

He launched the movement throughout India. The chief features of it were

1. Boycott of British goods and use of swadeshi.

2. Boycott of English educational institutions and establishment of national schools and colleges.
3. Giving up of honorary titles awarded by the British.
4. Popularisation of Charkha
5. Fight against untouchability.
6. Observation of non-violence and peace.

The movement was a success. People took part in protests, marches, and demonstrations. They burnt British goods. They picketed shops selling foreign material, wine, opium etc. It created political awakening even among masses and the people from rural areas.

10.2.4 The British Governments Reaction:

There were lathi charges and mass imprisonments. As a result, the Indians turned violent in Malabar, Mumbai, and other places. But the most violent episode was the Chauri-chaura incident. This was a town in Gorakhpur district, where the police fired a march. The mob turned violent and killed 22 policemen. Gandhiji was shocked to hear the news. He called off the non-cooperation movement saying that the Indians were not ready for it. Indians all over were unhappy over Gandhiji decision. Many became his opponents in the process.

Check Your Progress:

Write a short note on Gandhiji's Non-cooperation movement?

10.2.5 Swarajists. Revolutionaries and Others:

C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru etc. Were angry over the withdrawal of the movement. They formed the Swaraj party (a group within the Congress), to put forward their ideas. Another reaction came in form of revolutionary movement. Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh etc. formed the group. They believed in militant methods to oppose the government. They took part in bomb making, looting government cash, and attack on British officers. Bhagat Singh, Raj guru and Sukhdev were hanged, for killing a British. The government adopted severe measures to put down these movements. However, terrorist activities continued in Bengal and Maharashtra. Even young girls took part in these movements. People took part in protests against Simon Commission., because it was an all-white group, to recommend constitutional provisions for India.

10.2.6 Purna Swarajya And The Civil Disobedience Movement:

A new chapter begins with the emergence of Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was elected the President of the Congress in 1929 at Lahore. The resolution of Purna Swarajya was adopted by the Congress. He took the oath of complete independence on the banks of river Ravi. On 26th January 1930, all Indians took the same oath at public meetings.

The session gave Gandhiji the charge of the Civil Disobedience movement. It meant that people should defy laws that were offensive. Gandhiji began the movement with the Dandi March. The journey from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi Sea Coast was 200 miles. He selected 70 followers. All started the march on April 5, 1930. The aim was to reach Dandi and pick up salt. The making of salt was government monopoly. Tax on salt was heavy. Gandhiji wanted to break law in public.

Thousands of villagers welcomed Gandhiji at Dandi. This showed that they had lost faith in the British rule. Another remarkable feature was the large-scale participation of women in it. Many of them were imprisoned.

The movement spread all over India. People disobeyed laws. They stopped paying taxes. They boycotted English goods. During this time, we find the rise of Abdul Gafar Khan in Northwest Frontier province. He was a follower of Gandhiji.

The government reacted brutally. There were serious lathi charges. Newspapers were censored and could not write about British atrocities. The police fired nonviolent nationalists. Still people were ready to suffer physical torture, to support the movement. Due to national and international pressure the government released political prisoners who were not involved in the terrorist movement. Gandhiji signed a pact with Lord Irwin. He also agreed to attend Second Round Table Conference at London.

10.2.7 The Second World War And Indian National Movement:

Indians were not satisfied with the British government's promises. They were unhappy with the provisions of the Act of 1935. When the second world war broke out in 1939, the British sent Indian soldiers to fight the war.

In 1940, the leader of the Muslim League, M.A. Jinnah laid the two-nation theory. He demanded a separate state for Muslims. It was also the period of the activities of Netaji Bose. He believed that foreign help, could give India her freedom. He went to Germany and Japan. With the Japanese help he organised the Azad Hind Fauj.

10.2.8 The Quit India Movement 1942:

The Congress adopted the Quit India resolution, as a part of the struggle for independence. On August 8, 1942, Gandhiji and others gathered at Gowalia Tank Mumbai. The British were told to quit India. Gandhiji appealed to every Indian to join the movement. "Kareng ya mareng" was the slogan. People shouted the slogan to support Gandhiji.

The immediate effect was that, on the next day all major leaders were imprisoned. Leadership passed to militant students. Traders, workers, and housewives participated. There were protests, hartals, and demonstrations. Students and teachers abstained from classes. People attacked railways, post offices, electric wires etc, which were symbols of British authority.

We find the rise of Jai Prakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Achyut Rao Patwardhan. However, this movement was a Congress action.

The Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, depressed classes and Sikhs did not participate. The British government suppressed the movement. However, it was understood that Indians were determined and British would have to quit India in near future.

10.2.9 India attains freedom:

The British sent several missions to India. The purpose was to discuss with Indian leaders of various political parties, about the future structure of India. The missions could not achieve much because of the differences among the parties. The Muslim League was firm on a separate state. The Congress tried to persuade the Muslim League, but in vain.

Lord Mountbatten arrived in India and laid the 3rd. June Plan. According to it the British rule ended. Pakistan was made a separate State from 14th August 1947. The princely states were free to decide their position.

Finally, India achieved independence on 15, August 1947. The 150 years of British rule came to an end. Hundreds of Indians died for their mother land. Thousands sacrificed their homes and property so that lakhs get their independence.

Check Your Progress:

Write a short note on Quit India movement of Gandhiji’?

10.3 SUMMARY

India suffered under the British rule. The Indian National Congress and other parties carried the struggle for freedom. Gandhiji and many others fought for the country. Finally, we got independence in 1947.

10.4 QUESTIONS

1. Evaluate the role of Mahatma Gandhi in India’s struggle for freedom.
2. Explain the importance of non-Co-operation movement. Why did Gandhiji withdraw it.
3. Write notes on:
 - a) Dandi March
 - b) Quit India movement

1.8 ADDITIONAL READING

English Books

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DR. SUKARNO AND INDONESIA

Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Rise of Nationalism in Indonesia
- 11.3 Contribution of Sukarno
- 11.4 Sukarno's guided democracy
- 11.5 Summary
- 11.6 Questions
- 11.7 Additional Reading

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After the study of this unit, the student will be able to -

1. Appreciate the factors responsible for the rise of National movement in Indonesia.
2. Understand the contribution of Dr. Sukarno in the national movement.
3. Analyse the demerits of the Guided Democracy in Indonesia.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit conveys the story of the Struggle of the people of Indonesia. This group of Islands was conquered by the Dutch. The poor inhabitants had to fight for independence. They were brought together by Sukarno later he became the President of Indonesia.

11.2 RISE OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

Indonesia consists of Java, Sumatra and about 3000 other islands. The state was colonised by the Dutch in the 17th century. Till the beginning of the 20th century the Dutch followed their 'ethical policy'. It meant that, emphasis was put on social and economic progress of the islands. Indonesia was rich in natural resources and tobacco, tea, coffee plantations. Thus, it was a valuable colony for the Dutch.

Rise of Nationalism in the 20th century:

In 1908 the first nationalist organisation was founded. It was called Budi Utomo. it consisted of students, civil servants, and other intellectuals. However, it did not become a mass movement.

The Dutch exploited the locals in every manner. Western education enlightened the people. They were introduced to new ideas. This led to the foundation of Sarekat Islam or Muslim Union in 1912. The object was to unite Muslim patriots. It demanded self-government in 1916.

Encouraged by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the communists within the Sarekat Islam, formed the Communist party of Indonesia. The leadership of Tan Malakka created confidence among the people. The party workers brought about strikes, protests, and demonstrations against the Dutch. However, they failed. The party was banned, and leaders were expelled.

In 1927 a third party, was formed. It was called Partai Nasional Indonesia. (Indonesian National Party), The leader was a young leader called Sukarno. The Dutch suppressed the party leaders. However, patriots continued their struggle for freedom, -under their leaders, especially Sukarno.

11.3 CONTRIBUTION OF DR. SUKARNO

Most of the freedom fighters were in prison when the second world war broke out. The Japanese captured almost all Southeast Asian nations. The Dutch also had to surrender their hold in Indonesia. The Japanese released the political leaders, including Sukarno. The leaders were divided about their reaction to Japanese occupation. Some formed secret resistance organizations. Sukarno felt that cooperating with the Japanese would be helpful in future. At the same time, he asked his men to put up a resistance force.

After the defeat of Japan in the world war, Sukarno proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia. However, soon a clash occurred between his party - (the P.N.I.) the Communist Party, and the Islamic Majsuni Party.

By the end of the year, the Dutch officials came back and re-occupied the islands. But they could not take Java and Sumatra, which were under Sukarno. The British brought some -peace but it proved to be time being. Hostilities between the Dutch and Sukarno continued. The Dutch attacked Java and Sumatra's lines of communication. There were protests from Asian countries, so the Dutch signed a ceasefire. Again in 1948, the Dutch occupied Java and Sumatra. The leaders were imprisoned, but the army and people gave a tough fight. International pressure and U.N.O. saved them. The Hague agreement was signed. According to it, all islands except West New Guinea were given freedom. The new country was called Indonesia. Sukarno was accepted as the President.

The new state faced economic problems. Sukarno nationalised Dutch estates and companies. Dutch residents were forced to leave the country. Still problems like unemployment, over population, poverty continued. Besides there was stiff opposition from Communist Party and Islamic Party. To solve some crisis Sukarno adopted his dictatorship called 'guided democracy'.

Check Your Progress:

1. Trace events that led to Dr. rise of Dr. Sukarno's in Indonesia?

11.4 SUKARNO'S GUIDED DEMOCRACY

He believed that western democracy was not suitable for his country. The problems could not be tackled by western measures. Though the constitution had recommended democracy the process had failed in Indonesia.

Sukarno was attracted towards communism. He increased the number of communists in his government. Other parties resisted and there was an attack on his life, but he escaped. His rivals said that he did nothing to solve internal problems. To divert the attention of the people, he participated in international disputes regarding Malaysia.

It is said that in 1965 the communist party organised a coup against him. Violence followed. He was openly accused of selling the country to communists. In 1967 the army revolted against him. He was forced to step down. General Suharto took the reins of the government in his hand.

Sukarno had a charismatic personality. Many considered him a god. Though he failed to solve Indonesian problems, he gets the credit, for Liberating his country from the Dutch yoke. He died in 1970 when he was house arrested.

11.5 SUMMARY

Asian colonies experienced the worst form of exploitation. Besides political conquest, there was economic and socio-religious exploitation. However, the Asian nations benefitted by the western education. They learnt new ideas of democracy. They were aroused. They got inspired and developed a spirit of nationalism. In Indonesia led the national movement.

Sukarno led the people of Indonesia. The national movement was successful and the country threw away foreign yoke. He later reconstructed the political and economic fabric of Indonesia.

11.6 QUESTIONS

1. Evaluate the role of Dr. Sukarno in the national movement in Indonesia?
2. Trace the rise and growth of national movement in Indonesia?
3. Write short notes on:
 - a) Guided Democracy of Dr. Sukarno

11.7 ADDITIONAL READING

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