

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION-1789

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1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit the students will be able:

- To understand the causes and consequences of the French Revolution
- To highlight the importance of the French Revolution
- To study the course of the French Revolution

1.1 INTRODUCTION

France is the largest country in Western Europe as well as one of the most important country too. France is very favourably situated with long coast line along the Mediterranean. France is endowed with minerals and has one large coal field in the North. France has vast reserves of iron ore in Lorraine and important potash deposit in Alsace.

France can be divided into following regions:

1. Armorica, including Brittany in the north west.
2. The Parish Basin
3. The Northern Coalfield
4. The South West

5. The Central Plateau
6. The Mediterranean Coastlands and Rhone Valley
7. The Alps
8. Eastern France including Alsace –Lorraine
9. The Pyrenees.

The French Revolution (1789-1799) was a period of radical social and political upheaval in French and European history. The absolute monarchy that had ruled France for centuries collapsed in three years. French society underwent an epic transformation as feudal, aristocratic and religious privileges evaporated under repeated attacks from liberal political groups and the masses on the streets. Old ideas about hierarchy and tradition succumbed to new Enlightenment principles of citizenship and absolute rights.

France was divided into small kingdoms. Each kingdom was ruled by a powerful noble or feudal land. Since feudalism was deep rooted in France it took long time for a strong monarchy to come into existence. Moreover, France could not do well in the 100 years war against England. France faced series of defeats since there was not strong Central Government.

However, from the times of king Hugh Capet (987 to 996 AD) and his successors, the French Central government started gaining strength. For example king Philip IV (1268-1314) also known as Philip the fair, augmented the royal power by taxing the Church, by introducing new policies of taxation and he brought almost the entire country under his control.

Joan of Arc and Charles VII The French monarchy became more strong under the rule Charles VII. During his time there was a peasant girl by name Joan of Arc. It was her belief that God had asked her to lead the French Army against England to victory. Charles VII allowed her do so and under her command the French army won resounding victories against England. The English lifted their siege of Orleans. Her victories were responsible for strengthening the French monarchy. Due to Joan of Arc the morale of the French soldiers increased to a great extent. Thus, in the 15th century national feelings ran high in France after their victory over the English.

King Philip IV augmented the royal power by taxing the church land, introduced new policies of taxation and called first estate general to support his policies and action. He brought nearly whole France under his control.

1.2 BOURBON KINGDOM

King Henry IV, founded the house of Bourbon, rule over France until the French revolution 1789. He made France powerful and wealthy. Agriculture, textile industry and the manufacture of silks and linen were

encouraged. France send explorers in search of New lands.

Henry IV was succeeded by Louis XIII in 1610. Louis XIV succeeded Louis XIII in 1643.

Under his leadership France reached the height of its Glory. All powers were concentrated in the hands of Louis XIV. Who declared "I am the state" and the French capital Paris became the centre of gaiety and Culture.

He involved the nation in costly wars with the purpose of extending boundary. With the outbreak of the French Revolution, "European history merges into the history of one nation, one event and one man, the nation is France, the event is the French Revolution and the man is Napoleon."

Generally speaking, Europe was organised aristocratically. European rulers at that time were dishonest and unprincipled. International morality reached its lowest ebb during the 18th century.

18th century "Enlightenment" had been preceded by the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, forming the background of the industrial revolution. Most significant developments during the nineteenth and early 18th centuries who are the industrial revolution and the onset of the era of imperialism. Two developments created the condition for the latter. It was a major industrial power such as Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the United States that took the lead in building large colonial empires.

The advent of the industrial age had a number of lasting consequences for the world at large.

In many cases the creation of advanced industrial societies strengthen democratic institutions and led to a higher standard of living for the majority of the population. It also helped to reduce class barriers and bring about the emancipation of women for many of the legal and social restrictions that had characterized the previous era.

The spread of industry and trade, commercial relation with outside Europe created the basis for new international economic order based on the global exchange of the goods.

Industrialisation provided European state with the means of conquering and controlling big areas of the non European world. Rising economic competition among the industrial powers was a major contributor to heightened international rivalry over access to markets and resources and ultimately to global war

Industrial revolution also had a major impact on the era was the rise of nationalism.

The idea of nationalism oriented in 18th century where it was a great message of Liberation. It was product of secularization of the age and the experiences of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic eras.

Industrialisation and the rise of the national consciousness transform the nature of society. Since the French Revolution, when the revolutionary government in Paris had mobilized the entire country by a mass conscription to fight against the process that opposed the revolution.

J.C. Herold says, "The French revolution was a general mass movement of the nation against the privileged classes. The French nobility like that all Europe dates from the barbarian invasions which broke up the Roman Empire.

In France, the nobles represented the ancient Franks and Burgundians, the rest of the nation, the Gauls. The introduction of the feudal system established principal that every landed property had lord. All political rights were exercised by priest and the nobles.

1.3 EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

On the eve of French revolution all over Europe there were privileged classes which were completely or partially exempted from taxation and burden of taxation fell on the unprivileged classes. Europe was organised aristocratic ally.

As regards the religious condition of Europe, western and Central Europe were divided between a Protestants North and Roman Catholic South.

It is pointed out that monarchical absolutism and oppression of the peasantry existed in most of the countries of Western Europe. There was nothing exceptional in the grievances of the people of France. In spite of that revolution started in France and not in any other country of Western Europe. There are many causes for French Revolution they are as follows.

1.4 SOCIAL CAUSES

1.4.1 The French society was divided into three social Classes:

The most important cause of the French Revolution of 1789 was the Social cause.

The French Society was divided into three classes. These classes were known as Estates. The First Estate consisted of Clergymen, the second Estate was of Nobles and the Third Estate consisted of rest of the society, all other lower classes.

The first two Estates enjoyed many privileges. Due to these privileges there was inequality in the French society. The total population of France at the time was 24 Millions. Out of these the Nobles were 150000 and Clergies were 130000. Thus they were 1% of the total population. It was this one percent population that enjoyed maximum privileges and the rest of the population had to bear the burden of taxes and other duties etc. Thus there was maximum inequality in the French Society.

First Estate- The Clergies:

The First Estate consisted of clergies. They were divided into two groups. The Upper clergies and the Lower clergies. The Upper Clergies enjoyed most of the privileges where as the Lower clergies had to carry out the day today activities of the Church.

The Church was the owner of maximum land in the country. The Upper clergies also lived in Castles and Mansions. They lived a luxurious life. They could collect rent from the people staying on Church lands, they used to collect Tithes from the people in their parish. Tithe means every person had to give 1/10th of his income to the Church as religious tax. This money remained with the Upper clergies. They used to roll in wealth. Thus it was said that the ' Roman Catholic Churches in France were like a State within the State.' The other privileges enjoyed by the Upper Clergies were, they were exempted from taxes, the Church did not have to pay land tax, the clergies were exempted from military duties. When no taxes were collected from the Church lands, the country was deprived of its economic resources.

The condition of the Lower clergies was very pitiable. They were toiling throughout the day. They suffered physically and were tired of the conditions in which they were living. It was this class of the Lower clergies who supported the common people when they revolted. These clergies used to read the ideas put forward by the philosophers like Rousseau and Plutarch and they also subscribed to the Encyclopaedia. They joined the commons when the commons protested in 1789.

Second Estate - The Nobles:

The Nobles were like mini Kings. They were to be addressed as "My Lord", "Your Grace". The people who used to stay on their land had to salute them.

The best seats were recovered for them at all the gatherings including the prayer hall of the church.

The Nobles could not marry to a person below their rank

They lived either in a castle or in a Mansion. They had very big estates. They had the right to collect taxes form the tenants staying on their estates. For example rent for staying, use of Noble' grinding stone, fishing in the river that passed through Noble's estate, giving expensive gifts to the Noble on his birthday, giving costly presents to the Noble's son on his wedding etc.

But all the Nobles were not fortunate. Some were poor. They did not have large properties. They did not enjoy most of the privileges which were enjoyed by the rich nobles. They were unhappy and joined the commons when they protested against the inequities.

The Third Estates- Commoners:

This estate consisted of poor peasants, Labourers and the other common people. They were the unprivileged people. They were the victims of the atrocities committed by the privileged people. The peasants had to toil on the lands of the nobles who were the landlords, they toiled from sun rise to sun set. They were always in debts, they had to pay all the taxes including the tithes. They had to do curve's that is forced labour. Many times the nobles sold his dues to the money lenders and they arrested him . The yield from the land was low due to the absence of the rotation of crops. So the income of the peasants used to be very low and they could not pay the dues. Secondly, the landlords used to keep large flocks of pigeons, deer, and game and all of them were fed on the crops of the peasants. Fencing was not allowed and the peasants couldn't drive the animals when they ate the crops. If the animals were driven the peasants were punished. The peasants were forced to grind their grains in the mills of the landlords, those mills were situated at a long distance causing inconvenience to the peasants. The peasants were punished if they tried to grind the grains by themselves at home. The lord had the right to try the cases of the tenants and impose fine on them, the money collected by way of such fines went into his treasury. The lords used to impose heavy punishments on the peasants. The peasants couldn't refuse to pay.

Thus the construction of the third estate was very pitiable. They had no proper houses to live in, they couldn't have two times meal.

1.4.2 Political Causes:

A. Irresponsible French Monarchs:

The Bourbon monarchies enjoyed absolute power, they did not consult either the minister or the parliament. The rulers of France were no longer interested in the welfare and well-being of the people. Louis XIV ruled the France for full 72 years as an aggressive, able and flattered autocrat. throughout his life, he waged a number of wars, by which the national treasury became practically empty. He realise his mistakes of wars. It was late. Due to his wars France made lots of enemies. He told his successors no to indulge in unnecessary wars

B. Rulers were Unfit to Execute Reforms:

Louis XV was not capable, he followed the advice of Louis XIV and did not fight wars. For him state business was a bore, pleasure was his ideal, Ministers were appointed and dismissed at his will. He spent time with his ministers Madame Pompadour was his close friend, who interfered in political affairs.

Louis XVI was utterly unfit for the challenge of the day. Gentle and pious at heart, the shoulders of Louis XVI, were too slender for the heavy tasks before him. He would have liked to improve the situation and make the people of France happy and prosperous. He was more interested in observing machinery. He used to repair the clocks and looked the complicated machinery as a challenge.

C. Inhuman behaviour of the Queen:

Queen Marie Antoinette was the daughter of the great Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. Louis XVI was married to her, and she was like a millstone round his neck. Marie Antoinette was a paragon of beauty, gracious, vivacious, daring, wilful and naughty. Since France and Austria were not on good terms the French people. The French people did not like her. She loved to live in Luxury. When the people of France begged for bread she said: "let them eat cake" or "let them eat grass", such inhuman remarks or behaviour caused made the unhappy, angry French People more angry and they revolted.

D. Rotten administrative system:

The administrative system of the country was hopeless and not satisfactory. The rottenness of the French administrative system was another cause of the French Revolution. The King was the head of the state, he acted in arbitrary manner. According to Louis XIV. "The sovereign power is vested in my person, the legislative powers exist in myself alone. My people are one only with me, National rights and national interest are necessarily combined with my own and only raised in my hands". He used to say, "My word is the law." Such a system could not be efficient and no wonder the people suffered.

The king had no welfare of his subjects at his heart. He did not try to know the problems of his subjects. The queen interfered in the court affairs. The Royal expenditure was highest.

The court of Versailles was composed of 18000 out of which 1600 attached to the personal service of the king and his family. It is stated that the queen alone had more than 500 servants. There were more than 1900 horses and 200 carriages in the royal stables which cost more than 4 million dollars a year. The table of the King cost more than a million and a half dollars. On the eve of the French Revolution, all this enormous waste amounted to more than 208 million dollars a year.

E) Unjust Laws and absence of Laws & Order:

The legal system of the country was full of confusion there was no uniform law for the whole of the country.

Different laws were in force in different parts of the country. The laws were cruel and unjust and very harsh punishments were prescribed for ordinary offences. The punishments like breaking one's bone on a wheel or cutting off the hands or ears, were also imposed. There was no regular criminal procedure.

There was confusion not only in the field of laws but also in the field of law courts. There were different courts such as the royal courts, military courts, Church courts and courts of finance. There overlapping jurisdiction added to confusion and injustice.

Weights and measures had different names and different values in different

provinces, sometimes these differences were witnessed as a person moved from one village to another.

The French Parliaments (Provincial appellate court of kingdom of France) were high courts of justice of great antiquity they reviewed judgements given in the imperial court of the bailiwicks and prevotes. The country was divided for judicial purposes into such small courts. Towards the end of the 18th century, there were thousands of such parliaments in France. Each parliament consisted of a closed corporation of rich magistrates whose officers had become hereditary in course of time. Parliament claimed and exercised certain political powers, they had acquired the right of registering royal Edicts and ordinances. They could differ the registration and they bring pressure on the king. All strong king could deal with them effectively but unfortunately there was no strong king in France after Louis XIV Louis XV abolished parliament but it was revived in 1774 by Louis XVI.

The methods of collection of taxes was hopelessly faulty. The rights of collecting taxes was given to the highest bidder. People were exploited. The system of framing of taxes was the most objectionable. As taxes were not paid by the clergies and nobles, the burden fell on unprivileged class and this fact was represented bitterly.

F) Incapable successors Louis XIV:

Administrative cause of French Revolution was the incapacity of successor of Louis XIV.

The Successor of Louis XIV was his grandson Louis XV, About his rule, one of the Austrian ambassador from Paris, Comte de Maxi wrote, to Empress Maria Theresa: in these words, at court there is nothing but confusion, scandals and injustice. No attempt has been made to carry out good principles of government, everything has been left to chance the shameful state of the Nation's affairs has caused unspeakable disgust and discouragement, while the intrigues of those domain on the scene only increase the disorders. Sacred duties have been left undone and infamous behaviour or behaviour tolerated".

Dr. G. P. Gooch says, "the legacy of Louis XV to his country main watch and deal the one that contain date first rated France. Viewed from a distance, the ancient regime appeared as solid as the Bastille, but it's walls were crumbling for lack of repairs and the foundation showed signs of giving way."

Louis XVI (1774-98) successor of Louis XV, Louis XVI became king of France at the age of 20. He was helpless to manage the state affairs, He said u "god what a burden is mine and they have taught me nothing". He was lazy and stupid. His hobby was lock making and shooting deer from the palace window He was failure as a king when the country was confronted with serious difficulties.

1.4.3 Economic Causes:

A. Empty Treasury:

The French government totally mishandled the national economy. The French were dancing and merry making, while the peasants were starving and dying. It had no regular budget and it wasted money indiscriminately as quickly as it came in without proper planning. In 1776 Necker was appointed as Controller of Finance, he was succeeded by Clauon, who borrowed as many as 300 million dollars in three years. The net result of his "philosophy of borrowing" borrow more and spend more was that the royal treasury became completely empty by August 1786 the need for money forced Louis XVI to summon the Estates General which set the ball of Revolution rolling.

B. Famine of 1788-1789:

In 1788-89 a terrible famine engulfed the whole of France, causing acute scarcity of food and clothes. The acute shortage food boiled cauldron of rage of the Parisian, who stormed the royal palaces at Versailles.

1.4.4 Influence of Philosophers:

A. Montesquieu (1689-1755):

Montesquieu was a polished and eminent lawyer. A lawyer of the first order opened the fire of critics satire which dealt a death blow to the foundations of the Ancient Regime. He propounded the doctrine of separation of powers in his celebrated work "The Spirit of Laws" according to this book, the three organs of government namely legislature, executive and judiciary should be separate and independent of each other. Separate bodies would act as check, control each other.

He condemned the theory of divine right of kings as totally baseless and advocated that the king must be popularly elected. On the whole, his writings were not the flights of fancy but the result of systematized and careful thought, weighty, luminous, moderate in tone and scientifically sane. He initiated a philosophic movement and undermined the batteries of criticism and satire which were to strike at the foundation of the Ancient Regime of France.

Montesquieu stood for a constitutional form of government and believed in the supremacy of law. His view was that Liberty was impossible without the separation of powers. The legislative judicial and executive powers must be put in different organs and then alone could there be Liberty of the people. The combination of any two powers or all the three in one organ was bound to result in tyranny.

Montesquieu analysed the laws which regulated Government and custom and thereby destroyed the prestige which was attached to the institution of France.

Montesquieu had neither the views nor the attitude of revolutionary. He

was both of the Catholic and monarchist. However in the moderate way he criticized the abuses of the church and the despotism of the state. The Spirit of Laws is great work. It is stated that 22 editions of this books were printed in 18 months. It was a study of political philosophy and analysis of various forms of Government and their merit and demerits. The Spirit of Law awakened in cultivated persons a taste for judiciary and political studies.

B. Voltaire's Philosophy (1694-1778):

Voltaire was one of the masterminds of European history whose name has become the name of an era. we speak of the age of Voltaire in the same way as we speak of the age of Martin Luther.

Voltaire attacked traditions, beliefs and abuses and exposed their shortcomings mercilessly. He made philosophic movement popular. The churches of France was the main target of his attack. He attacked Christian bigotry and fanaticism and stood for religion toleration. He assailed the hypocrisies, cruelties and bigotries of the age ,and always fought for the cause of suppressed and the oppressed. For 25 years he flooded France with plays, poems, philosophical tales, Satire, burlesques, histories, essays diatribes, deistic sermons and ant biblical pamphlets and won for himself, the reputations of the intellectual ruler of his age.

His views was that "if God did not exist it would be necessary to create him "Voltaire" was a warrior office life he was a pillar of cloud by day and fire by night. He was always interesting and generally instructive. He could not tolerate tyranny in any shape or form. He was always ready to take up the cause of oppressed. He stood for a benevolent despotism and had no love for democracy.

C. Rousseau (1712-1778):

Rousseau gave his own conception of the state of nature in which people were virtuous, equal and free.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was another great intellectual philosopher. He gave philosophy of Man is born free ,but everywhere he is in chains .he propounded the doctrine of sovereignty of the people .His greatest literary monuments "Social Contract "deeply influenced the age.

Rousseau pointed out that originally there was a contract between the king and the people to the effect that the king would promote and protect the interests and welfare of the people and in return the people gave sovereignty and loyalty to the king .This contract, he pointed out ,had been broken by the king. Hence the people mice revolt overthrow and autocratic government break the schedule bones and the free. Such thought of great philosopher made their deep impression on the age.

His writings created a profound impression upon the people. He created enthusiasm for liberty. The Social Contract supplied the text and lit the fire

of revolution. It became the gospel of the Jacobin Party and Robespierre became its high priest.

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The political influence of Rousseau was in calculable not only in France but all over the Europe. He preached "Revolt in the name of the nature, against the vicious and artificial social system of his time. His theory of social contract may be historical untenable, but it was another way of saying that those who govern must recognise their responsibilities. Rousseau became the hot-gospeller of temporal salvation and the prophet of secular society.

D) Holbach:

Holbach indicated the vices of kings and the slavery of men He stood for revolution. To him atheism and materialism were the only two philosophies of life. To quote him, "religious and political errors have changed the universe into the valley of tears" Such writing was also influenced the thoughts of the people of France.

E) Quesnay (1694-1744):

Quesnay was real thinker of French movement. His "Tableau Economique" was hailed by some of them as an infallible remedy for the troubles of France .The physiocrats care little for the abstract speculations of the nine. They believed in certain fundamental doctrine according to them all wealth comes from application of labour and workmen were the most truly productive perhaps the only productive class. The action of the government should be reduced to the minimum. Complete free trade and universal system of education are the immediate necessities of the state. All taxation should be reduced to a single land tax. Mirabeau.... Mirabeau was the father of the well-known statesman of the French Revolution. He was much influenced by the writing of Adam Smith. The view of Mirabeau was that those principals were sufficient to "set everything right and renew the age of Solomon"

F) Turgor:

He was a disciple of Economists. His character and writing had made him well-known and he had acquired valuable experience as an independent of the province of Limousin. He was appointed controller general of finance and he was in office for about 20 months and what he did had little effect. He wanted to introduce honesty and efficiency into public services. He wanted to check the power of church. He stood for a Jester method of taxation. He wanted to established freedom of trade within and beyond France. He did not recognise the necessity of taking the people into partnership by summoning any national assembly. However he worked as his schemes with a passionate real for justice and humanity.

The Seed Sown by the Sofas A remarkable writers halep on fruitful soil. The pillars purpose had a long beans setting the foundation of the law and order societies of that period where in political power as well as immense

share of wealth ,belonged to the aristocracy and the clergy , whilst the mass of the people were nothing but beased of the burden to the ruling classes. By proclaiming the sovereignty of reason, bye preaching trust in human nature corrupted they declared, by the institutions that had reduced man to servitude, but nevertheless, certain to regain all its qualities when it had re conquered Liberty they had open new vistas to mankind. By proclaiming equality among men, without distinction of birth, by demanding from every citizen, weather King or peasant, obedience to the law to supposed to express the will of the nation when it has been made by representatives of the people.

Conclusion:

Unequal laws, privileges in the society, influence of the philosophers were imwlp'portant causes of the French Revolution. Besides these causes, French participation in American Revolution added to the economic problems in France. The social burdens of French participation in the American Revolutionary War included the huge war debt, made worse by the loss of France's colonial possessions in North America and the growing commercial dominance of Great Britain. France's inefficient and antiquated financial system was unable to manage the national debt, something which was both partially caused and exacerbated by the burden of an inadequate system of taxation.

Economic factors included hunger and malnutrition in the most destitute segments of the population, due to rising bread prices (from a normal eight sous for a four pound loaf to 12 sous by the end of 1789),after several years of poor grain harvests. The combination of bad harvest (due to abnormal /severe weather fluctuations)and rising food prices was further aggravated by an inadequate transportation system which hindered the shipment of bulk foods from rural areas to large population centers, contributing greatly to the Revolution.

Many other factors involved resentment and aspirations given focus by the rise of Enlighnten ideals. These included resentment of royal absolutism, resentment by peasants ,labourers and the bourgeoisie towards the traditional seigniorial privileges possessed by the nobility ,resentment of the Church's influenced over public policy and institution ,aspirations for freedom of religion ,resentment of aristocratic bishop by the poorer rural clergy, aspirations for social, political and economic equality and republicanism ,hatred of Queen Marie—Antoinette, who was accused of being a spendthrift and an Austrian spy, and anger toward the king for firing Jacques Necker, among others, who were popularly seen as representatives of the people.

1.4.5 Influence of the Revolutions of Other Country:

A. Revolution in England (1688):

The English Revolution undoubtedly established the political power of middle classes.

The English revolution gave the English middle classes a prosperous era for trade and commerce. The middle classes helped the nobility to take legal processor of the communal lands by means of the enclosure Acts, which reduced the agricultural population to misery, placed them at the mercy of the landowner, and forced a great number of them to migrate to the town, whereas proletarians, they were delivered over to the mercy of the middle class manufacturers. The middle class help also to increase their revenues tenfold by allowing them through land lows, which hamper the sale of estate, to monopolise the land, the need of which was making itself felt more and more among a population whose trade and commerce worked steadily increasing. The bloodless or glorious revolution in England took place in 1688 deeply influence the minds of the French philosophers and inspired them to active political and economic reforms in France.

The French middle classes specially the upper middle classes engaged in manufactures and commerce, wished to imitate the English middle classes in their evolution. They wanted to follow the activities of the English middle classes.

The aim of the English revolution were mainly political. Their object was to put a check on the Arbitrary power of the king and give all the powers to the British parliament which was considered to be representative of the people.

The people suffered most on account of social inequality. No wonder the French revolution was aimed mainly against inequality and that also was its chief achievement.

B. American Revolution:

American Revolution or America war of independence had influence on French Revolution. if Americans could revolt and overthrow the Government of their mother country why could we not revolt and overthrow the absolute, corrupt ,autocratic and unwanted government of France. The American Revolution introduced the idea of democracy and the rule of the people.

1.5 COURSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution of 1789 is one of the most important events in both French and European history. The revolution centred around the weak King Louis XVI and the immature Queen Marie Antoinette. The 6th October 1789 marks the start of the Revolution when 100's of market women marched on the Palace of Versailles demanding the Queen's head and the King's immediate return to Countless ideas from the enlightenment contributed to the French Revolution. Locke's ideas of overthrowing government that does not respect the social contract as well as Rousseau's ideas of the general will and the French government failure to represent the General will of the people were major factors the enlightenment also stripped away at religion especially Catholic directly

attacking the divine right theory of Louis XVI of France who used to justify his position with the help of this theory.

The French Revolution began in 1789 with the convocation of the Estates-General in May. The first year of the Revolution witnessed members of the Third Estate proclaiming the Tennis Court Oath in June, the assault on the Bastille in July, the passage of Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen in August, and an epic march on Versailles that forced the royal courts back to Paris in October. The next few years were dominated by tensions between various liberal assemblies and a conservative monarchy intent on thwarting major reforms. A republic was proclaimed in September 1792 and king Louis XVI was executed the next year.

External threats also played dominant role in the development of the Revolution.

Stage one:

The immediate spark of French Revolution was the financial crisis in France:

(Oath of the Tennis Court on 20th June 1789 of third estate) (National Assembly--1789)

In order to solve the problem of finance king Louis called the Estate General to advise resolve the financial crises. (5th May 1789) The Estate General was made up of representatives from the three estates, members of third estate demanded....All the three estates should meet at one place instead of meeting separately as the old practice was. But the king and upper two estates denied to meet together. The representatives of third estate were refused, to sit with the first two estates. They were disproportionate and their inability to act according to their needs, rebelled and declared itself the National Assembly. Three days later members of the third estate who were refused entrance to the old assembly hall moved to a nearby tennis court and took a solemn Oath, swearing allegiance to the French nation and drawing up a list of grievances against the king. The members of third estate expressed their determination not to disperse till they drafted a new constitution for France. They aimed to democratically represent the will of the people ,

In an attempt to keep control of the process and prevent the Assembly from convincing, Louis XVI ordered the closure of the Salle des Estates where the Assembly met, making an excuse that the carpenters needed to prepare the hall for a royal speech in two days. Weather did not allow an outdoor meeting, so Assembly moved their deliberation to a nearby indoor real tennis court, where they proceeded to swear the Tennis Court Oath on 20th June 1789,

Stage second:

The Fall of The Bastille, July 14, 1789 (Storming of the Bastille):
With a determination to break the General Assembly, Louis XVI began to

gather troops around Paris. This led to angry and violent response from the mob of Paris. The revolting Paris mob stormed the Bastille, fortress which was perceived to be a symbol of royal power. All the political prisoners were kept. After several hours of combat the prison fell that afternoon (14th July 1789) and set free the seven prisoners. (four forgers, two noblemen kept for immoral behaviour and a murder suspect) Governor Marquis Bernard de Launay was beaten, stabbed and decapitated, his head was placed on a pike and paraded about the city. The fall of the Bastille marked the beginning of the French Revolution.

Following the fall of Bastille, the king reorganised the National Assembly. Municipal government was set up in Paris Commune. Also established municipal government in other towns and cities throughout France. The National Guard was formed commanded by La Fayette. The Tricolour flag replaced the white Bourbon flag.

In the provinces, the peasants rose in revolt against their landlords, destroying their castles and records. Law and Order broke down. A number of princes, nobles and clergy sought refuge in foreign countries.

Working towards a constitution:

on 4th August 1789 the National Constituent Assembly abolished feudalism in what is known as the August Decrees, sweeping away both the seigneurial right of the Second Estate and the tithes gathered by the First Estate. In the course of a few hours, nobles, nobles, clergy, town, provinces, companies and cities lost their special privileges.

Stage three:

End of The King XVI and Royal Family (16th October 1789):

On the 6th October 1789 The terrified King Louis XVI, Queen Maria Antoinette and their two children Marie Therese and Louis Charles and Madam Elizabeth (king's sister) were forced back by a mob of market women to Paris from Versailles. Thousands of women marched from Paris to Versailles demanding bread from the king. At this occasion the Queen Mary and reportedly remarked "if they don't have bread let them eat cakes" following the storming of the palace by the angry mob, La Fayette, with the National guards intervened to save the royal family the king agreed to leave the palace with his family. In a carriage they traveled back to Paris surrounded by a mob people screaming and shouting threats against the king and queen. The next four years of the royal families were to be misery.

Stage four:

Established Social equality and Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens:

Following the end of the Reign of Terror, The National Assembly took number of actions to remake society. On 26th August 1789, the Assembly published the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens, which

comprised a statement of principles rather than constitution with legal effect, the national Assembly functioned not only as a legislature, but also as a body to draft a new constitution.

They provided for freedom of press and expression. They wrote a constitution that established a constitutional monarchy with the parliament. The parliament was to be run by the active people in government work to progress based upon merit.

The National Assembly dissolved itself on 30th September 1791, after the completion of attacks of preparing a constitution for France according to the provision of constitution or new legislative Assembly was elected. It comprised of inexperienced men as a national assembly had passed a self-denying ordinance by which the sitting members of the national assembly were debarred from contesting elections to the new legislative Assembly.

In addition to National rising Church property the civil constitution also abolished religious vows and turned all churches clerics into civil servants.

Women's March on Versailles:

On 5th October 1789 crowds of women began to assemble at Parisian markets. The women first marched to the Hotel de Ville, demanding that city officials address their concerns. The women were responding to the harsh economic situations they faced, especially bread shortages. They also demanded an end to royal efforts to block the National Assembly, and for the king and his administration to move to Paris as a sign of good faith in addressing the widespread poverty.

Getting unsatisfactory responses from city officials, as many as 7,000 women joined the march to Versailles, bringing with them cannons and a variety of smaller weapons. Twenty thousand National Guardsmen under the command of La Fayette responded to keep order, and members of the mob stormed the palace, killing several guards. La Fayette ultimately convinced the king to accede to the demand of the crowd that the monarchy relocate to Paris. On 6th 1789, the king and the royal family moved from Versailles to Paris under the protection of the National Guards, thus legitimising the National Assembly.

Stage Fifth:

National Convention (1792-95):

In April 1792, France went to war against Austria and Prussia. These nations wished to restore the king to his original position. In September the French army defeated the Prussian, Austrian and loyalist troops, which had invaded France. Faced with the threat of foreign invasion, the legislative Assembly decided to abolish monarchy. The assembly got itself dissolved and provision was made for the election of a new convention to draft a new Republican constitution for France. Thus,

national convention was constituted which lasted from 28 September 1792 to 26 October 1795.

The French Revolution-
1789

The leading body of the Convention was the Committee of Public Safety, who worked to suppress dissent and protect the revolution. The Committee was composed of twelve members, of whom the dominant individual was Maximilien de Robespierre. The Convention was divided into two divisions, the Montagnards (mountain) who was more radical and other was more middle Class.

The convention instituted the first draft, called the levee en masse and a nationalist feeling rose among troops. In 1794, the French army invaded Austria and was successful.

The national convention drafted a new constitution for France in 1795. The government formed constitution was called the Directory, referring to the five man executive directory that ruled France along with a bicameral legislature.

The convention successfully wrote a new constitution, establishing a government known as the Directory as a permanent republic.

Stage Sixth..

Role of Directory (1795-1799):

During the five years of its tenure the directory was troubled by war economic problems and opposition from supporters of monarchy and formal jacobins.

The directory was first constitutional republic which head and executive body of 5 directors as well as biochemical bicameral legislative body consisting of the council of ancients and the council of 500. In 1797 the first elections were held and the people of France astonished members of directory by electing a majority of royalists to the legislature. Left wing members of the legislature, combined with support from the military, purged the directory of rightist members in the coup of 18 Fructidor, which established a directorship controlled by left-wing directors. The conspirators needed military support and turned to Napoleon Bonaparte the French general, who had become a hero in military campaigns in Italy in 1796 and 1797. Napoleon took opportunity and seized the control of government on 9th November 1799, which brought an end to the revolution.

1.6 EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The revolution in France produced are reaching consequences in Europe and all over the world. During its ten years course the French Revolution brought about far reaching changes following were the effects of the French Revolution.

1. End of The ancient Monarchy System:

French Revolution brought an end the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons, and France became a republic. The French Revolution also got rid of and serfdom. The privileges enjoyed by Clergy and nobility were abolished and also society based on principle of equality was established. The French Revolution rejected royal autocracy, divine right, conservatism and feudalism associated with the ancient regime. The national assembly framed a new constitution for France and that is why it is also known as the constituent assembly. This constitution was completed in 1791 and after the signatures of the King became the law of the country. It was first constitution of France. It was based on the principle of separation of powers which was propounded by Montesquieu and embodied in the American constitution of 1787. The legislature judiciary and executive was separated from one another and separate departments were set up for each one of them. In legislative Assembly members numbering 745 were to be chosen by a system of indirect election for 2 years. The right of voting was to be exercised only by active citizens. (tax payers).

However, the king retained all control over local government, the clergy, the navy and army. His ministers were not to sit in the legislative Assembly.

2. Declaration of Rights of Man by the National Assembly:

The most important work of the National Assembly was the abolition of feudalism, serfdom and class privileges.

The second great work of the National Assembly was the Declaration of the Rights of Man on 27 August. The documents reflected the spirit of Rousseau's philosophy and incorporated some of the provisions from the constitutional laws of England and the USA.

The French Revolution promoted democratic rites with the documents known as declaration of rights of man the document proclaims certain basic rights of the individuals which are inalienable. The new constitution of France proclaimed the doctrine of popular sovereignty as which was visualised by Rousseau's social contract. It destroyed the vestiges of feudalism and liberated the serfs.

The declaration of the Rights of Man came to be included in the new constitution as an article of faith. The following Rights of man and citizen were declared by the national assembly.

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights social distinction can only be founded on public utility.
2. The aim of every political Association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are Liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.
3. Liberty consists in being allowed to do whatever does not injure

other people.

4. The free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most precious rights of man.
5. No person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law.
6. Since private property is an invaluable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, clearly demanded and then only on condition that owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.
7. Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part personally or through their representatives in its formation
8. Sovereignty resides in the nation and nobody or individual can exercise authority if it does not take its origin from the nation.
9. The people have the right to control the country.
10. All officials of the state are responsible to the people.

The view of the Lord Acton was that "the declaration of rights of man was stronger than all the armies of Napoleon".

The declaration of the rights of man was the death certificate of the old regime and contain the the promise of a new life for France.

3. Separation of the state and the church:

During the French Revolution the church was cut to size. The church property was confiscated in November 1789. To solve the financial problems faced by the revolutionary government. In February 1790, the monasteries and other religious communities were suppressed. In April 1790, absolute religious toleration was proclaimed, in July 1790. The civil constitutions of the clergy was enacted. The number of bishops and priest was reduced and they were made civil body.

They were to be elected by the people and paid by the state. Their Association with the Pope was to be merely nominal. In December 1790, a decree was passed by which all catholic achievement were required to take a solemn both of allegiance to the civil constitution. The government issued a new currency. All Church officials were appointed by the central government they were paid fixed salaries the higher officials were to be elected by those who elected civil officials. The Clergy was required to take an oath of loyalty to the state. Those who took Oath of loyalty to the state came to be known as the juring clergy, and those who were refused non juring clergy. Thus the control of the church was transferred from the Pope to the state this brought about a confrontation between the church and the state.

The nobles and church lost their property and their lands were distributed to the peasants. slaves in the French colonies were set free. The

Revolution brought about a massive shifting powers from Roman Catholic Church to the state.

4. Inspiration and encouragement two other countries of world:

The French Revolution had a lasting effect on the people of Europe in the 19th century. Those countries were under foreign domination, derived their inspiration from the French. Europe was convulsed by frequent revolutions aimed at overthrowing oppressive government. In the ensuing chapters one learns about the way in which the Italy and German overthrew the oppressive regime of Austria and achieved unity.

The watchwords of the French Revolution such as Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity reflected the coming of a new democratic and social order in Europe.

The revolution roused national feelings. The common people were prepared to die for the sake of protecting the gains of the revolution. Nominally the executive authority in the state was to waste in the king where office was to be hereditary.

Check Your Progress:

1. What are the important social causes responsible for the French Revolution?
2. Why was Napoleon Bonaparte called as the child of French Revolution?
3. What is the important gift given by French Revolution to the world?

1.7 SUMMARY

The French Revolution is one of the important landmark in the world history. The important outcomes of the French Revolution was the democratic principles of Liberty, Quality and fraternity which was universally accepted. Liberty implied that government should function according to the sovereign will of the governed and not according to the dictates of an autocratic king. The another important idea of Equality was the greatest gift of the French Revolution. The Declaration of 1789 asserts that all men have an equal right to well-being and the pursuit of happiness.

The next important principle of democracy which was provided by the French Revolution is the idea of Fraternity. It is not only acts the binding element between unity and equality, it gives birth to new rights which facilitate the constitutional goal of an egalitarian society.

The entire French revolution was very much important because of these three democratic principles.

1.8 QUESTIONS

1. State how socio-religious causes was responsible for French revolution?
2. Explain the significant role of Napoleon Bonaparte in France after revolution ?
3. How French Revolution was an important landmark in the world history?

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NEPOLEON BONAPARTE

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Domestic policies of Napoleon Bonaparte
- 2.3 Foreign policy of Napoleon Bonaparte
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Questions
- 2.6 References

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, the students will be able:

- To understand the Domestic Policy of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- To understand the foreign Policy of Napoleon Bonaparte.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on island of Corsica in 1769. His parents were Italians and from poor family. He spoke French with foreign accent. He attended military school at the Brienne and in Paris. Napoleon joined the French army when he was sixteen. He impressed the Directorate with his timely and effective action against the loyalist mob. He rose in his career due to the support of new one of the directors, Barras. Another Director by name Carnot was very much impressed by Napoleon's military ability that he appointed Napoleon as the commander of Italian expedition. Napoleon found his soldier ill-fed, ill-equipped and lacking morale and courage. Despite these handicaps, Napoleon, by his exemplary courage and conduct, turned them into highly disciplined soldiers. Napoleon describes himself as a "Child of Revolution".

Napoleon was one of the greatest generals the world has produced. He dominated his age and even after his death. His name has gone down in history not only of France or Europe but also of the whole world. He was a man of great energy, self-confidence, fearlessness and resourcefulness.

All foreign States controlled by him had to copy the model of French institutions. It was because of this many subject States under French control had a taste of their efficiency. However, when the French rule became oppressive it paved way for the rise of nationalism.

Napoleon tried to build a United State of Europe with France as its leader. He sought to achieve this by his spectacular military exploits. It was he who founded the idea of militarism and modern diplomacy in the 19th

century. It was not until the rise of this mark that's strong military state like Germany was to play an important role in the history of modern Europe. Napoleon is stated to have remarked "I was born when my country was dying" when France was faced with a big crisis on account of the first Coalition, Napoleon was appointed to the command of the Army of Italy and it is in Italy that he had the foundation of an imperishable military fame. The coalition was formed by the other European countries where they were monarchs and they did not want to abolish Monarchy. They had come together against the Republic in France. They wanted to restore Monarchy in France.

2.2 DOMESTIC POLICE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Domestic reforms undertaken during the period of the Consulate (1799-1804). Napoleon himself was of the opinion that to be a good General one must be good civilian as well. The significance of Napoleon's work is that he passed administrative reforms which remain till today. They are permanent. This shows his genius as an administrator.

1) Centralised Government:

One of the first and ensuring reforms of Napoleon Bonaparte as the first consul was reorganization of the administrative system. Napoleon retained geographical divisions in 83 departments established by the national assembly. Napoleon intended the autonomy which the elected departmental council had enjoyed. Each department was put under the direct responsibility of a prefect, each district under sub- prefect, and each municipality under Mayor. A council of Prefectures and a general council were established to assist the prefect. A district council to assist sub prefect and municipal council to assist the mayor. The first consul appointed all the executive officials and the members of the councils. In this way, the centralisation of the ancient regime was re-established and introduced bureaucratic system of local government.

2) Code of Laws:

France had no uniform code of laws for effective administration and political stability. It was this long felt that need compelled Napoleon to undertake the arduous task of framing a code of laws. The code was simple in its form. It was the work of a genius and touched every aspect of French life.

- **French life:** Subsequently code Napoleon served as a model for the other European countries. The code reflected the aspirations of the French who wanted to build a new society. Along with the Napoleonic code, two other codes, namely the criminal and commercial, were introduced to bring about social and economic stability.

3. Established friendly relations with the Pope:

Since the promulgation of the civil constitution of the clergy, the relation between France and the Vatican had undergone severe strain. Napoleon

perceived that much of rural folk in France were staunchly Catholic. Therefore, he felt that he will win their sympathy if he established friendly relations with the pope. He made friendly overtures to the Vatican and got encouraging response.

Negotiations with the pope ended in a treaty called Concordat. The pope's rights to invest the symbol of office and spiritual powers to his Church officials in France came to be recognised subject to the prior approval of the government. Napoleon also conferred some favours on protestant churches and the Jewish Synagogues.

- During the French Revolution church property was confiscated and by the civil constitution of the clergy the revolutionary government had alienated the clergy in France and had antagonised the Pope. The attempt to establish constitutional Catholic Church independent of the Pope had proved to be a great failure. The policy of the revolutionary government of France towards the church had antagonised the church approached and the French Catholics. This was the condition of France before the rise of Napoleon.

Napoleon approaches the question of the state Church relation from the point of view of statesman. Personally indifferent to religious dogma Napoleon felt very strongly that France was fundamentally a Catholic country. He realised that the alienation of the church created National divisions which were a source of political weakness. Thus, he was convinced that religion was a necessity to the state, and that the French state must ally itself with Catholicism, the religion of majority people of France finally reaches to agreement with the Pope Pius VI, which came to be known as the Concordat. According to concordat the French government recognised Catholicism as the religion of the majority of the nation and granted freedom of worship. Napoleon agreed to place the churches and chapels at the disposal of the bishops. The Pope accepted the payment of salaries to the clergy by the state the bishops were to be appointed by the first consul and instituted by the Pope.

4. Educational Reform:

The educational system in France also received its due attention from Napoleon. He devised a new system to discipline the young minds to serve the goals he himself set for, in order to glorify the state. He weaned the schools away from the church control. He founded public schools which paid attention to the development of mind and body. Napoleon founded the imperial University in 1808 to meet the growing demands of young scholars. He also founded an Academy of Science to encourage scientific pursuits. He took pride in attracting scholars and scientists to some of the institutions he had opened. Encourage scholars to study the ancient history of Egypt soon after his Egyptian campaign.

5. Highly qualified people were honoured by giving Award:

Napoleon begins rewarding the most highly talented French citizens with legions of honour. The most coveted awards were given to great scientists

soldiers, artists and men of letters as a mark of recognition of their outstanding services to the state. Besides a citation, they were also given a cash award.

6. Centralisation of French Administration:

The most important reform of Napoleon was to reorganise the system of administration. The characteristics feature of his reforms in this field was centralisation. He appointed all the offices of the state and also the prefects in the provinces and gave some autonomy to the city municipalities. All the officers of the provinces and at the centre were appointed taking into consideration their loyalty to the emperor, moral integrity and efficiency. Napoleon gave France its political stability at the most critical juncture of her history.

7. Public works:

Napoleon paid great attention to public works. He granted funds on a liberal scale for undertaking public works. He personally took keen interest in the beautification of great cities such as Paris. No wonder Paris became the most beautiful city in Europe, full of public buildings, public parks, beautiful bridges across its canals and tree-lined boulevards.

8. Public welfare works:

Around 1800 when Napoleon was most popular, he worked hard to centralised French Government Agencies-which suffered from an overly complex system of organisation. He credited a "Bank of France" to improve French financial stability and in May 1802 he created the first French lycées, or secondary schools, based on the military educational system. His immediate motive in doing so was to provide better training for Government employees, but the lycées were ultimately to serve as the basis for the current French secondary school system. He also completely overhauled French law, beginning in 1800 and instituting the Napoleonic Code in 1804.

9. The Consulate 1799-1804:

Thus, Napoleon seized control and initially installed and enlightened disposition known as Consulate. During this time, Napoleon instituted a number of important enlightened reforms. The most important of these is Napoleonic code, which provide freedom of religion, uniform law codes, social and legal equality, property rights and end feudal dues. He also implemented a state wide compulsory education, known as a University of France. In 1801 he ended dechristianization.

1.3 FOREIGN POLICY OF NEPOLEAN BONAPARTE

Napoleon's ambition was to unite the countries of Europe and make France its leader. Napoleon planned to make a direct attack on Britain and started organising a powerful fleet for this purpose. However, he changed his mind. He attacked Austria and captured Vienna. He brought about the

end of the Holy Roman empire and himself became the king of Italy. He routed the combined armies of Austria and Russia in that splendid battle of Austerlitz which marked the climax of his career.

Britain under the leadership of prime Minister William Pitt gave up her attempt to challenge Napoleonic supremacy over Europe.

By 1810 Napoleon had reached a pinnacle of his glory. Russia turned into his ally and offered the treaty of Tilsit.

Napoleon appointed his brother as kings. Napoleon became the king of Holland and Joseph, king of Naples, and Jerome as king of Westphalia. Napoleon invaded Portugal and conquered Spain. His brother Joseph became the king of that country. Napoleon marched against Russia for breaking the treaty of Tilsit. He marched right up to Moscow to find it totally deserted. The Russians followed the scorched earth policy towards the invader.

To make things worse, the Russian winter set in. Starvation and severe cold destroyed the bulk of Napoleon's army and he made a hasty retreat. Taking advantage of Napoleon's debacle, the enemies took full advantage. In the meanwhile, the Spanish revolted and received assistance of English led by Duke of Wellington. The Austrians, the Prussians and the Russians combined their might and inflicted a crushing defeat in the battle at Leipzig,

After Napoleon Bonaparte's disastrous campaign in Russia ended in defeat, Napoleon was forced into exile on Elba. He escaped from Elba next year only to be defeated in the battle of Waterloo in 1815. He was then sent to St. Helena where he passed away in 1821.

Check Your Progress:

1. What was the key factor in the domestic policy of Napoleon Bonaparte?
2. What was the Key goal of Napoleons foreign policy?
3. The British and Prussian army defeated Napoleon Bonaparte in which battle?

2.4 SUMMARY

Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest military leader in the world during his period, he was the first emperor of France. He is famous for his revolutionized military organization and training.

His most significant achievement was the Napoleonic Code, it was universally recognized by the world and it helps to streamline the legal system of France. A key goal of Napoleon's foreign policy as first Consul of France was to reconquer northern Italy.

Another notable contribution was reorganized education system and established the long-lived Concordat with the papacy. After the regime of Napoleon, it was ensured that no one would take over Europe again.

Nepolean Bonaparte

2.5 QUESTIONS

1. What was napoleon's impact on world history?
2. What the most significant contribution of Napoleon Bonaparte in the history of France?
3. What was the key factors in Domestic and Foreign policies of the Napoleon Bonaparte?

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CONGRESS OF VIENNA CONCERT OF EUROPE AND REVOLUTION OF 1830 AND 1848

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Concert of Europe (1815-22)
- 3.3 Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818)
- 3.4 Revolution of 1830
 - 3.4.1 Introduction
 - 3.4.2 Causes of 1830
 - 3.4.3 Impact of Revolution of 1830
- 3.5 Revolution of 1848
 - 3.5.1 Nature of Revolution of 1848
 - 3.5.2 Effects of Revolution of 1848
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 Questions
- 3.8 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, the students will be able:

- To understand the importance of the Congress of Vienna.
- To Analyse the impact of the Revolution of 1830 in France.
- To understand the nature of revolution of 1848 in France.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Napoleon had disturbed the map of Europe by his wars. It was after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Congress of Vienna, which re-drew the map of Europe following the Napoleonic Wars, left Italy and Germany divided. The Austro-Hungarian Empire and Serbia were made up of individuals belonging to different races. They did not want to be under rule of foreigners. They all wanted freedom from foreign rulers. Italy and Germany were divided they had unification movement.

With the defeat of Napoleon in the final battle of Waterloo, the European rulers heaved a sigh of relief.

When Napoleon was overthrown in 1814 and sent to the island of Elba,

the problem before the European statement was how the map of Europe was to be redrawn. As Metternich had played the most important part in overthrowing of Napoleon.

Congress of Vienna Concert
of Europe and Revolution of
1830 and 1848

Vienna was chosen as the venue of negotiations and the settlement of Europe. All foreign ministers and statesmen assembled at Vienna and carried on deliberations during the winter of 1814-15.

There was a lot of controversies about the victors regarding the fate of Poland and Saxony. Prussia desired to annex the role of Saxony in exchange for the large amount of Polish territory she was surrendering to Russia and Czar Alexander "back up" Prussia to the limit. Metternich refused to allow Prussia so large an extension of the territory to Austria and Castlereagh and Talleyrand stood with him. The difference went right up to the brink of war. At the beginning of 1815, France, Austria and England formed a defensive alliance to resist the claims of Russia and Prussia. The extreme step produced the desired results. The Czar was convinced that the other side would fight rather than give way.

The result was that he gave way on some points and Prussia followed suit, ultimately Prussia secured only about half of Saxony. The role Talleyrand has been exaggerated to some extent. It is wrong to say that he created difference between the allies.

All that he knew was that all matters were already adjusted when the news came that Napoleon had run away from the island of Elba and Louis XVIII had left France. The work of the Congress was completed after the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.

Three principles of Vienna Congress:

1) Restoration:

As a principle of restoration, it was decided to restore as far as possible the boundaries and reigning families of several European countries as they were before the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. The principle of restoration was consistent with that of legitimacy which the French statesman Talleyrand was exploiting in order to save France from further territorial spoliation and to enable the defeated country to play an important part in the deliberation of Europe.

The Vienna settlement restored the Bourbons in Spain, Naples and Sicily:

1. The Quadruple Alliance of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia assembled at the Congress of Vienna to create a **post Napoleonic Europe**. Their representatives were Castlereagh of England, Talleyrand of France, Metternich of Austria and Alexander I of Russia. The Congress of Vienna was incredibly lenient towards France. It simply restored the old boundaries and restored Louis XVIII to the throne. The hopes of liberals were frustrated. Rulers who were restored by the Vienna settlement setup reactionary regions in

their countries and there was a depression everywhere. This was particularly so in Spain and Naples where the bourbons were rulers Metternich himself tried to police Europe. Wherever liberalism raised its head, it was crushed. Liberal ideas were regarded as daggers. The protocol of Troppau helped the European states to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. Metternich's view was "what do European people want it not Liberty but peace."

2. During The Napoleonic wars Great Britain had captured the important Dutch colonies of Ceylon, Cape colony, South Africa and Guiana. Those colonies were confirmed to her. However, with a view to compensating Holland and also to creating a strong State on the northern frontier of France, the Austrian and Netherlands were given over to Holland. The king of Holland was made king of the United Netherlands. Austria was compensated for the loss of Austrian Netherlands and she got Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. Members of the Hapsburg family were put on the thrones of Tuscany, Parma and Modena. England and Swedish Pomerania were taken away from Sweden and given to Russia and Prussia respectively. Sweden was compensated in the form of Norway which was taken away from Denmark. Denmark was punished on account of her alliance with the Napoleon for a long time.
3. The hopes of liberals were frustrated. Rulers who were restored by the Vienna settlement setup reactionary regions in their countries and there was a depression everywhere. This what's particularly so in Spain and Naples where the bourbons were Metternich himself try to police Europe. Wherever liberalism raised its head, it was crushed. Liberal ideas were regarded as daggers. The protocol of Troppau helped the European status to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. Metternich on view was "what do European people want is not Liberty but peace."
4. According to Grant and Timperley," it has been customary to announce the peacemakers of Vienna as reactionary and illiberal in the extreme. It is indeed true that they represented old regime to a large extent un touch by the new ideas.

But they represented the best and not the worst of the old regime and their settlement averted any major war in Europe for 40 years. According to them settlement was a fair one. France was treated with leniency, and the adjustment of the Balance of Power and territory were carried out with the scrupulous nicety of a grocer weighing out his wares, or of a banker balancing his accounts. Russia alone gained more than her fair share and this was because she had lost a good proportion of armed forces. The settlement disregarded National claims most are natural unions on Norway and Sweden and Belgium and Holland. But in each case the Ally and the stronger partner demanded it, and the allies did not see their way to resist the demand. A more serious criticism was the the disrespect paid to the views of smaller powers. The settlement was supposed to be in the favour of the order and existing rights, the smaller states were ruthlessly

sacrificed for the benefits of the larger. For this side of the activities of peacemakers there is little excuse, and it is the gravest criticism of their action."

Congress of Vienna Concert
of Europe and Revolution of
1830 and 1848

5. Critics point out that the Congress of Vienna did not provide a satisfactory solution of Eastern Question. However, it was impossible for the Vienna Congress to tackle that question successfully. That question was not solved in spite of the efforts made by the European states throughout the 19th century. The Sick man of Europe was a great puzzle. All the European powers wanted to have Constantinople and it was impossible to arrive at any settlement. More over Russian treaties with Turkey, particularly that of Bucharest of 1812, added to the difficulties of the problem.

According to Hazen "The Congress of Vienna was Congress of aristocrats to whom the idea of nationality and democracy as proclaimed by the French Revolution was incompressible or loathsome. The rearrange Europe according to their desires, disposing of it as if it were their own personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. There could be no sentiment because they ignored the factors that alone would make the settlement permanent. The history of Europe after 1815 was destined to witness repeated and often successful attempts to rectify this cardinal error of Congress of Vienna.

According to H. A. Kissinger, "The statesman at Vienna were not interested in transforming humanity because in their eyes these efforts had led to the treasury of the quarter century of struggle. The Quadruple Alliance of England, Austria, Russia, And Prussia assembled at the Congress of Vienna to create a post Napoleonic Europe. Their representatives were Castlereagh of England, Talleyrand of France, Metternich of Austria and Alexander I of Russia. The Congress of Vienna was incredibly lenient towards France. It simply restored the old boundaries and restored Louis XVIII to throne. Independence than many monarchs, but both were extinguished without a murmur in the supposed interest of securing North Italy against France," to rectify this cardinal error of Congress of Vienna. To transform humanity by an act of will, to transcend French nationalism in the name of that Germany, would have seemed to them to make peace by revolution, to seek stability in the unknown, to admit that a myth once shattered cannot be regained. The issue of Vienna, then was not reform against reaction--that is the interpretation of prosperity.

Conclusion:

The treaty of Vienna closed the era of the French Wars, its central aim was to prevent their repetition. The peacemakers sought the containment of France and the avoidance of revolution, using as their materials the principle of legitimacy which was the ideological core of conservative Europe and certain practical territorial arrangements against future aggression. The when the settlement came to be so generally accepted it was not a fortunate accident. Throughout the war Castlereagh and

Metternich had insisted that theirs was an effort for stability, not revenge, justified, not by crushing the enemy, but by his recognition of limits.

The Holy Alliance had existed helped to prevent Prussia and Austria from fighting against Russia in the Crimean war. Confining it to Crimea, where nothing vital could be destroyed and no essential changes be affected.

For nearly forty years the Vienna settlement provided a framework within which disputes were settled without war.

3.2 CONCERT OF EUROPE (1815-22)

The idea of a Concert of Europe was suggested by the former Austrian Chancellor, Kunitz and it found expression in the Treaty of Chaumont which was made in March 1814, by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria. The same four powers tried at Congress of Vienna to affect a regeneration of the political system of Europe". The Congress of Vienna sealed the triumph of reaction and restored the revolutionary condition as far as possible.

However, the fear of revolution was so great that the European powers could not rest contented until they had devised some means to secure the permanence of Vienna Settlement. With that object in view, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia entered on 20 November 1815 into the Quadruple Alliance for the maintenance of the treaties with France and for consolidation "of the intimate relations now uniting the four sovereigns for the welfare of the world".

The powers also agreed to hold periodical meetings "either under the immediate auspices of sovereigns or through their ministers".

Those meetings were to be "devoted to the grand interests they have in common and to the discussion of measures which shall be most salutary for the reports and prosperity of Nations and for the maintenance of peace of Europe" It was in this way that the concert of Europe was formed. This system of diplomacy by conferences was one of the most interesting experiments in 19th century.

However, the concept of Europe broke up in 1823 after holding four conferences at Aix-la- Chapelle in 1818, at Troppau in 1820, at Laibach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822.

3.3 CONGRESS OF AXI-LA-CHAPELLE (1818)

The first Congress meet in 1818 at Axi-la- Chapel where Napoleon had put forward his own scheme for the welfare of Europe. Regarding this Congress Metternich is said to have remarked that "he had never seen prettier Little Congress."

This Congress marked Zenith of the system by which the allied power endeavoured to establish a joint control over the affairs of all Continental States. The Congress was recognised as a supreme council of Europe and

accordingly it entertained appeals in all kinds of cases.

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The most important question before the Congress was that of France, and happily a compromise was arrived at on that point. As France had paid off the whole of war indemnity, it was decided to withdraw the lead Army of occupation from the French soil and to admit France into the concert of Europe. It was in this way that the Quadruple Alliance was transformed into the Quintuple Alliance which was called by Martineau as a "moral pentarchy."

3.4 REVOLUTION OF 1830

3.4.1 Introduction:

The revolution of 1830 was chiefly a middle-class revolution in France. It was not a great popular uprising. It broke out because the policies of Charles X had mainly hit the middle class, which became restless and wanted an immediate change in government. The middle class hoped that Louis Philippe would bring relief to the middle class. A petty group of rich bourgeoisie taking advantage of the grievances of Paris workers engineered the revolution.

After the death of Louis XVIII in 1824, Charles X became the king of France. At the Court of Artois, he had acted as the leader of Emigres. During the reign of Louis XVIII, he was the leader of the Ultra Royalists. He was a man of prejudices and convictions. On 25 July 1830, Charles X issued four ordinances, by means of ordinances he suspended the freedom of the legislature from seven years to five years and ordered election under restricted franchise. The ordinances were a challenge to the people and July Revolution took place in France in 1830 and it brought about a change in the ruling dynasty.

3.4.2 Causes of 1830:

Autocracy of Charles X:

The Revolution of 1830 was the result of the autocracy of Charles X, which culminated in the four ordinances issued by him in 1830. It was said about him that he "had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing". He was leader of the Ultra -Royalists. He was a man of prejudices and conviction. He took pride in the fact that both he and Lafayette had not changed at all in spite of the change of times.

The misuse of absolute power by the Bourbon Charles X ultimately brought about the Revolution of 1830.

Religious Cause:

The pro -Catholic policy of Charles X was a significant cause of revolution of 1830. He stood for the supremacy of the church and was prepared to sacrifice even his throne for the sake of the church. According to Wellington, he set up "a government by priests through priests and for Priests" He has rightly been compared with Philip II of Spain.

Social Cause:

Policies of Charles X had mainly hit the middle class, which became restless and wanted an immediate change in government.

In 1825, a law was passed to indemnify the Emigres for the loss of their lands during the days of the French Revolution. This was done by lowering the rate of interest on the public savings 5 percent to 4 per cent. It must have annoyed the middle classes because they suffered on account of the lowering of the interest. Religious communities for women were re-established under certain restrictions. An attempt was made to revive the law of primogeniture, but it failed due to the opposition of the Chamber of Peers. A law of sacrilege was proposed which could have punished by death penalty for theft of sacred vessels from a church. Those who were guilty of the offence of desecration of the Host were also liable to get their hands cut off.

Restriction on Press:

As the press was opposed to the church policy of the king, it was decided to make the press a creature of the executive. No newspaper was to appear without the sanction of the king. The content of the newspapers was to be censored by the government. The writer of any article or the designer of any illustration which excited contempt or hatred of any class was to be punished with a heavy fine or imprisonment for seven years, an attempt was made in 1827 to pass a new law by which the liberty of the press was to be completely ended. Although there was opposition from all quarters. The Chamber of Deputies passed the law but the Government was forced to rescind it on account of the opposition from the Chamber of Press.

Immediate cause:

The immediate cause of the revolution of 1830 was the issuing of four ordinances by Charles X. He issued four ordinances and attached to them the following explanation. "A turbulent democracy is endeavouring to supplant the legal authorities. It dominates the elections by means of newspaper and association, it endeavours to fetter the rights of the Crown and to dissolve the Chamber. A government that has not the right to take measures for the safety of the State cannot exist. That right, older than the laws, exists in the nature of things. An imperative necessity demands its application, the moment has come to take measures which, if they overstep the ordinary methods of legislation, are undoubtedly in accord with the charter". By means of four ordinances, Charles X suspended the freedom of the press, dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies, reduced the life of the legislature from seven years to five years and ordered new elections under a restricted franchise.

3.4.3 Impact of Revolution of 1830:

The July Revolution of 1830 was of great importance in the history of France. It brought about change in the ruling dynasty.

1. Political impact:

The bourbons were replaced by the Orleanais's. The monarchical system was continued in spite of the protests of the Republicans. Minor changes were made in the constitution of France which were embodied in the Charter of 1814. The king was deprived of his power of making ordinances in times of emergency or otherwise. The Chambers were given the power to initiate laws.

2. People observed Democracy:

The revolution of 1830 was complemented of the Revolution of 1789. It granted equality, liberty, secularisation of property, etc. The Charter of 1814 became the right of the nation and not the free gift of the king who was forced to do so. Those tax payers who could pay for their uniforms were to form the National Guard which was to maintain the Charter.

The revolution of 1830 was essentially a middle-class revolution. The bourgeoisie were hit hard by the policy of Charles X and it is they who brought about the July Revolution. In 1825, an indemnification bill was passed by means of which the Emigres, whose lands had been confiscated during the French revolution, were to be given as compensation.

3. Constitutional Monarchy:

The view of Grant and Timperley is that the July Revolution was largely due to Lafayette and Talleyrand. Their plan was to have a constitutional monarchy of the British type with Louis Philippe as a good solid bourgeois and constitutional king. The revolution in France was bloodless and it set up a solid constitutional monarchy. It seemed to hail the approach of the millennium when all nations would have their parliaments and carry the Magna Carta written on their hearts.

Conclusion:

The uncompromising character of Charles X was responsible for the July Revolution. The revolution of 1830 did not bring about the disruption of society, as the disturbances were put down and order was restored. The July revolution of 1830 was of great importance in the history of France. It brought change in ruling dynasty, as the press was opposed to the church policy of the king, it was decided to make the press a creature of the executive, but the chambers were given the power to initiate laws. Catholicism was to be the official religion of France. The freedom of the press was restored. The Franchise was extended. It granted equality, liberty. Secularisation of property.

3.5 REVOLUTION OF 1848

The European Revolutions of 1848, known in some countries as the Spring of nations, Springtime of the People or the Year of revolution were a series of political upheavals throughout Europe. Described by some historians as a revolutionary wave, the period of unrest began in France

and then, further propelled by the French Revolution of 1848, soon spread to the rest of Europe.

Although most of the revolutions were quickly put down, there was a significant amount of violence in many areas, with tens of thousands of people were tortured and killed. While the immediate political effects of the revolutions were largely reversed, the long-term reverberations of the events were far reaching.

The United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were the only major European states to go without a national revolution over this period.

These revolutions arose from such a wide variety of causes that it is difficult to view them as resulting from a coherent movement or social phenomenon. Numerous changes had been taking place in European society throughout the first half of the 19th century. Both liberal reformers and radical politicians were reshaping national government. Technological change was revolutionising the life of the working classes. A popular press extended political awareness, and new values and ideas such as popular liberalism, nationalism, and socialism began to spring up. A series of economic downturns and crop failures, particularly those in the year 1846, produced starvation among peasants and the working urban poor.

Large swathes of the nobility were discontented with royal absolutism or near absolutism. In 1846 there had been an uprising of Polish nobility in Austrian Galicia, which was only countered when peasants, in turn, rose up against the nobles. Additionally, an uprising by democratic forces against Prussia occurred in Greater Poland.

3.5.1 Nature of Revolution of 1848:

Socialist of Revolution of 1848:

The Revolution of 1848 was basically a socialist revolution. Socialist leaders like St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon and Louis Blanc created strong consciousness among the exploited workers since the Industrial Revolution. When workers realised that government did nothing for them to give social and economic justice, they strongly protested and rebelled. The disgruntled workers demanded "Bread of Lead".

As Louis Philippe did nothing to redress the workers' grievances, the Revolution of February 1848 broke out.

Establishment of Republic:

The 1848 Revolution resulted in the abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic, which lasted for four years only. France came to have her second republic after the middle class supported limited monarchy was overthrown. Monarchy was abolished. People were ensured certain minimum rights.

3.5.2 Effects of Revolution of 1848:

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Established Provisional Government:

Administration was carried on by a Provisional Government, whose members were Lamartine, the liberal Catholic Leader, Louis Blanc, the Socialist leader, Ledru Rollin, the Jacobin Republican leader, and Albert, the leader of workers.

On the basis of manhood suffrage, general elections were held on 23rd and 24th April, 1848. The new National Assembly with its overwhelming majority of moderates met on May 4, 1848. Extremist were excluded. Provisional Government gave all power to the National Assembly. The Assembly elected an executive committee, which did not include leaders like Louis Blanca or Albert.

Established National Workshops:

National Workshops were established in France under a decree of 27th February, 1848, by the Provisional Government. The Minister of Public Works was put in charge of executing the decree. The objective of the provisional Government was to guarantee labour to every citizen. The leader of the revolt of 1848 in France were mainly socialist, who set up public works r national workshops, where workers could secure work and wages at 2 France a day. But these shops were utopian in character and thus impracticable. As government could not provide work, it began to give doles. In many workshops public funds were unnecessarily squandered away. The wanton wastage exposed to ridicule socialism and inflicted a severe 1848, the socialist was thrown overboard, and the Moderates commanded an overwhelming majority. By its first Act in June, 1848, the National Assembly ordered the closing down of “abominable” national workshops, but the workers refused to disband.

New Constitution was formed:

General Cavaignac gave up all the wide powers he originally enjoyed. But the national Assembly elected him as president of the Council. He continued the rule in this capacity till the President of the Republic was elected in December, 1848. National workshops were liquidated and extremists and socialist were suppressed. Socialist clubs were ordered to be closed down. Bonapartism, Legitimists and communists were not allowed to have any power.

The National Assembly was able to frame a new republican constitution in October, 1848. A unicameral legislature with 750 members elected on the basis of universal suffrage was to be set up. The Council of State, was to draft bills. Ministers were to be appointed by the President for four years. Ministers were to be appointed by the President, but they were to be responsible to the legislature.

Check Your Progress:

1. Which was the three important principles of Vienna Congress?
2. Which dynasty was replaced by the revolution of 1830 in France?

3.6 SUMMARY

The Revolution of 1848 (February Revolution) in France was sparked by the suppression of the champagne des banquets. This revolution was driven by nationalist and republican ideals among the French general public, who believed that the people should be rule themselves. It ended the constitutional monarchy of Louis -Philipps, and led to the creation of the French Second Republic. This government was headed by Louis-Napoleon, who after only four years, returned France to a monarchy with the established of the Second French Empire in 1852.

3.7 QUESTIONS

1. State the importance of the revolution of 1830 in France?
2. Analyse the impact of the revolution of 1848 in France?
3. How congress of Vienna changes the scenario of Europe?

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AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Meaning
- 4.3 Causes of the Agricultural Revolution
- 4.4 Causes of the Increase in Agricultural Production
- 4.5 Livestock Productivity
- 4.6 Invention of New Farm Equipment
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Questions
- 4.9 References

4.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To review the various factors that contributed to the Agrarian Revolution in England.
2. To understand the measures undertaken to improve agricultural productivity in England.
3. To know about the various inventions that took place in England to improve agricultural productivity.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been many revolutions in the World in general and the continents and the countries in particular. If we talk of continents then we have to make mention of Europe and if we have to talk of any countries then we have to make mention of England, America, France, Russia etc. The revolutions have been the kind of Political Revolutions in which sudden change in the political system of that country is replaced by new one. It may have culminated through Bloodshed or it may be the Bloodless revolution. Apart from these kinds of revolutions, nonpolitical revolutions have taken place in the field of human society like science and technology, industry, philosophy, agriculture and so on. Here in this unit, we are to deal with Agrarian Revolution which had taken place in Europe which brought revolutionary changes in the field of land, agriculture, animal husbandry, crops, agricultural implements etc. This revolution increased the agricultural productivity which had so many impacts on the peasantry and the other members of the society in Europe in general and England in particular.

4.2 MEANING

Agrarian Revolution is a term applied to a period of agricultural change held to be of particular significance and usually referring to increases in the output and productivity of English agriculture. During the early 1700's, a great change in farming began in England. The revolution resulted from a series of discoveries and inventions that made agriculture much more productive than ever before. By the mid-1800's, the Agrarian Revolution had spread throughout much of Europe and North America. One of the chief effects of revolution was the rapid growth of towns and cities in Europe and the United States during the 1800's. As fewer people were needed to produce food, farm families by the thousands moved to the towns and cities.

4.3 CAUSES OF THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION:

4.3.1 The System of Enclosures:

- 1) Enclosure was the division or consolidation of communal fields, meadows, pastures, and other arable lands in Western Europe into the carefully delineated and individually owned and managed farm plots of modern times. Before enclosure, much farmland existed in the form of numerous, a dispersed strip under the control of individual cultivators only during the growing season and until harvesting was completed for a given year. Thereafter, and until the next growing season, the land was at the disposal of the community for grazing by the village livestock and for other purposes. To enclose land was to put a hedge or fence around a portion of this open land and thus prevent the exercise of common grazing and other rights over it.
- 2) In England the movement for enclosure began in the twelfth century and proceeded rapidly in the period 1450-1640, when the purpose was mainly to increase the amount of full-time pasturage available to manorial lords. Much enclosure also occurred in the period from 1750 to 1860, when it was done for the sake of agricultural efficiency. By the end of the nineteenth century the process of the enclosure of common lands in England was virtually complete.

4.3.2 Kind of Land Enclosed:

There were three kinds of land that could be enclosed:

- (i) the common fields, (ii) the commons Land and (iii) the wastes.

During the eighteenth century, the Lord of the manor held a large portion of the village. By careful adjustments of his leases, he could also secure a large fraction of the common-fields. Along with these the Lord could secure enclosure by mutual agreement with other holders.

4.3.3 Enclosure in the Rest of Europe:

In the rest of Europe enclosure made little progress until the nineteenth century.

- 1) Agreements to enclose were not unknown in Germany in the sixteenth century, but it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that the government began to issue decrees encouraging enclosure. Even then, little advance was made in western Germany until after 1850.
- 2) The same policy of encouragement by decree was followed in France and Denmark from the second half of the eighteenth century, in Russia after the emancipation of the serfs (1861), and in Czechoslovakia and Poland after World War I.
- 3) The common rights over arable land--which constitute the most formidable obstacle to modern farming--have now for the most part been extinguished, but some European land was still cultivated in the scattered strips characteristic of common fields, and common rights continue over large areas of pasture and woodland.

4.3.4 Reasons for the Enclosure Movement:

- 1) The chief reason for the enclosure movement was the inefficiency of open-field farming and the increased production that could be obtained from enclosed farm by the new and more scientific methods.
- 2) It was found that the open-field villages had been very poor. A number of writers such as Arthur Young, Ellis and others have written convincingly about the desperate condition of many of the open fields. However, all open-field farming was not as bad as this. An enlightened village might adopt many of the new methods of agriculture.
- 3) The enclosures facilitated modern methods of farming. According to the opinion of Arthur Young, the engrossing of the farms and the squeezing out of the small occupier would be justified by the enormously increased production.
- 4) The new farming was the capital farming. The days of the self-sufficient villages were over.
- 5) Arthur Young claimed that more produce meant higher rents for the landlords, more profits for farmers and higher wages and more food for the labourers.

4.3.5 Effects of Enclosures:

The effects of enclosure may be understood from three points of view: production, rent and people.

- 1) The first result was to increase the total area which could be brought under cultivation. Much of the commons was good land, which could

be worth converting into arable, while the best land of the common-fields was often used as pastures for the production of better cattle. A considerable part of the wastes that were enclosed was to raise crops.

- 2) While the gross product of any given village after the enclosure was often less than it had been before, especially where arable land was converted into grass-land, there is no question that as a whole the produce of the country was greatly increased.
- 3) Though the enclosures did not produce more, it was a necessary preliminary to any practice of the new farming, which aimed at and obtained much greater results per acre of land.
- 4) The supporters of enclosure maintained that tenant farming, which certainly increased as enclosures became general, also tended towards high farming.
- 5) The landlords could and did force their tenants to adopt the new methods of farming by increasing the rents to a level which could only be paid by giving up old methods and adopting new methods of farming. The system of enclosure did result in the increase in the rents.
- 6) In the first place the costs of enclosure were so high that only by higher rents the costs could be recovered. Often the rents were doubled and even quadrupled. Where rich arable land was converted into pastures, the rise in rent was considerable.
- 7) The saving in labour gave increased profits. Rents depended not on gross produce, but on net profits, that is, the amount that went to feed the industrial population in the towns. Enclosures tended to reduce the number of the rural workers and increase those of the towns. The same amount of food produced by fewer hands would cost less to produce. This resulted in an increase in profit. As such the landlords could exact more rent.
- 8) Bringing the poorer lands under farming led to a rise in the relative value of good land and thus, rents rose due to this factor as well.
- 9) The increase in production and rents had considerable effect on the inhabitants of the land. The squires, the parsons, the lawyers, and the large tenant farmers benefited considerably from the system of enclosure.
- 10) The small farmers, copyholders and tenants were pushed to the brink of ruin who gradually disappeared from the land that was brought under the enclosure. The cottagers and labourers were either driven from the rural districts altogether or remained as wage-earners, who gradually became a landless proletariat.
- 11) As food output was increasing due to enclosures, the proportion of the population working on the land was falling. Although in absolute terms the rural agricultural population rose from about 2.78 million in

1700 to 3.84 million in 1850, this represented a fall in the proportion of the population in this category from 55 per cent to 22 per cent.

- 12) At this point, England had the lowest proportion of its workforce in agriculture than any country in the world. It is not surprising therefore, that England also had the highest rate of urbanization.
- 13) In 1850, over 40 per cent of the population lived in towns, more than twice the proportion of the next most urbanized country. Since the people who were not working in agriculture, they were employed in industry and commerce; in other words, they were part of the workforce of the Industrial Revolution.
- 14) The Agrarian Revolution enabled a much smaller proportion of the population to feed the country, so providing the opportunity for the Industrial Revolution.
- 15) Increases in agricultural output and improvements in the efficiency of agricultural labour went hand in hand with changes in the social relationships between those involved in farming.
- 16) By 1850 the majority of farmers produced much more than they needed for themselves and were businessmen farming for the market.
- 17) Private property rights were universal and farming was dominated by the tripartite class structure of landlord, tenant farmer and labourer.
- 18) The period during which these changes occurred was a more protracted one and unlike the first transformation, there are strong grounds for claiming it was underway by the mid-seventeenth century.
- 19) The significance of these changes, which amount to the establishment of agrarian capitalism, lies both in their effects on production and in their impact on the lives of those working in the countryside.
- 20) Although it can be argued for a transformation in output in the century-and-a-half after 1700 on the basis of population data, there are no agricultural statistics with which agricultural output can be measured directly until 1866.

4.3.6 Account of the Effects of the Enclosures:

The accounts and statistical information and figures of the effects of the enclosures were not certainly available. This lack of direct information is one of the reasons why there is so much disagreement among historians about the timing of the Agrarian Revolution. On a local level information can be constructed about some aspects of particular farms, including the areas under individual crops and the type and number of animals. There is also some evidence of the yields of crops per sown acre, but these are only partial measures of output and productivity. On a national scale there are estimates of production by contemporary commentators, but have no way of checking how accurate they are. The only reliable statistics for the

period before 1850 are population numbers, the prices of some agricultural commodities, a series of the rental value of land and some statistics of imports and exports of grain. Some argue that there was no decisive turning point in the 300 years after 1550, others maintain that output growth accelerated dramatically after 1700 while some of the most recent work considers that the revolution in output did not take place until the turn of the nineteenth century.

4.4 CAUSES OF THE INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Although direct evidence of output and productivity is lacking, there is plenty of indirect evidences about changes in the way that farming was conducted which led both to increased output and increased productivity. Increasing the intensity of production meant that more food could be produced, even though yields of particular crops, such as wheat, did not necessarily increase. We can identify four major ways in which this came about.

4.4.1 Land Reclamation:

- 1) For enclosures, land was made into reclamation or the improvement of land quality through capital investment. Under the pressure of a rising population from the mid-sixteenth century, marshes were drained, woods cleared, upland wastes ploughed, and lowland heaths were brought under cultivation.
- 2) It is difficult to measure the loss of woodland from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, although recent research has shown the extent to which woodlands were preserved rather than destroyed during these centuries.
- 3) In 1350 roughly 10 per cent of England was wooded; by the middle of the nineteenth century that figure was around 5 percent, although both estimates are very approximate.
- 4) Locally, woodland losses could be severe, as in Norfolk, which lost three quarters of its medieval woods between 1600 and 1790, while most of the great woodland areas, such as the Weald of Kent and Sussex, remained intact.
- 5) Rough pastures were usually in upland areas and required stone clearing and wall building. From the sixteenth century onward, upland wastes were gradually encroached upon. However, when pressure on land eased, as in the early eighteenth century, land was reverted back to waste.
- 6) The real attack on upland wastes came in the century after 1750, and particularly in the first two decades of the nineteenth century using the device of parliamentary enclosure.
- 7) The transformation of heathland could be spectacular. Root crops, particularly turnips, coupled with the extensive use of marl (a mixture of clay and calcium carbonate) and lime, were responsible for turning

heathlands and some downlands into productive land growing wheat and barley, with fodder crops supporting large numbers of animals.

- 8) Turnips took up to five times the amounts of nutrients from the soil than did cereal crops and these nutrients were then recycled, either as manure, or through crop residues left in the soil. Heathland reclamation was therefore different from the reclamation of woodland.
- 9) Soils under woodland could be inherently fertile, but those under heath were not, and cereal crops could only be sustained by new intensive arable rotations.

4.4.2 Reducing Fallow:

- 1) A second way of increasing the agricultural production was the reduction of the amount of fallow land. In some crop rotations land was left fallow without growing crop on the land for up to a year. Contemporary farmers knew that fallows were necessary to enable them to control perennial weeds and to allow the land to regain its fertility after growing crops.
- 2) In fact, the process of recuperation involved the conversion of nitrogen gas in the air into nitrogen salts in the soil by bacterial action, which produced nutrient for the plants.
- 3) In the 1690s about 20 per cent of arable land in England was fallow; by the 1830s it was 12 per cent, and by the 1870s it was 4 per cent.

4.4.3 Improved Crop-Growing Methods:

- 1) **Crop Rotation System:** The eighteenth century saw the replacement of the three-field system of wheat–barley–fallow by the four-field rotation system (wheat–turnips–barley–clover), which was designed to ensure that no land would need to lie fallow between periods of cultivation because if crops are rotated correctly, they absorb different kinds and quantities of nutrients from the soil.
- 2) **Townshend System:** The four-course rotation system was subsequently popularized by a retired English politician and enlightened landowner named Charles Townshend. He found that turnips could be used as the fourth crop in a four-field-rotation system.
- 3) The other crops consisted of two grains, especially varieties of wheat; and a legume, such as alfalfa or clover. Each crop either added nutrients to the soil or absorbed different kinds and amounts of nutrients. Thus, farmers were not required to leave any land fallow as in the two or three-crop rotation systems.
- 4) Townshend's experiments did not become well-known during his lifetime except to earn him the nick-name 'Turnip Townshend'.

- 5) In the late 1700's, an English nobleman Thomas Coke produced greatly increased yields using Townshend system. Coke encouraged other farmers to adopt the method, and it soon became widely used in England.
- 6) The system enabled farmers to grow crops on all their land each year, which made farmland much more productive. Both Townshend and Coke lived in the country of Norfolk, and thus, the four-field rotation system came to be known as the 'Norfolk System'.

4.4.4 Introduction of New Crops:

- 1) **Introduction of New Crops:** Another method of increasing agricultural production was through the introduction of new crops. This was done by replacing lower-yielding crops by higher-yielding crops such as potatoes, red clover, and turnips – into Britain in the seventeenth century.
- 2) This improved farming practices since farmers could use them to feed their livestock throughout the winter. This meant that it was no longer necessary for animals to be slaughtered in the autumn so that meat could be salted for storage through the winter.
- 3) The grass clover returned certain nutrients to the soil and the growing of turnips meant that the land was thoroughly weeded by hoeing.
- 4) The major change was the introduction of the potato into England in the late sixteenth century. For most of the following century it remained a curiosity, but by the close of the seventeenth century it seems that potatoes were fairly widely grown in the north-west for everyday consumption. A major growth in potato cultivation took place during the last quarter of the eighteenth century against the background of population growing at an unprecedented rate and a series of bad harvests during the 1790s.
- 5) In the nineteenth century, potatoes became a food of those working on the land as well as those working in industry. Much of the new cultivation took place in small plots of land cultivated by agricultural labourers in cottage gardens, in allotments and in potato patches in the corners of farmer's fields.

4.5 LIVESTOCK PRODUCTIVITY

- 1) One of the most significant effects of the agrarian revolution was that it led to the increase in livestock productivity.
- 2) Livestock productivity rose through two processes:
 - (i) through an increase in the number of animals supported by a given area of land, because of increased fodder supplies; and
 - (ii) because livestock became more efficient at converting fodder into saleable livestock products, such as meat, milk, and wool.

- 3) As seen already two new fodder crops, turnips and clover were introduced from the seventeenth century in England.
- 4) Some meadows were also improved by a process known as —floating whereby a thin film of river water was kept flowing over the grass during the winter. This moving water kept the meadow frost-free and encouraged the growth of early grass, providing fodder, usually for sheep, in March and April when fodder shortages were usually most acute.
- 5) Bakewell Breeding: In the late 1700's, an English farmer named Robert Bakewell showed how livestock could be improved by intensively breeding animals with desirable traits. Bakewell produced improved breeds of cattle, horses, and sheep. He became best known for developing a breed of sheep that could be raised for meat as well as for wool. Earlier breeds of sheep were expensive to raise for meat because they fattened too slowly. As a result, most sheep were raised for wool only. But Bakewell's breed, called the 'Leicester' fattened quickly. It could therefore be raised for slaughter at a reasonable cost. The cost was so low that mutton soon became the most popular meat in England.
- 6) From the mid-1740s, Bakewell began experiments with sheep and by the 1790s there were 15 or 20 breeders of Bakewell's calibre in the Midlands. Bakewell developed the long-woolled New Leicester sheep which was important in its own right but especially valuable when crossed with other breeds.
- 7) The most important short-woolled sheep was the Southdown established by John Ellman of Glynde in Sussex. These two breeds were the foundations of sheep breed improvements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- 8) Other successful breeders included the Colling brothers of County Durham and George Culley of Northumberland.

4.6 INVENTION OF NEW FARM EQUIPMENT

- 1) Another effect of the agrarian revolution was the invention of new farm equipment. Little mechanization of farming took place before the mid-nineteenth century. However, before that period there can be little doubt that small improvements to basic farm implements had improved their efficiency.
- 2) The Rotherham plough, for example, patented by Disney Stanyforth and Joseph Foljambe in 1730, was light, strong, easy to make, and cheap to produce. Fewer horses were needed to pull it, and there was consequently less need for a man or boy to tend the horses. It meant that ploughing could now be carried out by just one man.
- 3) The first important inventor of the Agrarian Revolution was Jethro Tull, an English farmer. Jethro Tull lived during the late 1600's and

early 1700's. But his inventions were not widely used until the late 1700's. When Jethro Tull began his career, farmers still planted seeds by sowing, that is, by hand scattering. To conserve seed and increase yields, inventors had tried to build a machine that would dig small trenches in the soil and deposit seeds in them. In about 1700, Tull built the first such 'seed drill' that worked. Actually, it was the first successful farm machine with inner moving parts and thus became the ancestor of all modern farm machinery.

- 4) The first major change in harvesting technology was the shift from shearing with the serrated-edge sickle to reaping with a smooth-edged hook, then to bagging with a heavy smooth hook and finally to using a scythe. This saved labour because three times as much corn could be cut in a day by a man using a scythe than could be cut with a sickle. The move to using a bagging hook and then a scythe to harvest wheat began in southern England during the Napoleonic Wars, but it was not until the years after 1835 that the change was widespread. Around 1790 some 90 per cent of the wheat harvest was carried out with the sickle; by 1870 it was 20 per cent.
- 5) The first successful threshing machines were developed in Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century, coinciding with a shortage of labour during the Napoleonic Wars. Their use became much less common after the wars, as there was no shortage of labour. The threshing machines began to reappear in the 1840s and 1850s, and by this time they were much more substantial usually mobile and powered by steam.
- 6) Other, smaller, labor-saving machinery was also introduced including winnowing machines, turnip cutters, chaff cutters, bean mills, and, rather later than these, oil-cake crushers. Reaping machines did not appear until the 1850s.

4.7 SUMMARY

The Agrarian revolution started with the system of enclosures wherein large fledged lands were brought under cultivation. It then brought under cultivation the fallow land in all over the Europe although it was begun in England. This led to the modern methods of farming, invention of new crops and high yielding breeds and finally, the large number of land productivity and agricultural production. This revolution also formed the tripartite class structure such as Landlord-Tenant Farmer-Labourer. The land was reclaimed to bring it under cultivation by clearing woods and forests. The heathland was turned into productive land by growing wheat, barley with fodder crops supporting large number of animals. Turnip was such a grass which was very nutritious for the livestock. Various new crop growing methods were introduced and the agricultural scientists like Townshend, Thomas Coke invented new crops and high yielding breeds. As fodder production increased, the livestock productivity was increased as well. The English farmer Robert Bakewell introduced breeding of animals with desirable traits. Finally, the new farm equipment such as

Rotherham plough, Seed drill, Bagging hook and then scythe were introduced to save the labour. Threshing and winnowing machines that led to the agrarian revolution to a great success.

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. What are various factors that led to the Agrarian Revolution in England? Explain.
2. Critically evaluate the effects of Agrarian revolution.
3. Describe various steps that were undertaken in England to achieve agricultural productivity.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (i) Enclosures
 - (ii) Increase in agricultural production
 - (iii) Inventions in farm equipment

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INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Features of Industrial Revolution
- 5.3 Causes of Industrial Revolution
- 5.4 Inventions During the Industrial Revolution
- 5.5 Impact of the Industrial Revolution
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Questions
- 5.8 References

5.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To analyze the various factors that led to the Industrial Revolution in England.
2. To review inventions that had taken place in different fields such as textiles, coal and iron, power, transport and communication.
3. To understand the impact of the Industrial Revolution.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been many revolutions in the World in general and the continents and the countries in particular. If we talk of continents then we have to make mention of Europe and if we have to talk of any countries then we have to make mention of England, America, France, Russia etc. The revolutions have been the kind of Political Revolutions in which sudden change in the political system of that country is replaced by new one. It may have culminated through Bloodshed or it may be the Bloodless revolution. Apart from these kinds of revolutions, there have been nonpolitical revolutions taken place in the field of human society like science and technology, industry, philosophy, agriculture and so on. This unit is related to the Industrial Revolution which is one of the most significant landmarks in the history of mankind. The Industrial Revolution that first broke out in England in around 1750 and lasted nearly for a century till 1850, was a more intensive and fundamental process of transformation than had been ever known before.

5.2 FEATURES OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

- 1) During the Industrial Revolution changes were introduced in the field of manufacturing, mining, transportation, communication and agriculture.

- 2) It also brought about a transformation for the 'domestic system' to the 'factory system'.
- 3) A change from small output to mass production; use of basic materials such as iron and steel;
- 4) Use of new energy sources;
- 5) Invention of complex machines
- 6) Application of science to industry. No revolution, asserts C. M. Cippola, has been as dramatically revolutionary as the Industrial Revolution.
- 7) It opened up a completely different world of new and untapped sources of energy such as coal, oil and electricity.
- 8) Hand tools to power machinery led to substitution to manual work
- 9) Earlier revolutions affected political, religious and social life of the people and were destructive and accompanied by executions, imprisonments and wars.
- 10) The term 'Industrial Revolution', was first used by a French socialist, Louis Blanc in 1837 to suggest a revolutionary departure from the past.

5.3 CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

The Industrial Revolution first started in England and gradually spread to other countries of the continent. A number of factors explain as to why the Industrial Revolution first began in England.

1. England was ahead of the continent in respect of industrialization. The British entrepreneurs showed greater enterprise in promoting industrialization.
2. The growth of foreign trade brought in the much-needed capital and raw materials.
3. The agricultural and demographic revolutions, the growth of banking system, transport and technology and other developments put England at an advantageous position to be the home of Industrial Revolution.
4. Different historians have emphasized different factors for the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution in England.
5. According to historians like Charles Wilson and Nef, the end of the medieval economy prepared the background for the Industrial Revolution in England.
6. According to them the growth of overseas colonies and the development of the banking and insurance system and the exodus of

peasants from village to towns contributed towards the early industrialization.

7. Other historians such as Lands, observe that on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, England was technologically superior to other European countries. There was an increase in domestic demand because of better transport, urbanization, better purchasing power, distribution of wealth and growth of population.
8. On the other hand, historians such as Ralph Davis attribute the Industrial Revolution to the British foreign trade and the foreign markets spread across America, Africa and Asia.
9. Other historians describe the origin of the Industrial Revolution as a combination of demand and supply, a new industrial mentality and growth of scientific outlook since the seventeenth century.

The chief causes of the Industrial Revolution in England were the following:

5.3.1 Geographical Location of England:

1. England's geographical location at the confluence of the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean had given an advantage to the English sailors and traders.
2. Besides, the humid climate in the coastal England was more favorable to industries such as textile.
3. Being an island country, England developed as a strong maritime power not only for defense but also to undertake voyages of exploration and discoveries which led to the establishment of colonies in the western hemisphere, Asia and Africa.
4. These colonies, besides promoting trade and commerce, provided ready markets for the manufactured goods and became the sources of raw materials needed for the industries in England.

5.3.2 Scientific Progress:

1. There had been a steady accumulation of scientific knowledge in England. England produced a number of scientists whose inventions enabled to large scale production in factories.
2. Inventors, such as James Hargreaves, Richard Arkwright, Samuel Crompton, Edmund Cartwright and others brought about revolutionary changes in the textile industry through their inventions.
3. Humphrey Davy, Henry Bessemer, Darby and others made contributions to the coal and iron industry.
4. Thomas Newcomen, James Watt, George Stephenson, Robert Fulton and others revolutionized power and transport industry.

5.3.3 Political Stability:

1. Another important cause of Industrial Revolution was the political and administrative stability that prevailed in England in the eighteenth century.
2. Politically, England was a free country.
3. Her Parliamentary system of government promoted democracy and domestic peace unlike the revolutionary upheavals in other European countries such as France.
4. The peaceful condition in England and prevailing law and order created a favourable condition for the capitalists to invest their wealth in factories and machines.

5.3.4 Flexibility of the British Society:

1. The English society was more flexible than other European countries such as France.
2. Thus, it was able to adjust itself to the changing socio-economic pattern.
3. The English landlords, found a better way of increasing their wealth by shifting their attention from land to trade and business.
4. They also invested their wealth in industry.

5.3.5 British Policy of Promoting Trade and Colonization:

1. England's policy towards promoting trade, commerce and colonization became an important factor in the Industrial Revolution.
2. The British Parliament passed Navigation Acts to protect British shipping from the competition of European rival powers.
3. The British Government itself did not undertake commercial activities. These activities were carried on by private companies such as the East India Company and other private entrepreneurs. 4. They not only earned huge profits for themselves, but in the long run generated capital and resources for the country by promoting industry and trade.

5.3.6 Immigration of Artisans into England:

1. On account of religious intolerance and persecution of the Protestant minorities in countries like France and Spain, a large number of Huguenots (Protestants) migrated to England with their wealth and skills.
2. Their craftsmanship, especially in the textile industry gave an impetus to the Industrial Revolution in England.

5.3.7 Natural Resources:

1. England had abundant natural resources such as iron and coal.
2. These resources were necessary for producing stronger materials such as iron and steel to replace wooden components of machines.
3. Coal was used for smelting iron ore to extract pig iron and produce steel. Coal was also used as a source of energy to produce steam with which the heavy machines could be run.

5.3.8 Effects of Agrarian Revolution:

1. The Agrarian Revolution during the eighteenth century brought about significant changes in the agricultural process.
2. A vast tract of land was brought under 'enclosure', that is taken over and consolidated into large estates and many of them were converted into sheep farms which required a small number of persons to manage them.
3. Besides, new technology was introduced in the farming which increased agricultural efficiency and deprived a large number of people, their livelihood.

5.3.9 Availability of Cheap Labour:

1. As the Agricultural Revolution went hand in hand with the Industrial Revolution, a large number of small peasants, who lost their land holdings to 'enclosures' and landless labourers, who were no longer required for farm work began to migrate to towns and cities in search of employment and livelihood.
2. Thus, the exodus of peasants from village to towns led to the availability of ready and cheap labour to work in industries.

5.3.10 Views of Historians:

1. **Charles Wilson and Nef:** The end of medieval economy, overseas colonies, development of banking and insurance system and the exodus of peasants led to the Industrial revolution in England.
2. **Lands:** England was superior in technologies. Therefore, domestic demands increased because of better transport, urbanizations, better purchasing power, distribution of wealth and growth of population accelerated the Industrial revolution in England.
3. **Ralph Davies:** British foreign trade and foreign markets had been spread across America, Africa and Asia which led to flourish industrial revolution in England.
4. **Others:** There were combination of demand and supply as per the economic theory maintained in England.

One of the significant reasons why Industrial Revolution took place first in England was that England had a strong Naval power which she maintained for many centuries. This led to have easy access to her colonies in America, Africa and Asia.

5.4 INVENTIONS DURING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

5.4.1. Textile Industry:

1. One of the most important features of the Industrial Revolution was the introduction power driven machinery in the textile industries of England and Scotland.
2. Machines were invented to speed up the spinning and weaving processes in the textile industry.
3. For hundreds of years before the Industrial Revolution, spinning had been done in the home on a simple device called a spinning wheel. It was operated by a single person, powering it with a foot pedal. The spinning wheel produced only one thread at a time. The first spinning machines were crude devices that often broke the fragile threads.
4. In the 1760's, two new machines revolutionized the textile industry. One was the Spinning Jenny, invented by James Hargreaves and the other was the water frame, or throttle, invented by Richard Arkwright.
5. The Spinning Jenny made it possible to turn out eight threads at a time. However, the thread produced by the Spinning Jenny was too soft for weaving and the thread produced by the water-frame was though strong was coarse.
6. This problem was solved by the invention of spinning mule in 1779, by Samuel Crompton. The spinning mule combined the features of both the spinning jenny and the water-frame. The spinning mule was efficient in spinning fine yarn for high quality cloth.
7. During the 1780' and 1790's, larger spinning mules were built. They had metal rollers and several hundred spindles. These machines ended the home spinning industry. Until the early 1800's, almost all weaving was done on handlooms as no one could solve the problem of mechanical weaving.
8. In 1733, John Kay, Lancashire clockmaker, invented the flying shuttle. This machine doubled the speed of weaving.
9. In the mid-1780', an Anglican clergyman named Edmund Cartwright developed a steam powered loom. By this invention, textile production was revolutionized as the speed of weaving was greatly increased.

10. In 1803, John Horrocks, a Lancashire machine manufacturer, built an all-metal loom. With the passage of time further improvements were made in the loom.
11. In the United States, Ely Whitney invented a mechanical device known as the cotton gin in 1792, which could separate cotton seeds from the fibers of the cotton ball.
12. In 1846, Elias Howe invented the sewing machine, which revolutionized the clothing industry.
13. The first textile mills were established in England in the 1740's. By the 1780's, England had 120 mills and by 1835, England had more than 120,000 power-looms.

5.4.2 Coal and Iron Industry:

1. The Industrial Revolution could not have developed without the progress in iron and coal industry. Coal provided the power to drive the steam engines and was needed to extract iron by smelting. Iron was used to replace wood and improve machines and tools and to build bridges and ships.
2. The large deposits of coal and iron ore helped England to become the world's first industrial nation.
3. To make iron, the metal had to be separated from the non-metallic elements in the ore. This separation process is called smelting.
4. For thousands of years before the Industrial Revolution, smelting had been done by placing iron ore in a furnace with burning fuel that lacked enough oxygen to burn completely. Oxygen in the ore combined with the fuel, and the pure melted metal flowed into small moulds called pigs. The pigs were then hammered by hand into sheets.
5. Beginning in the early 1600's, the pigs were rolled into sheets by rolling mills. The most important fuel for smelting was charcoal, made by burning hardwoods.
6. By the early 1700's, England had almost used up its hardwood forests. Charcoal became so expensive that many iron makers in England quit the industry because of the high cost of production.
7. Between 1709 and 1713, Abraham Darby, succeeded in using coke to smelt iron ore. Coke is made by heating coal in an airtight oven. Smelting with coke was much more economical and efficient than smelting with charcoal.
8. However, most iron makers continued to use charcoal as they complained that coke-smelted iron was brittle and could not be worked easily.

9. In about 1750, Darby's son, Abraham Darby II invented the blast furnace, which was worked by leather bellows. This process made coke iron as easy to work as charcoal iron.
10. In 1760, John Smeaton of Scotland invented the pump blower, which replaced the leather bellows.
11. In about 1784, Henry Cort developed the puddling process for the purification of pig iron made with coke. Iron making techniques continued to improve, and iron production increased tremendously in England.
12. In 1856, Henry Bessemer invented a process by which steel could be produced out of iron. Progress in iron and coal industry went on simultaneously.
13. Initially, coal mining was a dangerous task. Many miners lost their lives due to lack of safety in the coal mines. However, mining was made comparatively safe by the invention of the safety lamp by Sir Humphrey Davy in 1816. The safety lamp could give an advance warning to the miners about the presence of poisonous gases in coal mines.

5.4.3. Revolution in Power:

1. Most of the important inventions during the Industrial Revolution required much more power than horses or water wheels could provide.
2. To drive the heavy machines a new, cheap, and efficient source of power was needed and it was found in the steam engine.
3. The first commercial steam engine was invented by Thomas Savery in 1698. It was a steam pump used for pumping out water from coal mines.
4. In 1712, Thomas Newcomen, improved on Savery's steam engine. However, Newcomen's steam engine had serious defects. It wasted much heat and used a great deal of fuel.
5. In 1760's, James Watt of Scotland began working to improve the steam engine. By 1785, he had eliminated many of the defects of earlier engines. Watt's steam engine used heat much more efficiently than Newcomen's engine and used less fuel. The great potential of the steam engine and power-driven machinery could not have been achieved without the development of machine tools to shape metal.
6. In 1775, John Wilkinson invented a boring machine that drilled a more precise hole in metal.
7. Invention of electric power further increased the capacity of the industries to manufacture more goods. The Italian scientist

Alessandro Volta invented the voltaic cell by immersing strips of copper and zinc in weak solution.

8. Andre Marie Ampere, a French physicist demonstrated the relation between electricity and magnetism.
9. This enabled an English scientist, Michael Faraday to invent dynamo to produce electricity.
10. The use of electricity has not only revolutionized industrial production but has also made the lives of people much more comfortable by its domestic use for various purposes

5.4.4. Transport and Communication:

1. The progress of the Industrial Revolution depended on industry's ability to transport raw materials and finished goods over long distances.
2. Until the early 1800's, England had poor roads. Horse-drawn wagons travelled with difficulty, and pack-animals carried goods over long distances. A series of turnpikes was built between 1751 and 1771, which made travel by horse-drawn wagons and stagecoaches easier.
3. During the early 1800's two Scottish engineers, John Macadam and Thomas Telford, made important advances in road construction.
4. John Macadam discovered a method of building sturdy roads with layers of broken stones. Such roads came to be known as Macadamized roads.
5. Telford developed a technique of using large stones for road foundations. These new methods of road building made travel by land faster and smoother.
6. England had many rivers and harbours that could be adapted to carrying goods. Until the early 1800's, waterways provided the only cheap and effective means of transporting coal, iron and other heavy goods.
7. British engineers widened and deepened many streams to make them navigable. They also built canals to link cities and to connect coal fields with rivers. They also built many bridges and lighthouses and deepened harbours.
8. In 1807, the American inventor Robert Fulton built the first commercially successful steamboat called 'Clermont'. Within a few years, steamboats became common on British rivers.
9. By mid-1800's, steam-powered ships were beginning to carry raw materials and finished goods across the Atlantic Ocean.
10. The first rail systems in England carried coal. Horses pulled the freight cars, which moved on iron rails.

11. In 1804, Richard Trevithick built the first steam locomotive.
12. In 1814, George Stephenson built the iron-horse worked by steam to carry coal from mine to the port. He improved the steam engine.
13. By 1830, Stephenson's famous steam locomotive engine named 'Rocket' began to carry goods and passengers on the Liverpool-Manchester Railway in 1830 at a speed of 29 miles per hour.
14. The introduction of telegraph and telephone brought about revolution in the field of communication. The electric telegraph was invented by Wheatstone in England and Samuel Morse (1791- 1872) in the United States of America in around (1832-35).
15. In 1838 he developed the Morse Code. After 1845, telegraphic system was introduced widely.
16. In 1866 an undersea cable was set up in the Atlantic Ocean. By the end of the nineteenth century all the important commercial centres were connected by telegraphic system.
17. Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922) invented telephone in 1876. It was a device which could send voice messages over a distance.

5.5 IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

5.5.1 Economic Impact:

1. The Industrial Revolution had far reaching economic impact. The Industrial Revolution led to the expansion of industry and increase of wealth.
2. Individual investors played an important part in the growth of the Industrial revolution from the beginning. The creators of the newly created surplus wealth were the industrial capitalists who owned the factories.
3. With the progress of the Industrial Revolution, the power and influence of the industrial capitalists also grew.
4. It was the industrial capitalists who were responsible for the expansion of industries. They reinvested their gains in new enterprises rather than distributing the surplus to the general population.
5. The old method of small production in the home with one's own tools could not meet the competition of machine production.
6. Moreover, the cost of machinery was prohibitive to the individual workers. This led to the rise of the factory system. This stimulated the growth of division of labour and of mass production through standardization of processes and parts.
7. The development of multiplied productivity required an ever-larger market for the selling of the product. As domestic markets began to

reach a saturation point, the pressure for imperialistic expansion and spheres of influence in the underdeveloped parts of the world increased.

8. Thus, the need for ready markets for their manufactured goods and cheap raw materials led the industrially advanced nations of Western Europe to conquer the economically backward countries of Asia and Africa.
9. The Industrial Revolution led to international economic dependence. The cotton textile industries of England depended upon a steady supply of raw cotton from the slave-worked plantations of the United States and India.
10. As the population of Europe, especially of England, became more and more engaged in urban industry, they raised less food on their farms and became heavy importers of wheat, meat and other tropical food products. In exchange for food, Europe exported manufactured goods. Thus, the entire world became a market place.

5.5.2 Social Consequences:

1. The social consequences of the Industrial Revolution were noteworthy. With the rise of the factory system came a shifting of population from small agricultural villages to the industrial cities.
2. This led to the emergence of a large urban proletariat class (working class). This class neither owned any property nor had any education. It entirely depended on wage earning for a living. In other words they were not skilled workers.
3. Housing in the growing industrial cities could not keep up with the migration of workers from rural areas.
4. Severe overcrowding resulted in the growth of slums in many of the urban centres. As a result, many people lived in extremely unsanitary conditions that led to the outbreak of diseases.
5. Due to the Industrial Revolution, the factory wages were low. Some employers deliberately kept them low.
6. Many people agreed with the English writer Arthur Young, who wrote: "Everyone but an idiot knows that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious."
7. However, the working and living conditions of the working class began to improve during the 1800's.
8. The British Parliament began to act in the interest of the middle and working classes. It passed laws regulating factory conditions.
9. Women and children were employed in large numbers and were mercilessly exploited. Children of poor parents were farmed out to

factory owners on terms that amounted to slavery. These miserable conditions continued for more than half a century in England.

10. Due to the agitation by reformers, public conscience and government intervention led to a better deal to the workers in general and women and children in particular.
11. The abundant supply of labour in excess of demand and the lack of any independent means of subsistence led to the fear of loss of job among the workers. Mass unemployment became one of the serious social problems arising from the Industrial Revolution.
12. Although the working class did not first share in the prosperity of the Industrial Revolution, members of the middle and upper classes prospered from the beginning. Many people made fortunes during this period.
13. The revolution made available products that provided new comforts and conveniences to those who could afford them.
14. The middle class won political and educational benefits.
15. The Industrial Revolution indirectly helped in increasing England's population. The people of the middle and upper classes enjoyed better diet and lived in more sanitary houses. Thus, they suffered less from disease and lived longer. Later, the material condition of the working class also improved. Due to these improved conditions, the population grew rapidly.
16. Another impact was that women too started working in the factories.

5.5.3. Political Impact:

1. The Industrial Revolution had far reaching impact on the political life in England. The middle class acquired a large measure of political power through the Reform Bill of 1832. This bill redistributed seats in Parliament to grant representation to the new industrial centres and to diminish the representation of the so called 'rotten borough'.
2. It also gave the right to vote to a large new group of the moderately well to do. The middle class was also successful in putting down the agitation of the Chartists, which was essentially an effort to secure for the lower classes the same political rights as has been acquired by the middle class through the Reform Bill of 1832.
3. In France, the position of the middle class was strengthened by the Revolution of 1830, which put Louis Philippe on the throne as a constitutional monarch. The accession of Louis Philippe enabled the French middle class to have an effective control over the government as in England.
4. The new working class created by the Industrial Revolution began to assert itself. Though hampered by poverty, ignorance, and lack of

leadership, the working class gradually developed a feeling of common consciousness and tried to find means to improve their condition by political agitation, trade union movement and cooperative action.

5. With the progress of democracy, chiefly due to the efforts of the middle class, the working classes also gradually grew stronger politically.
6. The working classes were able to make their influence felt directly in elections and plebiscites.
7. The Industrial Revolution led to a new balance of world powers. It became more and more clear that military strength depended on industrialization.
8. The progress of the Industrial Revolution in England, France and Germany was the most powerful factor that contributed to the dominance of Europe by these three nations in the beginning of the twentieth century.
9. The adoption of the Industrial Revolution in the later nineteenth century led to the emergence of Japan as a major industrial and military power in the Far East.
10. The industrial progress of the Northern United States led to its victory over the predominantly agrarian Southern States in the American Civil War (1860-65).

5.5.4. Intellectual and Cultural Results:

1. The social and economic transformation that was brought about by the Industrial Revolution encouraged the growth of the science of economics or political economy.
2. The economic thinking of the nineteenth century was chiefly due to the writings of Adam Smith. In his famous treatise, *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith put forward his views regarding non-interference by government with business. He strongly supported the economic doctrine known as 'laissez faire', (free trade) which appealed strongly to the new capitalists of the Industrial Revolution.
3. A group of classical economists developed and elaborated the ideas of Adam Smith. The important among the classical economists were Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, Nassau Senior, and James Mill.
4. Thomas Malthus formulated the *Principles of Population* (1798), in which he argued that any improvement in the economic condition of the poor would be counter-balanced by an increase in population. According to him, the only alternative to this problem was the limitation of the population by moral restraint.

5. David Ricardo enunciated the famous Iron Law of Wages. According to this law the wages must inevitably tend to an amount just capable of maintaining life, much as the coal fed into a steam engine was just capable of maintaining the fire under the boiler.
6. The Industrial Revolution also stimulated socialist ideas. Robert Owen's experiment at New Lanark, Scotland, was a cooperative community scheme for improving the condition of the workers.
7. In France Saint Simon, Fourier, and Louis Blanc tried to improve the conditions of workers. However, their idealistic schemes were not practical. In spite of this, they created public opinion against the system of laissez faire, which demanded and obtained better working conditions, a higher standard of living, an increased leisure, and a greater freedom for women and children.
8. The Industrial Revolution greatly encouraged scientific investigation. With the manufacturing techniques becoming more complex, experts were required to manage and improve them.
9. The profession of engineering became an integral part of the industrial civilization. With the passage of time laboratory research became an important part of promoting inventions.
10. Applied sciences got additional impetus due to the requirement of new technology. The progress of the Industrial Revolution made available to a large part of the population a variety of material goods.
11. The mass circulation of newspapers, the automobiles, the radios and the motion pictures, have supplied man with a whole new set of interests.
12. The benefits of the Industrial Revolution have gradually led to the secularization of the society.

5.6 SUMMARY

The industrial evolution first took place in England between 1750-1850 and gradually it spread in other parts of the world in general and in Europe in particular. Due to geographical location, political stability, strong naval power, development of science and technology, social flexibility, promotion of trade and colonization, immigration of artisans, availability of natural resources and so on led this revolution to take its roots in England. The industrial revolution led to the changes in manufacturing, mining, transportation, communication and agriculture. It was the transformation from domestic system to factory system; small output to mass production. Many of the complex machines were invented. The industrial revolution had many impacts on Europe in general and England in particular. The inventions in science and its application led to make the life of human being very easy, but it also brought many kinds of problems as well. It had economic, social, political impacts on the human life.

Whatever the impact had been there, the industrial revolution definitely had many positive and less negative impact that is to be concluded.

5.7 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the factors that led to the Industrial Revolution in England.
2. Examine the inventions that took place in the fields of textile, iron and coal, power and transport and communication during the Industrial Revolution.
3. Describe the consequences of the Industrial Revolution.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (i) Causes of the Industrial Revolution.
 - (ii) Revolution in Textile industry
 - (iii) Economic and social impact of the Industrial Revolution

5.8 REFERENCES

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM (UTOPIAN AND MARXISTS)

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Meaning
- 6.3 Origin of the Concept of Socialism
- 6.4 Utopian Socialism
- 6.5 Marxism
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 References

6.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the circumstances that led to the development of socialism.
2. To review the contribution of Utopian Socialists to the progress of socialist ideas.
3. To study the development of scientific socialism or Marxism and its principles.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been many revolutions in the World in general and the continents and the countries in particular. If we talk of continents then we have to make mention of Europe and if we have to talk of any countries then we have to make mention of England, America, France, Russia etc. The revolutions have been the kind of Political Revolutions in which sudden change in the political system of that country is replaced by new one. It may have culminated through Bloodshed or it may be the Bloodless revolution. Apart from these kinds of revolutions, there have been nonpolitical revolutions taken place in the field of human society like science and technology, industry, philosophy, agriculture and so on. This unit is related to the Socialism and its development as an ideology to change the working of the political governments especially in USSR and her allies against the Capitalism kind of ideology of the Western countries. Although, the propagation of this philosophy and ideology credited to Fredrich Angles and Karl Marx but there have been some philosophers who also had certain kind of ideology called as 'Utopian Socialists'. Karl Marx' philosophy talks of the Proletariat Revolution which was the result of Industrial Revolution. Therefore, it is very significant to study how the

idea of socialism has been spread in all over the world wherein some countries it has got success and in some countries it has failed.

6.2 MEANING

The term 'Socialism' is a political and economic theory or system of social organization based on collective or state ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Like capitalism, it takes many and diverse forms. The word 'Socialism' was first used in the early 1830s by the followers of Robert Owen in Britain and those of Saint Simon in France.

6.3 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCILAISM

1. By the mid-nineteenth century the concept of socialism denoted a vast range of reformist and revolutionary ideas in England, Europe, and the United States.
2. All of them emphasized the need to transform capitalist industrial society into a much more egalitarian system in which collective well-being for all became a reality and in which the pursuit of individual self-interest became subordinate to such values as association, community and cooperation.
3. There was thus an explicit emphasis on solidarity, mutual interdependence and the possibility of achieving genuine harmony in society to replace conflict, instability and upheaval.
4. A critique of the social class, basis of capitalism was accompanied by the elevation of the interests of working class or proletariat to a position of supreme importance and in some cases the principle of direct workers' control under socialism was invoked as an alternative to the rule of existing dominant classes and elites.
5. The images of a future classless society were used to symbolize the need for the complete abolition of socio-economic distinctions in the future: an especially important idea in the Marxist tradition.
6. However, socialists rarely agreed on a strategy for achieving these goals, and diversity and conflict between socialist thinkers, movements and parties proliferated, especially in the context of the First and Second International Working Men's Associations (founded respectively in 1864 and 1889).
7. Increasingly, as the nineteenth century developed, socialist aspirations focused on the politics of the nation-state and the harnessing of modern science, technology and industry.
8. Apart from that, alternative visions of a socialist future emphasizing, for example, the potential of small-scale communities and agrarianism rather than full-scale industrialization always coexisted with the mainstream tendency.

9. In addition, doctrines such as anarchism, communism and social democracy drew on the key values of socialism and it was often difficult to separate the various schools and movements from each other.
10. Thus, Marx and Engels regarded themselves as 'Scientific Socialists' as opposed to earlier utopian socialists, but saw socialism in the strict sense of the term to be a transitional phase between capitalism and full economic and social communism.

6.4 UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

The beginning of socialism was a direct outcome of the Industrial Revolution. The changed system of production brought into sharp contrast the distinction between two types of property - productive or capital and commodities for individual use. Many thinkers contrasted the great increase in productivity made possible by the use of machines, with the terrible poverty of the large number of workers. They were convinced that the chief reason for this evil was the private ownership of capital under the old concept of property rights. Thus, socialism demanded the complete control of capital and means of production by society as a whole for the benefit of all. Many different ways were proposed to achieve this goal.

'Utopian socialism' is a term used to define the first currents of modern socialist thought. Although it is technically possible for any person living at any time in history to be a utopian socialist, the term is most often applied to those utopian socialists who lived in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the other branches of socialism overtook the utopian version in terms of intellectual development and number of supporters. Utopian socialists were important in the formation of modern movements for intentional community and cooperatives. Utopian socialists never actually used this name to describe themselves; the term "utopian socialism" was introduced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 'The Communist Manifesto' and used by later socialist thinkers to describe early socialist or quasi-socialist intellectuals who created hypothetical visions of perfect egalitarian and communist societies without actually concerning themselves with the manner in which these societies could be created or sustained. Although the utopian socialists did not share any common political, social, or economic perspectives, Marx and Engels argued that certain intellectual characteristics of the utopian socialists unified the disparate thinkers. In The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote, "The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society even that of the most favored. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see it in the best possible plan of the best possible state of society? Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary, action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor, by small

experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

The contribution of some of the prominent Utopian Socialists is given below:

6.4.1 William Godwin (1756-1836):

William Godwin was an English author and philosopher. His major literary work is 'An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness' (1793). This book discusses the relationship of an individual with the government and the society. Godwin believed that all monarchies were unavoidably corrupt. He felt that no individual should hold power over another. Godwin surveyed the evils of contemporary society, including the extreme inequality of wealth, the wretchedness of the poor and the oppression on the part of the rich. He objected to the accumulation of private property and opposed most of the existing social institutions, including marriage. Godwin's belief that reason could and should rule over our lives reflected the influence of French philosophers of the 1700's.

6.4.2 Saint Simon (1760-1825):

Saint Simon was a French socialist who fought in the American Revolution and was imprisoned during the French Revolution. He advocated an atheist society ruled by technicians and industrialists. Saint Simon is regarded as the founder of socialism in France. His views were formed by a keen observation of the Industrial Revolution and the role of science in human life. He advocated the replacement of traditional ruling classes by elite representing the new economic power. According to him economic problems are more important than political problems. He was of the opinion that the French Revolution had failed because it had neglected the most important questions of wealth. He was in favour of establishing a government controlled by industrialists, bankers and technicians. However, they were to be appointed by the state and be responsible to it. But he did not believe in a classless society.

6.4.3 Robert Owen (1771-1858):

Robert Owen was a British socialist born in Wales. He left school when he was nine years old to work as a cotton spinner. Gradually he became a wealthy textile manufacturer. He became a social reformer and pioneered a cooperative movement. He tried to prove as a businessman that it was good business to think about the welfare of the employees. Owen was part owner and the head of the New Lanark Cotton Mills in Scotland in 1799. By improving working and housing conditions and providing schools he created a model community. His ideas stimulated the cooperative movement by pooling of resources for joint economic benefit. He attracted international attention by showing that workers could be treated well, even generously, without the employer incurring any loss. Owen wrote on the subject of proper social conditions, and tried to interest the British

government in building 'Villages of Cooperation'. He suggested that these villages should be partly agricultural and partly industrial.

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In 1825, Owen implemented his ideas through an experiment by establishing the famous New Harmony Community in Indiana (USA). It was designed as a voluntary and freely self-governing cooperative community. Unfortunately, the experiment was a failure. Owen lost popularity by his anti-religious views. Many of his associates at New Harmony refused to work. After the failure of the New Harmony experiment in 1827, Owen returned to England. Owen retired from business to devote all his time to his social theories. He lived in London. He organized the 'Grand National Consolidated Trades Union' in 1833 in order that the unions might take over industry and run it cooperatively. However, this scheme collapsed in 1834. In 'A New View of Society' (1813), he claimed that personal character is wholly determined by environment. He had earlier abolished child employment, established sickness and old-age insurance and opened educational and recreational facilities at his cotton mills in the north of England.

6.4.4 Charles Fourier (1772-1837):

Fourier was a French socialist. He was a contemporary of Saint Simon and Robert Owen. He wrote a number of books among which the best known was 'The New Industrial World' (1829-30). In this book Fourier criticized the social conditions of his times and held that society could be improved if private property was eliminated. He was of the opinion that society could be improved through an economic and social regrouping of people. Fourier advocated that society should be organized in self-sufficient cooperative units of about 1,500 people each. Such cooperative communities were known as Phalanxes. In such cooperatives, each person would own a share of the property. Fourier believed that all evils and most human miseries arose from the unnatural limitations imposed by the existing economic and social system. He argued that if everyone was allowed to do as he liked he would select an appropriate occupation. This would contribute to a harmonious and happy society. He went to the extent of stating that marriage should be abandoned. Fourier's ideas regarding the cooperative communities could not be put into effect as he could not raise enough money for this experiment.

6.4.5 Louis Blanc (1811-1882):

Louis Blanc was a French socialist and journalist. He was the first to make use of the contemporary political machinery to achieve the ends of socialism. Thus, he represents the transition from 'Utopian Socialism' to 'Proletarian Socialism'. In 1839 he founded the 'Revue du Progrès', in which he published his 'Organisation du Travail', advocating the establishment of cooperative workshops and other socialist schemes. In 1840, Louis Blanc published his famous book titled 'The Organization of Labour'. He also wrote five volumes of the History of Ten Years, criticizing the decade of Louis Philippe's reign and highlighted the political and social evils of his days. The Revolution of 1848 in France

gave an opportunity to Louis Blanc to implement his views. He became a member of the provisional government after the revolution of 1848. He instituted the national workshops. Through these workshops, Louis Blanc hoped to eliminate unemployment and relieve the pressure of competition which kept wages at the poverty level. Louis Blanc was the first socialist to believe that state must be used to set up a new social order. He also saw a close relation between political and social reform. However, these experiments of workshops ended in a failure and Louis Blanc was forced to flee from France to England where he lived in exile till 1871.

6.4.6 Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865):

Proudhon was a French socialist of extreme views. He is also generally referred as the 'Father of Anarchism'. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly of 1848. He was imprisoned for three years for his views, and had to go into exile in Brussels. Proudhon published 'What is Property?' (1840) and 'Philosophy of Poverty' (1846). According to Proudhon, 'all property is theft'. It became one of the most famous revolutionary phrases of the nineteenth century. Proudhon asserted that property was a cancer at the heart of the society, not a natural right. In its place there should be complete equality of reward. However, property was the basis of his system which led him to reject the state and all forms of collectivism.

Like Karl Marx, he demanded an economic reorganization of society. He drew a sharp distinction between economic and political action. Proudhon was the founder of French anarchism. He was opposed to traditional forms of government. In his opinion, centralized government was a tyranny which must be broken by the workers and the middle class by organizing syndicates which they would control and manage. The syndicates would be the basis of a new society in which people would rule themselves in a system of nongovernment or anarchism. Thus, Proudhon preached a doctrine of federation in which society would consist of small communities running their own affairs with little or no central administration. According to Proudhon, with the abolition of property and government, men would be free to develop the best part of their nature. The Utopian Socialists differed widely in their background and in their interests. However, they had certain common basis of agreement. Most of the Utopian Socialists drew inspiration from various sources such as the early Christians and the later humanists and rationalists. Their views were shaped by the socioeconomic environment of their respective societies. They tried to persuade those in political and economic power to support their plans. Their moderate and reformist outlook distinguished them from the Marxists and led to their classification as Utopians. The Utopian Socialism failed to achieve the desired results due to a number of reasons. The Utopian Socialists failed to understand the moving forces in society through ages. The people who enjoyed power and wealth were not ready to surrender their privileges. They also lacked historical perspective. Though the views of the Utopians Socialists were ideal, they were not practical. As a result, most of the experiments of the Utopian Socialists ended in a failure.

6.5 MARXISM

6.5.1 Karl Marx (1818-1883):

Karl Marx is regarded as the founder of the most powerful movement in the history of the world - Scientific Socialism also known as Communism. Karl Marx made a close study of the industrial society and formulated certain conclusions, which constitute the chief principles of Marxism. The basic ideas of Karl Marx were first expressed in the Communist Manifesto (1848), which he wrote with Friedrich Engels, a German economist. Marx believed that the only way to ensure a happy and harmonious society was to put the workers in control. This idea was shaped into the principle of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat. His ideas were partly a reaction to hardships suffered during the 1800's by workers in France, Germany and England. Most factory and mine workers were poorly paid, and they had to work long hours under unhealthy conditions.

Marxism had great influence on the history of the world. It inspired the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917) under the leadership of Lenin. Russia became the first country in the world to implement Marxism as interpreted and modified by Lenin, which came to be known as Marxism-Leninism. Karl Marx was born on 5 May 1818, at Trier in the German Rhineland, to middle class Jewish parents. His father was a practicing lawyer. When Karl Marx was six years old, his family was converted to Protestant Christianity. However, during the latter part of his life Marx gave up religion altogether. Right from the beginning, Karl Marx manifested his intellectual ability. After initial school education he joined the University of Bonn in 1835 to study law. The next year, he was transferred to the University of Berlin. There he became more interested in philosophy.

Marx came under the influence of Hegel, the most popular philosopher in Berlin at that time. He also came in contact with Ludwig, who was of the opinion that religion and all products of the human mind were derived from man's material conditions. Marx was greatly inspired by this idea, which he used in his ideology. Karl Marx acquired his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Jena in 1841. He did not succeed in getting a teaching job due to his opposition to the Prussian Government. He became a freelance journalist and helped in creating and managing a number of radical journals. After his marriage in 1843, he and his wife moved to Paris. Here, Marx met working class socialists such as Proudhon and Michael Bakunin for the first time. He also came in contact with a young German radical, Friedrich Engels, who in 1844 came from Manchester with the material for his book 'The Economic Condition of the Working Classes'. He became the best friend of Marx and collaborated with him on several articles and books. The time spent in Paris was a formative period in Marx's life. When he left the city in 1845, he was a dedicated socialist interested in economics and the nature of history. It was in Paris that he reached his interpretation of history which saw economic factors as the cause of all historical change.

From 1845 to 1848, Marx lived in Brussels, Belgium. Thereafter he returned to Germany. He edited the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was published from Cologne during the German Revolution of 1848. Through this journal Marx became a well-known figure throughout Germany as the supporter of radical democratic reforms. After the collapse of the 1848 revolution, Marx fled from Prussia and spent the rest of his life as a political exile in London. In London, Karl Marx did not have a regular job for livelihood. He was too proud or too much a professional revolutionary to work for a living. However, he wrote occasional articles for newspapers. He worked as a protocol reporter for the *New York Tribune*. Marx, his wife and their six children were financially supported by Engels, who sent them money regularly. In 1864, Marx founded The International Workingmen's Association. This association aimed at improving the life of the working classes and preparing for a socialist revolution.

6.5.2 Writings of Karl Marx:

1. Philosophic Essays:

Karl Marx wrote a number of 'Philosophic Essays' between 1842 and 1847. Some of them were published during his lifetime, but others were not discovered until the 1900's. While he wrote some of them alone, some were written in collaboration with Engels. The essays of Marx were of varied length, ranging from about fifteen sentences to a 700-page book. He wrote 'The German Ideology' (1845-1846) along with Engels. The essays of Karl Marx show the philosophic foundations of his radical views. The main themes in his essays include his strong view that economic forces were increasingly oppressing human beings and his belief that political action is a necessary part of philosophy. The essays also show the influence of Hegelian philosophy of history. Hegel argued that in order to understand any aspect of human culture, we must retrace and understand its history.

Thus, Hegel developed a theory of history that came to be known as his dialectic. Hegel believed that all historical developments have three basic characteristics. First, they follow a course that is necessary. Second, each historical development represents not only change but progress. Third, one phase of any historical development tends to be confronted and replaced by its opposite. This, opposite, in turn, tends to be replaced by a phase that is somewhat a resolution of the two opposed phases. These three phases of a typical dialectical development have often been called thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis.

2. The Communist Manifesto (1848):

'The Communist Manifesto' is one of the important works of Karl Marx written along with Friedrich Engels. The German title of the Communist Manifesto is 'Manifest Der Kommunistischen Partei' (Manifesto of the Communist Party), a pamphlet written jointly by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to serve as the platform of the Communist League on the eve of the German Revolution of 1848. The Communist Manifesto became one of the principal guidelines for the European socialist and communist parties

in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Communist Manifesto opens with the dramatic words 'A spectre is haunting Europe' is the spectre of communism and ends by stating, 'The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains'. They have a world to win. 'Workingmen of all countries, Unite'. The Communist Manifesto is a brief but forceful presentation of the authors' political and historical theories. The Manifesto embodied the authors' materialistic conception of history, i.e., the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. It surveyed the history from the age of feudalism down to nineteenth century capitalism. Marx and Engels believed that the capitalist class would be overthrown and replaced by a workers' society. The communists, the vanguard of the working class, constituted the section of society that would accomplish the 'abolition of private property' and raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class. The result of this revolution, according to Marx and Engels, will be a classless society in which the chief means of production are owned by the society.

3. The 'Das Kapital' (Capital):

The 'Das Kapital' is the major work of Karl Marx. The Das Kapital, in three volumes, was published in 1867, 1885 and 1894. Marx spent about thirty years writing it. Engels edited the second and third volumes from the original manuscripts of Marx. Both of these volumes were published after the death of Marx. The fourth volume exists only as a mass of scattered notes. In the Das Kapital, Karl Marx put forward his theory of the capitalist system, its dynamism and its tendencies toward self-destruction. He described his purpose as to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society. Much of the Das Kapital deals with Marx's concept of the 'Surplus Value' of labour and its consequences for capitalism. In Marx's mind, it was not the pressure of population that drove wages to the subsistence level but rather the existence of a large number of unemployed. Marx held the capitalists responsible for this evil. He was of the opinion that under the capitalistic system, labour was merely a commodity and could get only its subsistence. The capitalist could force the worker to spend more time on his job than was necessary to earn his subsistence. The excess product, or surplus value, thus created, was taken by the capitalist. As a result, Marx saw the accumulation of riches being accompanied by the rapid spread of human misery. Karl Marx also wrote about the practical problems of leading an international revolutionary movement. These writings are in the form of correspondence with Engels and his other friends.

6.5.3 Theories of Karl Marx (Marxism):

1. Dialectical or Historical Materialism:

The doctrine of Karl Marx is sometimes called dialectical materialism, and part of it is referred as historical materialism. Marx adopted these terms from Hegel's philosophy of history. Though Marx did not use these terms, Engels and most of later Marxists used them. Materialism is a philosophical position that states that everything is material, or a state of

matter. The word comes from the Latin *Materia*, meaning matter. Dialectics can be understood as the theory of the union of the opposites. It consists of a thesis, an antithesis and a synthesis. The synthesis combines what is true of both thesis and anti-thesis. It brings one closer to reality. The synthesis then becomes a thesis and thus, the process goes on until one reaches the absolute, after which there will be no anti-thesis. Hegel had based his dialectic on Plato's concept that ideas alone possess reality. Ideas are the totality of thoughts and experiences. Hegel was of the opinion that the task of philosophy was to arrive at an understanding of what had happened in the past. However, Marx differed from Hegel and emphasized that the function of philosophy was not to interpret the world but to change it.

Marx rejected the idealist philosophy of Hegel and retained his dialectical method. According to Hegel mind was real and matter was the reflection of mind. Whereas Marx held that matter was real and mind was the reflection of matter. After formulating his idea about materialism, Marx put forward the concept of historical materialism and applied it to the particular field of human relations in the society. According to Marx, production and exchange govern all human relations. Two factors enter into production - (i) Productive forces, i.e., men, their labour, practical skill and their instruments. (ii) Productive relations between men and relations between men and things.

2. The Materialistic Interpretation of History:

Karl Marx maintained that in primitive society productive relations were based on cooperation. But at an early stage in history, few members of the society acquired control over the productive forces, which enabled them to live by the labours of majority. Subsequently productive relations were between these two opposing classes. Thus, the historical process had been the history of the class struggle.

Marx believed that the productive conditions taken as a whole form the economic structure of the society, the material basis on which the super-structure of laws and political institutions are based. The economic structure is the sub-structure, provides the real basis for the superstructure. The constituents of the super-structure reflect the interests of the dominant class. In the course of history, a point is reached when, because of some new invention or discovery, the productive forces come into conflict with the existing productive relations. This conflict leads to the social revolution. The revolt in the sub-structure will gradually or violently result in the subversion of the super-structure.

Throughout history, Marx distinguished five economic forms of production, i.e., primitive, slavery, feudal, capitalist and socialist. Under the primitive stage the means of production were socially owned. As there was no private ownership there was no exploitation of one class by another. In the second stage, slavery, private ownership came to be recognized in land and cattle. The slaves lost personal freedom and a slave-owning society came into being. At the third stage, feudalism, new

productive forces emerged and demanded some skill and initiative from the workers. The slaves became serfs exploited by the feudal lords. In the fourth stage, capitalism, the means of production have been owned by the capitalists. The workers enjoyed personal freedom but had no control over the means of production. They were forced to sell their labour to the capitalists at a price dictated by them. In the last socialist stage, there would be social ownership of the means of production and this would finally put an end to exploitation.

Thus, according to Marx, change in the productive forces always had been the real cause of revolutions. Every great movement in history, in the final analysis is the outcome of an economic cause.

3. Theory of Class Struggle:

Karl Marx propounded his theory of class struggle in The Communist Manifesto when he stated: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle". He was of the opinion that in society the most constant factor is the presence of opposing economic groups or classes with conflicting economic interests. He believed that there has been a strain in all societies because the social organization never kept pace with the development of the means of production. As the productive forces develop, man's economic relations are changed. The differing methods of acquiring the means of existence divide mankind into separate groups and create within each group a separate group consciousness. The group consciousness leads to class struggle between the two mutually hostile classes - the exploiters and the exploited. 'The haves' and 'Have nots'. Since the breakup of the primitive tribal community organizations, the historical process has been largely the history of class struggle.

According to Marx, the entire history is a struggle between the ruling and working classes. Past societies tried to keep the exploited class under control by using elaborate political organizations, laws, customs, traditions, ideologies, religions and rituals. Marx argued that personality, beliefs, and activities are influenced by these institutions. Marx was of the opinion that private ownership of the chief means of production was the core of the class system. For the people to be truly free, Marx believed that, the means of production must be publicly owned by the community as a whole.

4. Theory of Surplus Value:

The Marxian theory of surplus value is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism. Marx believed that labour was the only factor responsible for producing value. Thus, labour is the only legitimate source of all value. Since the Industrial Revolution, the capitalists are in control of practically all the means of production. They create and control competitive conditions for labour and do not pay the labourer all that the labourer is entitled to, in return for the value created by his labour. The labourer produces more value than he is paid for by the capitalists. The capitalist thinks that the surplus is his profit. Industrial competition makes the capitalist reduce the wages of the labourer to the minimum just enough for

his subsistence. His subsistence minimum is only a fraction of the value created by him. Gradually, this fraction becomes smaller and smaller with the extension of machinery.

Under the industrial set up, the labourer only owns his skill to work which he sells to the capitalist and receives wages in return. However, the wages received by the labourer are very much lower than the value of the labour. The amount of surplus value appropriated by the capitalist may be calculated as follows. Suppose a labourer works ten hours a day and only six hours work is needed for his subsistence wage. The surplus value, in this case, appropriated by the capitalist is equal to four hours work of the labourer. In order to solve this problem, Marx advocated the abolition of the capitalist society and nationalization or socialization of all means of production, distribution and exchange.

5. Destruction of Capitalism:

Marx visualized the final destruction of capitalism because of the inherent weaknesses of such a system. According to him, the capitalist can control the wages of the labourer more successfully in large-scale industrial units than in small ones. This leads to large scale profit to the capitalist. Thus, there is a greater tendency on the part of the capitalist to establish monopoly control and bring about industrial combines and industrial consolidation. This leads to gradual concentration of capital and industry in the hands of fewer and fewer people. As a result, the number of capitalists would decrease and the number of ill-paid workers would increase. The rich would become richer and the poor, poorer. With the widening of the gap between the few rich and majority of the poor due to the exploitative tendency of the capitalists, would increase the misery and sufferings of the working class. The relations between the capitalists and working class would deteriorate and the workers would organize themselves against the capitalists and fight for their rights. Thus, the revolution of the working class against the capitalists would destroy the capitalism.

6. Dictatorship of the Proletariat:

According to Marx, there is a deep-rooted economic antagonism between the capitalists and the proletariat (workers). He foresaw the intensification of the conflict between the two classes carried out on a worldwide scale. Marx strongly believed in the inevitability of this class-struggle and the ultimate victory of the proletariat. However, he did not want to leave this development to the forces of economic evolution. Marx wanted that this revolution should be carried on through organization and energetic action on the part of the working class. He wanted the workers to organize a socialist political party to bring about the change. He believed that the International Working men's Association started in 1864 would create unity among workers and promote proletarian revolution. This would result in the economic and political domination by the workers. Marx believed that the workers would reorganize their resources. By a political and social revolution, they would take over the political and economic

control of the world leading to the nationalization of the means of production and distribution. The capture of political power was necessary for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society. This transformation from a capitalist to a communist and classless society must involve a period of transition of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat which was necessary result of class struggle. Thus, dictatorship of the proletariat is but a transition to the abolition of all classes.

7. Withering Away of the State:

Marx had his own views regarding the origin and nature of the state. It has been generally accepted that the state exists or should exist to promote the welfare of its citizens. However, Marx denied this. According to him the state is an instrument in the hands of the economically dominant class to establish its rule. The state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another. Marx argued that with the disappearance of the classes and the emergence of classless society the need for the state will also disappear and the state will 'wither away'. Marx further asserted that the withering away of the state will be followed by the emergence of a communist society, free from exploitation and class war. The dictatorship of the proletariat would not be the end or final state of social evolution. It would be only a means to an end, i.e., the withering away of the state. After establishing their political control over the state machinery, the proletariat would destroy the capitalists and the bourgeoisie and convert the means of production, distribution and exchange into state property. When the division of society into classes would be abolished and the conflict between the exploiters and the exploited would come to an end, there would be no longer any need for the state to survive as an instrument of coercion. Thus, the state withers away and the age of equality and cooperation would replace the age of inequality and struggle.

8. Theory of Revolution:

Marx was of the opinion that the communist revolution would develop in two phases. In the first phase the bourgeoisie would bring about a revolution against the feudal lords and capture political power. Under these circumstances the proletariat should extend their support to the bourgeoisie in bringing about the revolution. With the success of this phase of the revolution, the bourgeoisie would turn against the proletariat and use the state machinery to exploit them. This would prepare the ground for the second phase of revolution. The proletariat would align itself with the left-wing bourgeoisie elements to bring about the second phase of revolution. After achieving success, the proletariat would discard the left-wing bourgeoisie elements and establish full control over the government machinery.

9. Religion, Opium of the People:

Marx believed that the private property came along with private family. However, with the establishment of a classless society both would disappear. Marriages would be based on the basis of mutual affection, rather than on the basis of moral, religious or economic consideration.

With the disappearance of the family, religion will also disappear. Marx considered 'Religion as Opium of the people and an Ally of Capitalism'. Marxism emphasizes only material aspects and does not accept religious and spiritual values. Though Marxism had great influence on the history of human thought, it had certain inherent defects. History cannot be interpreted purely on economic terms. Though economic forces do play an important role, there are other factors such as religion, science, ethics etc. through which history can be interpreted. The theory of class struggle is based essentially on the supposition that modern society is sharply divided into two classes only, i.e., the capitalists and the proletariat. However, there are increasing differences among the capitalists and the working classes.

Besides, the theory of class conflict promotes fanaticism and hatred between different classes. The class war would prove to be a disaster to humanity. Marxism's antagonism to religion cannot be justified. In fact, among the radical communists, Marxism itself became an article of faith. In certain respect Marxism is abstract. Lenin, after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917) found that the implementation of Marxism in its original form was impractical. He modified the doctrine to suit the Russian conditions in the form of the New Economic Policy, which led to the new Communist Doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Similarly, Mao Tse Tung had to modify Marxism to suit Chinese environment. The failure of the communist experiment in Soviet Russia and other East European countries during the 1990's proved either the unsuitability or the failure of Marxism in the modern age. Complete abolition of private property is not possible or desirable. Human beings by nature are individualistic. Lack of incentive would not induce them to put in their best efforts in any task that is assigned to them. Marxism does not hold out any 'positive freedom' for workers.

6.6 SUMMARY

The ideology of socialism existed in the world propounded by the philosophers prior to Karl Marx and they were known as the 'Utopian Socialists'. But they did not coin the term in the overall practical system to be followed by the then existing governments. The Philosophers like Robert Owen, Saint Simon and many others were the people who tried to write about the workers and their conditions in the industrial England.

Karl Marx from Germany was the philosopher who popularized and tried to materialize the theory of 'Scientific Socialism' through his Philosophical Essay, Communist Manifest and Das Kapital, the writings that propounded the kind of practical ideas of Socialism. Marx's interpretation of history as an 'all history is an economic history' was much popularized. Through his theory of class struggle of the 'Haves and Haves Not', he indirectly and some time directly appealed to the masses who are underpaid due to capitalism. After all his ideology was the result of Industrial Revolution and hence he appealed the Workers that is 'Proletariat' of the world to unite against the Capitalists that they were not sharing the 'Surplus Value' of their labour to them. Even today, each and

every person having the ideology of Marx in one or many that they rise against the exploiters. Only thing in the Marx's idea of 'Revolution' that it is based on the 'Bloodshed' wherever required which does not lead the peaceful and cohesive solutions to the human society.

6.7 QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Utopian Socialists? Examine their contribution to socialism.
2. Account for the emergence of the Utopian socialists and point out their views on socialism.
3. Examine the contribution of Karl Marx to the rise of scientific socialism (Communism).
4. Analyze the chief principles of Marxism.
5. Write short notes on the following:
(i) Robert Owen (ii) Proudhon (iii) Karl Marx

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UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Effects of Napoleon's Conquest on German States
- 7.3 The revolutions of 1848
- 7.4 The Zollverein or Customs Union
- 7.5 Bismarck's Policy of Blood and Iron
- 7.6 War with Denmark 1864
- 7.7 Austro - Prussian War 1866 (Seven week war)
- 7.8 The Franco Prussian War 1870-71
- 7.9 Unification of Italy
- 7.10 Events in Piedmont
- 7.11 Risorgimento
- 7.12 Joseph Mazzini
- 7.13 Cavour's diplomacy
- 7.14 Crimean War (1853-56)
- 7.15 War against Austria 1859
- 7.16 Garibaldi
- 7.17 Victor Emmanuel completes the unification
- 7.18 Summary
- 7.19 Questions
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7.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To know the background of unification of Germany and Italy
- 2) To study the events leading to the unification of Germany and Italy
- 3) To understand the role of Bismarck in unification of Germany
- 4) To know the role of Cavour in unification of Italy

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Germany and Italy were not united as nation in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These nationalities were divided into many petty states, each under a despot. Most of the kings were controlled by Austria. Metternich, the Austrian chancellor mercilessly crushed all attempts at liberalism and reform. Besides Austria, England and Denmark had some impact on German states. The German Diet (Parliament) was a body which consisted representatives from all states. The rulers preferred to

maintain status-quo. The rulers of Italian and German states did not bother about the unification. The German patriots tried for the unity, but could not succeed. Prussia was the strongest of the states and nationalists hoped that she would take the reins of unification movement.

7.2 EFFECTS OF NAPOLEON'S CONQUEST ON GERMAN AND ITALIAN STATES

Napoleon's administrative unity, encouraged the forces of nationalism and unity. He eliminated feudalism and serfdom. However, Napoleon's defeat crushed all hopes of patriots. The Peace Settlement at Vienna, turned Germany into a loose confederation of thirty-nine states. The University of Jena served as the center of radical thought among the Germans. Austria protested that the university encouraged revolutionary tendencies. In spite of it, the students formed secret societies. To put down the youth, Austria passed the Carlsbad Decrees in 1819. Committees were appointed to control student and teacher activities. The press was censored. Suspicious persons were taken into custody.

7.3 THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Growing displeasure with the political and social order imposed by the Congress of Vienna led to the outbreak in 1848 of the March Revolution in the German states. The revolutions of 1848 in the German states were primarily part of the Revolutions of 1848 that broke out in many European countries. They were a series of loosely coordinated political clashes and uprisings in the states of the German Confederation, including the Austrian Empire. The revolutions, which aimed German unity, demonstrated popular discontent with the traditional, largely autocratic political structure of the 39 independent states of the Confederation that inherited the German territory of the former Holy Roman Empire.

Frankfurt Parliament 1848-49:

A national assembly was summoned at Frankfurt on May 18, 1848, as a result of the liberal revolution that swept the German states early in 1848. The parliament was called by a introductory assembly of German liberals in 1848, and its members were elected by direct manhood suffrage. They represented the entire political spectrum and included the notable German figures of the time. The president of this parliament was Heinrich von Gaggers. Its purpose was to plan political unification of Germany. The constitution drafted by the Frankfurt Parliament influenced the North German Confederation in 1866.

7.4 THE ZOLLVEREIN OR CUSTOMS UNION

Different German states had different regulations for trade. Tax collection posts were set up at borders and interstate trade was taxable. This arrangement was detrimental to trade. Prussia provided leadership in bringing economic unification of German states. Prussia was linked to foreign countries for trade and commercial activities. These developments

brought in prosperity. It gave rise to a new traders and capitalist class, which wanted to widen markets. This could become possible only by a strong and stable government. This new economic class was ready to strengthen the governing class. There was also a great intellectual awakening, which aroused a wave of nationalism and patriotism. People realized that a strong army was needed to defeat Austria. In this task the king got help from Otto Von Bismarck, the foremost leader of the German unification.

7.5 BISMARCK'S POLICY OF BLOOD AND IRON

Bismarck made use of experience and diplomacy in political moves. A majority of the members of the Parliament were Liberals who favored democratic republic. They opposed the king and despotism, when king tried to increase his military strength. Bismarck supported the king wholeheartedly and assured him that he would put the king's plan into action. The king supported all moves of Bismarck in the process of unification. He offered Prussian help to Russia in 1863 at the Polish revolt and earned the Czar's appreciation and assurance of neutrality in case of a conflict between Austria and Prussia, in future. He then built up the army, ignoring the opposition. He set about to achieve the aim of achieving German unification. It could not be achieved without the elimination of Austria. But before challenging mighty Austria's he fought a war with Denmark.

7.6 WAR WITH DENMARK 1864

Bismarck fought a war with Denmark for two motives. He wanted to test might of Prussian military. Secondly, he wanted to find an opportunity to wage war against Austria, in the provinces of Schelswig and Holstein. Both provinces were German, but were governed by the ruler of Denmark. People of Holstein were German descendants, but in Schelswig there were many Danes. According to the treaty signed in 1852, the provinces could not be annexed by Denmark. In spite of it, the Danish king declared the annexation of Schelswig province. At the same time Austria took Holstein. Bismarck declared war on Denmark. The Danes were defeated. Prussia captured Schelswig. Next Bismarck made preparation for the war with Austria.

7.7 AUSTRO - PRUSSIAN WAR 1866 (SEVEN WEEKS WAR)

Many of Prussia's rival states had joined Austria and been defeated, and the Empire then turned its attentions away from Germany in order to restore some of its severely battered prestige. The ethnic tensions that this move created also became one of the responsible cause of the World War-I. Following are the causes of Seven weeks war.

- 1) The Zollverein proved beneficial. Austria desired to join it, but Bismarck refused to let Austria in it.

- 2) The ruler of a German state Hessel gave a new Constitution, but people opposed because it was not liberal. Austria supported the people, while Bismarck sided with the ruler of Hessel.
- 3) Diplomacy of Bismarck brought the war. He wanted to isolate Austria diplomatically and, built an opposition against it. England favoured Prussia's free trade and despised Austria's reactionary policies. Bismarck sought the Czar's admiration by helping him in Polish revolt. Napoleon III the king of France wanted a war between Austria and Prussia, so that both countries would become weak and he would get a chance to extend his empire. Bismarck secured his neutrality. Then he made an agreement with Italy and promised to support Italians capture Venetia in return of military aid to Prussia. Thus Bismarck diplomatically isolated Austria.
- 4) The immediate cause of the war was provided by the dutchy of Holstein which was under Austria. Bismarck alleged that Austria did not govern the area properly. The Germans in dutchy had to be protected and so Bismarck declared war on Austria.

The war lasted for seven weeks. Some provinces helped Austria, but no European state came to her help. Italian participation divided Austria's forces into two. Prussia defeated the provinces, and annexed North Germany. Moltke then moved further. The main battle was fought at Sadova on July 3, 1866. Austria fought valiantly, but finally lost the battle. She lost nearly 40,000 soldiers in the campaign. In France, Napoleon III was criticized for not helping Austria. A strong and powerful Prussia was created after the war.

The Treaty of Prague:

It was the master diplomacy of Bismarck. He kept the terms lenient, or else France was likely to intervene. Following were the terms of the treaty.

1. Confederation of German states was abolished; thus ending Austria's influence in Germany.
2. Austria had to pay war indemnity.
3. Austria had to cede Venetia to Italy and Holstein to Prussia.
4. Prussia annexed German provinces which helped Austria and combined them into a union.
5. Other states were kept independent.

Out of the treaty the North German Confederation was created. Prussian king became its President. Accordingly half of the unification process was done. The war was highly beneficial to Prussia. Her international prestige increased. Her military supremacy was acknowledged in Europe.

7.8 THE FRANCO PRUSSIAN WAR 1870-71

France was ruled at this point by Napoleon III nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, who did not have his uncle's brilliance or military skill.

Bismarck was able to provoke Napoleon into declaring war on Prussia, and this seemingly aggressive move on France's part kept the other European powers including Britain far from joining her side. The war was devastating for the French. The large and well trained German armies won many victories most notably at Sedan in September 1870, a defeat which persuaded Napoleon to quit and live out the last dejected year of his life in exile in England. The war did not end there nevertheless, and the French fought on without their Emperor. A war with France was essential for the unification of Germany.

Causes of the war:

- 1) Bismarck's diplomacy worked once again. He got English neutrality in war against France. Bismarck persuaded Russia and Italy to remain neutral during the war. Napoleon III was unsuccessful in his Mexican campaign of 1864. He had lost his prestige and wanted to revive it by a war against Prussia.
- 2) Napoleon III was ambitious. Bismarck had promised him some territory during Austro Prussian war. But Bismarck did not keep his word. The French wanted war to settle the dispute.
- 3) The immediate cause was given by Spain. Both countries interfered in the Spanish succession issue. In both countries there was public hatred against each other. Finally war was declared in July 1870. During the war the 16 states helped Prussia.

The army invaded France. Prussia won many battles and gained large areas in France. The main battle at Sedan was commanded by Napoleon III. He was defeated and forced to surrender. The people in Paris continued to fight for four months. Then they surrendered to Prussia.

Reasons for the defeat of France:

- 1) The French were over-confident and felt that they would have little difficulty defeating Prussia. Usually she was regarded as Europe's strongest military power.
- 2) The French counted on the technical superiority of their chassepot rifles but this advantage was cancelled by Prussian superiority in artillery.
- 3) The speed of the Prussian mobilization organized brilliantly by von Moltke caught the French by surprise.
- 4) The catastrophic defeat at Sedan was as much a psychological defeat as a military one. Napoleon III was captured and a French army was completely defeated. French morale never recovered.
- 5) France was diplomatically isolated.

The treaty of Frankfurt was signed according to which France had to surrender the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. France agreed to pay a huge war indemnity. A part of German army had to occupy France till

the money was paid. France was declared a republic. The Southern German States joined Prussia during the war. A compromise was made and the states agreed to join the German union. Before the end of the Franco - Prussian war the task of German unification was completed on January 18, 1871. A German empire came into being. The King of Prussia was declared the king of Germany. The federal government was announced. Berlin was made the capital. It was the shrewd diplomacy of Bismarck which brought about the unification of Germany.

7.9 UNIFICATION OF ITALY

A new era began, when Napoleon Bonaparte conquered the kingdoms of Austrian and French princes. He even annexed the Papal State. He brought together the city states. Napoleon provided Italy a uniform system of administration. The Italians were influenced by the French ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. They were introduced to concepts like self-government and freedom of press. This intensified their sense of patriotism. After Napoleon's defeat, the Congress of Vienna was called in 1815, to reorganize the map of Europe. The national sentiments of Italians were ignored and 'status quo' was maintained. Italy was once again divided into petty states as she was before the annexation by Napoleon. Austrian and French kings captured Italian states again.

7.10 EVENTS IN PIEDMONT

The patriots of Italy founded and joined secret societies, to revolt against despotic kings. Their aim was unity. The most well-known secret society was the Carbonari or charcoal burners. Its origin was in Naples. All discontented elements joined, it. They wanted to expel foreigners from Italy. The revolutionary society Carbonari led a revolt in Naples in 1820 against the king Ferdinand I. People asked for a liberal constitution. The king agreed, but then secretly asked help from Austria. The Austrian army arrived and suppressed the revolt. While one revolt was put down, another arose in Piedmont. The king of Piedmont abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Charles Albert. Again Austria intervened and suppressed the revolt. The French revolution of 1830 influenced Italian states. There were revolts in Modena, Papal state and Parma, but Austria crushed all the uprisings. This convinced the patriots a lesson - that the common enemy in all states was Austria. It was therefore necessary to get rid off Austrian influence and suppression.

7.11 RISORGIMENTO (RISING AGAIN)

There were many revolts in Italy against the prevailing conditions and thousands of persons were sent to prisons or in exile. Italy was geographical expression part of Italy was under the rule of Prussia, part of Italy was under the rule of Austria and part of Italy was under the control of Pope or papal states. The movement was to expell all the foreign powers from Italy and create one Italian Nation. A strong nation as it was in the past. They inspired the movement of thought and feeling which

became so important in Italian history that they were given the title of II Risorgimento, the revival or resurrection. The Risorgimento movement was based on the ideal of a free and united Italy. It got strength from the Romantic Movement. It reminded the Italians of their prominence in the past. Politically, the revival was patriotic and national. It was a protest against Austrian dominance and a demand for unity. It was liberal and democratic. There was a demand for parliamentary form of government, freedom of press and expression, reduction of powers of the church, and the establishment of a republic. It presented the desires of the middle classes of Italy to develop themselves economically. It was linked up with the growth of scientific knowledge. Such a broad movement could not be assimilated in one single programme. The vision and efforts of persons like Mazzini came within its scope.

7.12 JOSEPH MAZZINI

He was one of the leaders of Italian unification. Mazzini was born in 1805 in Genoa. His father was a professor at the University of Genoa. In his young days Mazzini became member of the Carbonari. He vigorously participated in the revolt of 1830, for which he was exiled. After his release in 1831, he founded a Society called “Young Italy”. His aim was to organize the youth to the national movement. He had immense faith in youth power. He urged the young men to speak to artisans, labour, workers and farmers, and make them aware of their rights. He wanted to make Italy a nation. He lost his devotion to Carbonari way of action, which led to weak revolts. He aimed at a strong national action. His nationalistic propaganda broadened the political horizon of the Italians. The other schools of thought were - Federalists who believed that Pope should take the leadership.

7.13 CAVOUR’S DIPLOMACY- CRIMEAN WAR (1853-56)

An innovative agriculturalist and civil servant in Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia), Cavour (1810-1861) played a central role in the unification of Italy.

7.14 CRIMEAN WAR (1853-56)

The allied powers of Britain and France asked Piedmont Kingdom to enter the Crimean war, partially to encourage Austria to enter, which it would not do unless it was certain that Piedmont’s troops were not available to attack Austrian positions in Italy. Cavour, who hoped that the allies would support Piedmont's initiative of unification Italy, agreed as soon as his colleagues' support would allow and entered the war on 10 January 1855. Cavour understood the most powerful nation in northern Italy in the mid-19th century was Austria, who possessed the large and rich territory of Lombardy. Knowing Piedmont-Sardinia could not defeat the Austrians by themselves, Cavour tried to position Sardinia in a politically advantageous position by entering the Crimean War on the side of France, England, and

the Ottoman Empire in the mid-1850s. Meanwhile, Cavour continued to strengthen Piedmont-Sardinia and its territories from within, building railroads and improving the military

Cavour grasped the condition of his success cleverly. Piedmont needed strong allies, to match Austria. He decided to strive for alliance with France. The French King Napoleon III was a member of Carbonari earlier and was supposed to be sympathetic toward Italian states. He took a diplomatic step in 1855 by aiding England and France in the Crimean war. He had no enmity with Russia, but he wanted to take some interest in international politics. When Italian troops raised complaints about the war, he said “out of this mud of Crimea, a new Italy will be made”. After the war, Cavour was called to the Paris Peace Conference. He attended it and put forward the problems of Italian states. Napoleon III agreed to help Italy. He met Cavour and discussed the details. He assured to help Piedmont to drive Austria from Lombardy and Venetia. In return France would get provinces Savoy and Nice. France would continue to hold Naples.

7.15 WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA 1859

After striking coalition with Napoleon III's France, Piedmont-Sardinia provoked Austria to declare war in 1859. To antagonize Austria, Cavour deployed troops along the border of Lombardy. Austria asked Piedmont to withdraw army but Cavour refused. Austria therefore declared war. Napoleon III personally, commanded French army to the war to help Cavour. Lombardy was occupied by Sardinia. When it became clear that Austria would lose Venetia, Napoleon III halted suddenly and retreated. He signed treaty of Villafranca with Austria. Cavour was disappointed and resigned. Italians rejected the rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. In this task they got moral support from England. The British Prime Minister declared that the people had the right to change their kings. People from the three kingdoms desired to join Piedmont. This was an important step. Sardinia - Piedmont became a large and predominant state.

7.16 GARIBALDI

He was another important leader of the unification of Italy. Garibaldi led his followers to fight the war against Austria in 1859. In 1860 the patriots of Sicily rebelled against the French king Francis I. They requested for Garibaldi's help. He sailed to the shores of Marsala with thousand followers. He occupied the whole of Sicily, in the name of Victor Emmanuel. After the victory, he entered the main land of Italy, and reached Naples. Garibaldi, captured Naples in 1860. He began preparation for a march on Rome. To Cavour, the situation seemed full of danger. Rome was under the Pope. It was occupied by a French garrison. Napoleon III was a Catholic and did not want the Pope to be disturbed. Cavour understood that an attack on Rome would mean a war with France. Cavour decided to check Garibaldi's advance. He wanted to keep Garibaldi away. He assured to Napoleon III that Rome would not be

attacked, but other areas of Papal state would be captured by Victor. He marched on the Papal areas and captured those. People accepted him as their king. Garibaldi saluted the king, gave him all the areas under him and retired to his home town. He refused the gifts, Victor offered him. He took only a bag of potato seeds with him.

7.17 VICTOR EMMANUEL COMPLETES THE UNIFICATION

Victor Emmanuel succeeded Charles Albert the king of Sardinia - Piedmont. He was fortunate to get the services of Count Cavour in the task of unification. He gave full authority to Cavour to direct the course of the unification. By 1861, all areas except Venetia and Rome were out of the unification. Venetia was held by Austria and Rome by the Pope, with the help of French army, Cavour thought that without Rome, there was no Italy. Victor decided to wait for an appropriate opportunity to conquer the two areas. In 1866, a war took place between Austria and Prussia. Victor entered an alliance with Prussia that Italy would fight against Austria and in return Prussia would help Victor to capture Venetia. Prussia won the war and forced Austria to surrender Venetia to Italy. Rome alone was out of Italy. In 1870 a war took place between France and Prussia. Napoleon III was compelled to withdraw French troops from the war. Victor seized the opportunity. Italian troops marched towards Rome in September 1870. Pope retreated into the Vatican. The citizens of Rome voted for joining the unification.

7.18 SUMMARY

Bismarck influenced German and European affairs from the 1860s until 1890. In the 1860s he planned a series of wars that unified the German states, significantly and deliberately excluding Austria, into a powerful German Empire under Prussian leadership. On December 10, 1870, the North German Confederation Reichstag renamed the Confederation as the German Empire and offered the title of German Emperor to William I, the King of Prussia. After the unification of Germany, Bismarck's foreign policy as Chancellor of Germany under Emperor William I secured Germany's position as a great nation by making alliances, isolating France by diplomatic means, and avoiding war. The unification of Italy was complete with the acceptance of Victor Emmanuel as the king. It was due to extensive efforts of Italian patriots. Rome was made the capital of United Italy. The long cherished dream realized due to nationalism of Mazzini, diplomacy of Cavour, sacrifice of Garibaldi and wisdom of King Immanuel.

7.19 QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the Austro Prussian war of 1866 and The Franco Prussian war of 1870 -71.
- 2) Describe the process of unification of Germany.

- 3) Examine the role of Bismarck in the unification of Germany.
- 4) Trace the events leading to the unification of Italy.
- 5) Explain the background and outcomes of war against Austria 1859 in Italian unification.
- 6) Access the role of Cavour in the unification of Germany.

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GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Background of the Greek war of Independences
- 8.3 Declaration of Independence by the Greeks
- 8.4 Policy of Major European Powers towards Greece
- 8.5 Recognition of the Independence of Greece
- 8.6 Summary
- 8.7 Questions
- 8.8 References

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the background of Greek War of Independence
- 2) To study the events leading to the Greek War of Independence
- 3) To understand the role of European powers in Greek Independence

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The Greeks were the first to achieve independence from the Ottoman Empire after a decade long revolution. Many factors contributed to the Greek war of independence against the Turks. The Greeks had been under Ottoman rule since the fifteenth century. Greek Orthodox Church allowed to function and Greeks free to worship as they pleased and to maintain their peculiar culture and language. The Greeks regarded Ottoman Turks as inferior, and they looked back at what they considered the glories of ancient Greece. Thus, there was a revival of national consciousness among the Greeks due to a renewed interest in Greek classics, both in literature and language. Increase in the secret societies, the most famous being the Philike Hetairia (Association of Friends), founded at Odessa by four Greek merchants in 1814. It had a membership of 200,000 by 1820 and the ideas of liberty and nationalism inspired by the French Revolution.

8.2 BACKGROUND OF THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCES

The Greeks had a long tradition of independence. In spite of suppression, the Greeks had enjoyed greater political autonomy and privileges than other Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. In their village communities, the Greeks had the elements of the vigorous local life which suited their genius. In the Orthodox Church they possessed the organization necessary to bind them together in the sense of common

nationality. In the past the Greeks had occupied a special position in both the Turkish government and the navy. Many Greeks were employed by the Turks in the civil administration. Long before the outbreak of the war of independence, the wealthy island community of Greek merchants of the Aegean and the Adriatic, though nominally formed the part of the Ottoman Empire. Greeks had to send to the Ottoman Sultan an annual tribute in money and in sailors to man the imperial navy. The Greeks had been granted limited autonomy in the field of education. They had founded schools and universities and had developed close ties with intellectual movements in France and other countries. The Greek Patriarch, the head of the Orthodox Church had good relations with the Sultan of Turkey. Having tasted greater autonomy, the Greeks wanted to be free from the control of the Ottoman Empire. A revolt against Ottoman rule gave Serbia quasi-autonomy by beginning in 1813, and this encouraged the Greeks. Greeks believed that the Russians would free them from the Ottoman control. Then, in 1814, at the center of a flourishing Greek community in Odessa in Russia, Greek exiles laid what they hoped would be the ground work for an armed rebellion inside Greece, and they misleadingly depicted their group as having the approval of the Russian authorities.

Greek Revolt:

In 1821 Greeks in the Peloponnesian Peninsula rebelled, inspired by news of an uprising in Moldavia, which was also under Ottoman rule, just across the border from Russian territory - the Ukraine. A small group led by a Greek with some Russians had crossed the border into Moldavia where they raised the flag of Greek independence and expected that the Romanians and Bulgarians of Moldavia would rise with them for their own independence. The revolt in Moldavia was suppressed, but the revolt in the Peloponnese spread.

The rebels in the Peloponnese lacked good organization, strategies and discipline. For the most part they were Christians killing their enemies without mercy. Leaders emerged who tried to invoke restraint and to stop looting, but they had little effect. Many Muslims (men, women and children) living in the Peloponnese, were killed within a few weeks in March 1821. In Constantinople, the Ottoman sultan, Mahmud II, ordered the arrest of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregorios V.

The Patriarch was accused of having intrigued with the rebellion and having committed perjury and treason. Patriarch Gregorios along with two other Bishops were hanged. Sultan Mahmud II believed that it was his right to order the execution. Christians in Europe were aware of the uprising in the Peloponnese but not of the atrocities of the revolutionaries, and they were shocked by the hanging of Gregorios. In April 1821, the revolt north of the Peloponnese spread across the Isthmus of Corinth, north toward central Greece and toward Athens.

The Greek rebels captured a number of cities and towns from the control of the Turks. The Greeks and the Turks manifested their cruelty in the

course of the Greek War of Independence. While the Greek rebels massacred a large number of Muslims, the Turks slaughtered Christians at Constantinople. The Greeks were the superior in naval activities. They were the experienced mariners, and Greek sailors who had been working on Ottoman ships abandoned those ships, leaving the Turks to recruit inexperienced dock-labourers and peasants and the Turks weakened on the sea. In 1822, the Greeks took the coastal region in the west just north of and across the isthmus from the Peloponnese, and farther east they captured Athens and Thebes. The Greeks were not in control of west and east-central Greece as well as on the Aegean islands.

8.3 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE GREEKS

In 1822, the Greeks declared independence affirming that “We, descendants of the wise and noble peoples of Hellas, we who are the contemporaries of the enlightened and civilized nations of Europe, we who behold the advantages which they enjoy under the protection of the impenetrable aegis of the law, find it no long possible to suffer without cowardice and self-contempt the cruel regime of the Ottoman power which has weighed upon us for more than four centuries - a power which does not listen to reason and knows no other law than its own will, which orders and disposes everything despotically and according to caprice.”

8.4 POLICY OF MAJOR EUROPEAN POWERS TOWARDS GREECE

At the time of the Greek revolt, representatives of the Great European powers were at the Congress of Laibach (1821). In the eyes of the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich the Greeks were rebels against the lawful sovereignty of the Ottoman government, and the principle of legitimacy was invoked to serve as a plea for non-intervention. On her side England adhered strictly to the theory of non-intervention. Castlereagh, and still more Canning, believed that it was the bounden duty of England to hold aloof from the internal concerns of other States, except where she was entitled to intervene in virtue of treaty-obligations. England and Austria regarded the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in the light of a political axiom. They could foresee that the success of the Greek war of independence would be the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, both England and Austria spent all their energies to isolate the Greek revolt and prevent it from developing into a European conflagration. For a time this policy was successfully followed. Tsar Alexander I was in a dilemma. Common Russians wanted to avenge the death of the Patriarch, but the Tsar had other matters to consider and merely withdrew his ambassador from Constantinople. As the founder of the Holy Alliance and as a signatory of the Protocol of Troppau, he was opposed to revolutionary movement, wherever it might occur. Thus, in spite the expectations from the Greeks, the Tsar failed to support those in their revolt and the movement for Greek independence received a setback. During the first six years (1821-1827), the Great Powers did not intervene

in the Greek War of Independence. It was generally agreed to hold the ring to prevent outside interference, and to regard the dispute as a private affair between Turkey and Greece. During this time Russia, Austria and England followed similar policy towards the Ottoman Empire and Greek War of Independence. This was the situation during the early years of the Greek War of Independence. Nonetheless, even at this stage it became increasingly difficult for the European Powers to refrain from interference. Russia, in particular, showed signs of restlessness. The Tsar could not forget that he was the champion of the Orthodox Church, and therefore had a particular interest in a war which bore the character of an Orthodox crusade against the infidel. Moreover, it was the traditional policy of Russia to advance southwards. At the same time the actions of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire such as the execution of the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople gave a pretext for Russia to intervene. Both England and Austria, still, were anxious to avert hostilities, and urged the Sultan to make certain concessions. The result was to preserve peace for the time being.

Intervention of Mehemet Ali:

Nevertheless, the situation changed when the Ottoman Sultan called upon Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt to help him in suppressing the Greek revolt. With the arrival of Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet Ali and the capture of Athens (1827) the Greek resistance collapsed. There was sympathy for the Greek struggle throughout Europe and America. The Russians were also moved with national and religious feelings as Russia claimed herself as the protector of the Orthodox Christians.

Intervention by Russia, England and France:

The Greek Revolt in 1826-27 was on the point of collapse due to Ibrahim's vigorous military activities. The new Tsar of Russia, Nicholas I, who succeeded Alexander I in December 1825, was determined to interfere in the Greek Struggle. At this point the Foreign Minister of England, George Canning decided that the only way of averting war was for England to act with Russia in putting pressure on the Ottoman Empire. In March 1826, the Tsar called for the withdrawal of Turkish forces from Moldavia and Walachia. In April 1826, the Duke of Wellington was sent to Russia. England and Russia signed a protocol (Protocol of St. Petersburg) on 4 April 1826. By this Protocol, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was urged to make an armistice with the Greeks and grant them a measure of Home Rule. In July 1827, Canning, the Prime Minister of England, called a meeting in London of the representatives of Russia and France. By the Treaty of London, these three Powers agreed that an autonomous Greek state should be established under Turkish suzerainty. The three Powers also agreed to conclude an alliance, and if the Turks refused an armistice they would work together to secure Greek independence. Austria and Prussia did not agree to the coercion of Turkey in favour of rebellious subjects and refused to associate with this arrangement.

The Battle of Navarino:

As the Sultan refused mediation and the proposed armistice, the allied fleets of England and France destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet at Navarino in October 1827. The results of Navarino were momentous. The Sultan proclaimed a Holy War against the Christian Powers, and repudiated the treaty into which he had recently entered with Russia (Treaty of Akkerman, 1826) respecting the Danubian Principalities and the navigation of the Straits. This provided a pretext to Russia to intervene in Turkey. Meanwhile, Wellington had become the Prime Minister of England (1828). He was opposed to any move that would weaken the Ottoman Empire and hoped for its preservation as a barrier against Russian ambitions in the Mediterranean.

War between Russia and Turkey:

England withdrew from the conflict and the Greek question was handled by Russia and Tsar Nicholas I declared war on Turkey early in 1828. The outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey brought pressure on England. If England stood aloof from the struggle, she would have no voice in the final settlement. Besides, Greece, liberated by the Russian arms, would become a dependency of Russia. Thus, Wellington, the prime minister of England accepted the suggestion of France to send an expeditionary force to Morea to drive out the army of Mehemet Ali. However, before the arrival of the French military, Codrington, the English admiral had already secured the evacuation of Morea by making a naval demonstration before Alexandria.

The Treaty of Adrianople:

After preliminary reverses the Russian army reached Adrianople in the summer of 1829. Diebitsch, the commanding general, notwithstanding the smallness and demoralization of his army, assumed the airs of a conqueror and summoned the Turks to make peace. With the advance of the Russian army towards Constantinople, the Sultan was forced to come to terms and by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). The Sultan recognized the autonomy of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia. Though these provinces nominally remained under Ottoman suzerainty. But reality they came under the protection of Russia.

8.5 RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE

The Greek Question was finally settled by the European Powers in favour of Greeks. Russia wanted Greek to be a tributary state. This solution was not acceptable to England. She shared the conviction of Austria that the creation of a tributary state would lead to Russian intrigues in the Balkans and provide the pretext for continued interference in the affairs of Turkey. Consequently, Wellington and Metternich, who had both strongly upheld the preservation of the Ottoman Empire, were compelled by force of circumstances to recognize Greece as a sovereign and independent state.

Thus, by the Convention of London (1832), the independence of Greece was recognized and the new state was placed under the protection of Russia, England and France. The success of the Greek War of Independence provided the first serious blow to the Ottoman Empire. This created the precedent for the rise of a group of Balkan states.

8.6 SUMMARY

Following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Turks established a vast empire in southeastern Europe and along the north coast of Africa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. The Turks conquered the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula such as Serbs, Bulgars, Greeks and Rumanians. The Greek Question was finally settled by the European Powers in favour of Greece. This led to the rise of nationalism in other Balkan countries. Soon after it, other Balkan countries also strived for independence from the Turkish rule.

8.7 QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the general background of the Greek War of Independence
- 2) Trace the course of events that led to the Greek War of Independence.
- 3) Critically examine the role of the European Powers in the course of the Greek War of Independence.

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CRIMEAN WAR AND RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

Unit Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Causes of the Crimean War
- 9.3 The Russo-Turkish War (1877-78)
- 9.4 The Treaty of San Stefano (1878)
- 9.5 The Treaty of Berlin (1878)
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Questions
- 9.8 References

9.0 OBJECTIVES

- To review the circumstances that led to the Crimean War
- To understand the role played by the European Powers in the Crimean War
- To analyze the consequences of the Crimean War
- To study the course of Russo-Turkish war
- To assess the impacts of Russo Turkish war

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The Crimean War (1854–1856) was fought between Russia and an alliance of France, England, Kingdom of Sardinia and the Ottoman Empire. This conflict took place on the Crimean Peninsula, with additional actions occurring in western Turkey, the Baltic Sea region, and in the Russian Far East. Russia was defeated in 1856. It was followed soon by Russo-Turkish wars, series of wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The wars reflected the deterioration of the Ottoman Empire and resulted in the gradual southward extension of Russia's frontier and influence into Ottoman territory. Due to this war, Russia was able to extend its European boundaries southward to the Black Sea, southwestward to the Prut River, and south of the Caucasus Mountain's in Asia.

9.2 CAUSES OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

Growing political aspiration among the Balkan Peninsula:

The Turkish power had extended over the whole of the Balkan Peninsula with the exception of the free Kingdom of Greece. Few even among European diplomats of that period had any clear idea of the network of races and religions and languages that filled up the peninsula. As the Ottoman Empire grew weaker, the different subjugated nationalities and religions grew more self-asserting. The Greeks had already broken away and established an independent power. Their example inspired other subject nationalities in the Balkan Peninsula. Beyond the Danube, in the Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, there was a large measure of self-government due to various agreements and treaties. Other subject people as the Romanians were eager to get more concessions from the Sultan. The Serbians who were proud of their glorious past were dissatisfied with the considerable amount of self-government which they had already won. Religion played important role in Balkan Peninsula.

Russian Advance in the Balkans:

There was anxiety among the European Powers that a revolution might take place in any part of the Balkan Peninsula at any time, which would upset the Balance of Power. Accordingly, the European Powers to the north of the Danube watched events in the Ottoman Empire with anxiety in which ambition and fear both played an important part. The Austrian Empire owed its origin to the necessity of barring the way against the invasions of the Ottoman Empire and its very existence was closely bound up with the resistance to the Turkish Power. Nonetheless, with the growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire, Austria was no longer apprehensive of the Turkish Power. Austria feared the designs and ambitions of Russia in Balkan region.

Russia's concern of Orthodox Church:

Russia also claimed that she possessed treaty rights of interference on behalf of the members of the Orthodox Church. It was a constant matter of dispute as to how far these rights were extended. In the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainarji, which was drawn up in 1774 between Russia and Turkey, there were two clauses which contained the future controversy. By one article Russia was allowed to build a Christian Church in Galata, a part of Constantinople and to keep it always under her protection. Turkey promised to protect the Christian Church and religion within her dominions and to allow the Russian Ambassadors to make representations on behalf of the Church in Galata.

Napoleon III's dislike for the Tsar:

Napoleon III of France had his own personal resentment against the Tsar, Nicholas I. He felt insulted when the Tsar addressed him as friend rather than the courteous form brother. The Tsars tariffs had irked the French businessmen, his religious intolerance had irritated the Catholics and his

suppression of Polish uprising had angered the French liberals. Thus, in order to win support of various sections of the French population, Napoleon III wanted to have a showdown with the Tsar

Immediate Cause - the dispute over Holy Places:

The Franco-Russian dispute regarding the holy places in Palestine was the immediate cause of the Crimean War. The question of the Holy Places concerned the management of the places of pilgrimages at Jerusalem and especially the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The Turkish government kept order between the rival claims of the Latins or Roman Catholics and the Orthodox or Greek and Russian Christians. The French government had a traditional right, running back to the times of the Crusades, to be considered the protector of the Christians in the East. On the other hand, since the development of the power of Russia, the Tsars had begun to put forward their own claims. Genuine religious feelings came to strengthen national rivalries and political ambitions.

Course of the war:

Among the other European Powers, England was drawn in the war on the side of the Ottoman Empire chiefly due to the traditional British foreign policy. England believed that the spread of Russian power into the Mediterranean would threaten Egypt and the road to India. The war fever in England developed under the influence of Palmerston. In France, under the regime of the new Empire public opinion played a much less important part. All rested with Napoleon III. Though he had proclaimed that the desire to maintain the prestige of France in the East, his dependence on the Catholic and Clerical party in France, above all the need which he instinctively felt to give the country what it expected from a Napoleon-glory and victory. Thus, England and France joined the Crimean War against Russia supporting Turkey.

At the end of October 1853, the joint French and English fleets passed the Dardanelles to give their moral support to Turkey. While they were in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, a Russian fleet attacked and destroyed the Ottoman fleet at the Black Sea port of Sinope on 30 November 1853, resulting in a public outcry in England and France. This quite natural act of war seemed an insult to the two great Western Powers, and an open war became inevitable. England and France formally declared war on Russia in March 1854. This marked a great change in European politics when English and French soldiers appeared as allies on the battlefield, and it may be said that it marked the beginning of the entente which became fully established in the early twentieth century. England and France were later joined by the Italian Kingdom of Sardinia in 1855 with the intention of being present at the peace conference and thus able to argue for her interest in Italian unification. She also needed assistance in her attempt to expel Austria from the smaller Italian kingdoms.

The Treaty of Paris:

The Treaty of Paris, signed on 30 March 1856, was a major setback for Russia's Middle Eastern policy. Russia was forced to return southern Bessarabia and the mouth of the Danube to the Ottoman Empire; Moldavia and Walachia were guaranteed self-government under the suzerainty of Turkey. Both these principalities and Serbia were placed under an international rather than a Russian guarantee. The Black Sea region was declared neutral and the Russians were forbidden to maintain a navy on the Black Sea. It was thrown open to every nation for mercantile activities. The Sultan offered vague promises to respect the rights of all his Christian subjects. About the Treaty of Paris, A.J.P. Taylor says that it solved the problem of the relations between Russia and Turkey in three ways. The Turks gave a voluntary promise of reforms. The Black Sea was neutralized, and the Danubian principalities were made independent of Russia. As far as the reforms in Turkey were concerned, the Sultan never fulfilled his promises. The neutralization of the Black Sea was a great achievement of the Treaty of Paris and it seemed to provide a barrier against Russia without any effort on the part of the Western Powers.

Therefore, the Crimean War had far reaching effects on the politics of Europe. A check was put on the Russian influence in the Balkans and the Black Sea. She was kept back from the Danube. Her military strength in the Black Sea was completely finished for years to come. The creation of two autonomous States of Moldavia and Walachia put a barrier between Russia and Turkey. Turkey was the greatest gainer by the Crimean War. She got a new lease of life under the protection of the European Powers. Her territorial integrity was guaranteed and she was admitted, for the first time, to the European community of nations from which she had been previously excluded.

The Crimean War occupies a peculiar place in the history of Europe in the nineteenth century. Steam vessels were used, but their full importance was not appreciated. The telegraph had been brought to Vienna, but Constantinople and the Crimea were still beyond its reach. All that concerned the feeding and the sanitation of the armies was almost medieval in character. It was the last war to be fought without the help of the new technology or modern resources of science.

As a result of Crimean War, Tsar Alexander II was forced to carry out a large number of reforms in Russia with a view to winning over the people. The most important reform was the liberation of the serfs. Furthermore, as the Russian expansion was checked on the European side, its activity was transferred towards Central Asia and the result was that the British government in India had to worry about the growing influence of Russia in that region.

9.3 THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR (1877-78)

It seems quite clear that the action of Abdul Hamid II was motivated by the fact that England would support him against Russia, as she had done in

the Crimean War. A British naval squadron was already present in Besika Bay. Nonetheless, the Sultan was wrong in his calculations. When Russia and England presented joint demands in April 1877, he rejected them. As the war against Turkey became unavoidable, Russia struck a bargain with Austria. In return for recognizing independence of Serbia and Montenegro, Russia agreed to offer Austria a free hand in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In return Russia sought freedom in political moves in Romania and Bulgaria. With this mutual understanding, following the rejection of joint demands from England and Russia by the Sultan, Russia declared war on Turkey on 14 April 1877.

Following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, Romania joined Russia and Serbia renewed her war against Turkey. Montenegro was already at war with Turkey since 1876. Bulgarians also supported Russia. A Russian army invaded the Ottoman Empire from the north, traversing Romania and crossing the Danube in June 1877. To its surprise, it encountered fierce resistance from Turkish troops led by the military genius of Osman Pasha entrenched at Plevna, in Bulgaria, just south of the Danube. Twice in July, and again in September, the Russian infantry was pushed back by Plevna's Turkish garrison. After nearly five months of resistance, the Turkish garrison was forced to surrender in December 1877. Before the end of January 1878 Skobelev, the most brilliant of the Russian generals, had opened the way to Adrianople, which fell on 28 January 1878. The Turks were everywhere in retreat and the Russians were victorious. Abdul Hamid sued for peace, and an armistice was agreed on 31 January 1878.

With the success of Russia, England became nervous. The Russian army moved towards Constantinople. The danger of a war between England and Russia seemed to be imminent. However, Russia became timid. Her army was worn out and exhausted, her supplies were wretched and her finances were in disorder. It was quite difficult for the Tsar to risk a conflict with a new enemy or enemies. Under this circumstances he would have had to fight Austria-Hungary on land as well as England on the sea. Consequently, Russia took the wisest course and signed a separate peace with the Turks on 3 March 1878 at San Stefano. By this treaty she hoped to preserve most of her gains without offending England, as she did not enter Constantinople, and proposed to evacuate Adrianople.

9.4 THE TREATY OF SAN STEFANO (1878)

The Sultan of Turkey had to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania. The Sultan agreed to announce reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the joint control of Russia and Austria. The Treaty of San Stefano was in favour of Bulgarians. It realized the vision of Greater Bulgaria. Greece and Serbia protested against the settlement which ignored their own claims upon Macedonia. The other European Powers were also hostile to the Treaty of San Stefano on different grounds. England especially objected the proposal for an enlarged Bulgaria. She felt that the newly erected state of Bulgaria might become a Russian province and this would prepare a ground for her ultimate advance towards Constantinople. Disraeli, Prime Minister of

England was determined to check the spread of Russian influence in the Balkans peninsula. He had optimistic view that the security of the sea route to India through the Mediterranean needed a strong and friendly Turkey. Austria had her own reasons for dissatisfaction. She demanded as her share of spoils the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Accordingly, both England and Austria demanded a European Congress for revising the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano. Russia was unwilling to accept the joint demand of England and Austria. She did not want to surrender her hard won benefits out of the Russo-Turkish War. However, the hostile moves of England such as ordering Indian troops to proceed to Malta and ordering the British fleet to be ready for action convinced Russia the imminent danger of a war for which she was not equipped. Under these circumstances Russia had no other alternative but agree to the Anglo-Austrian demand for European Congress for the revision of the Treaty of San Stefano.

9.5 THE TREATY OF BERLIN (1878)

The European powers assembled in Congress at Berlin in June 1878. It was attended by Russia, Turkey, Austria, England, France, Italy and Germany. Bismarck, the German Chancellor presided over the Congress as honest broker. His chief aim was to preserve the Three Emperors Treaties (Germany, Austria and Russia) of 1872. The result of the discussions in the Congress of Berlin was the Treaty of Berlin, which rudely shattered the dream of Greater Bulgaria. The new state of Bulgaria, now established as an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan was only a fragment of the state proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano. The region to the south of the Balkan region, known as Eastern Roumelia was to remain within the Ottoman Empire, under the direct military and political authority of the Sultan, but administered by a Christian governor-general.

The provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano with regard to the independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were not discussed and left untouched at Berlin. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the province of Novi-Pazar, while remained under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, were placed under the administrative charge of Austria. Turkey surrendered Cyprus to England. Russia was allowed to retain Southern Bessarabia, Kars and Batum provinces. Turkey promised political reforms and full religious liberty to all her subjects.

Impact of the Treaty of Berlin:

The Congress and Treaty of Berlin were significant more for their effects on the alignment of the Great Powers than for their efforts to restrict Turkey's political influence. The Prime Minister of England, Disraeli, who represented England at the Congress of Berlin along with the Foreign Minister, Lord Salisbury, counted it as one of his greatest achievements

By the Treaty of Berlin Russia lost important advantages which she had secured by the Treaty of San Stefano and her influence in the Balkan

Peninsula was weakened. The Russian plan to work through the Balkans directly over the ruins of Turkey or indirectly through vassal states carved out of Turkey to the Mediterranean was not realized. Nonetheless, Russia efforts to expand merely changed direction. After 1878 Russia extended her influence in Asia, towards the Far East in Manchuria and towards the South in Persia and Afghanistan.

The settlement openly violated the legitimate claims of Bulgarian nationality. The separation of North and South Bulgaria continued only till 1885 in which year the two regions were unified. Germany secured the gratitude and friendship of the Sultan of Turkey and got a new ally for the future. On the other hand, Russia, the member of the League of Three Emperors nursed a profound sense of grievance, against her Allies, Austria and Germany. Russia faced humiliation at the Congress of Berlin. Due to this Russia withdrew from the League of Three Emperors. This forced Bismarck to enter into a closer alliance with Austria in 1879, which created a cycle of secret alliances which was ultimately responsible for the division of Europe into two rival armed camps.

The Pan-Slav Movement received a setback. The occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Novi Pazar by Austria stood in the way of the creation of Greater Serbia. This increased tension between Austria and Serbia. Pan-Slavism could not solve the problems of the Balkans, but nationalism which involved important modifications of the Treaty of Berlin proved more successful. Romania became a independent kingdom in 1881 and Serbia in 1882. In 1908, Ferdinand was declared as the Tsar of Bulgaria and in 1910 Nicholas became the first king of Montenegro.

9.6 SUMMARY

The Crimean War had far reaching effects on the politics of Europe. A check was put on the Russian influence in the Balkans and the Black Sea. She was kept back from the Danube. Russia's military strength in the Black Sea was completely finished for years to come. It is important to note that the Treaty of Berlin forms an important event not only in the history of the Eastern Question, but also in the European history. According to Taylor, the Congress of Berlin created the crisis in the history of Europe. It had been followed by thirty years of conflict and upheaval; it was followed by thirty-four years of peace.

9.7 QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the causes of the Crimean War (1854-56). What were its consequences?
- 2) Examine the course of events that resulted in the Crimean War (1854-56). What were its results?
- 3) Explain the causes and consequences of the Russo Turkish War (1877-78).

- 4) Analyze the background of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) and analyze its impact on European politics.
- 5) Discuss the significance of the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) and the Treaty of Berlin (1878)

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WORLD WAR I AND PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

Unit Structure

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10.2 Nature of the First World War.

10.2.1 First War on World Wide Scale

10.2.2 Use of Latest War Weapons

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10.2.6 Devastation of the Economies

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- 10.5.11 Seeds of the World War II

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- 10.6.1 Nature of the Paris Peace Conference
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- 10.6.4 An Estimate of the Treaty of Versailles
- 10.6.5 Other Peace Treaties

10.7 Summary

10.8 Questions

10.9 References

10.0 OBJECTIVES

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

1. Understand the nature of the First World War.
2. Explain the causes responsible for the First World War.
3. Describe the course of events during the First World War.
4. Analyse the consequences of the First World War.
5. Evaluate the nature of the Paris Peace Conference.
6. Appreciate the provisions of the Treaties signed at the Paris Peace Conference.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The World War I, began in 1914 and continued until 1918. Its total duration was four years and three months. It made all the previous wars dwarf as compared to it. It also proved to be an agent of future wars as far as magnitude, nature, lethality and the destruction was concerned.

Since the beginning of twentieth century the Europe was in a state of hostility among nations which only needed a spark to escalate the conflicts in to the full-scale war. The numerous events, diplomacy, race for armaments, secret treaties and polarisation of countries in to Allied Powers Consisting of England, Japan, France, Portugal, Italy, Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Greece, Siam, USA, Brazil, Nicaragua, Costarica, Guatemala, Siberia, Cuba, Panama etc. and other camp known as Central Powers consisting of Austria, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

The war started after the murdered of Archduke Francis Ferdinand on 28th June 1914. The battle of the war covered the regions in /Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The war was reflection of greed, mutual pride and hatred among the European countries. The impact of the war was felt by the entire world in one form or the other.

10.2 NATURE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR –

First World war was novel in many ways. Dr. David Thompson described the nature of the First World War as, “It’s greatest novelty historically was a remarkable disparity between the end sought, the price paid and the result obtained”. According to Lipson, “The war 1914-1918 had a profound psychological effect, in turning Europe in to shambles, it extinguished whatever may have remained of the romantic notion of war as a kind of medieval tournament. Completely stripped of its glamour, modern warfare was exposed in all its naked ferocity by the revelation of stark realities – the subterranean fighting in the trenches and high explosive shells which littered the battlefields with the mangled bodies of the combatants; at home the darkened cities and bombs rained from the skies on the defenceless population. Moreover, the former division of a nation in to the two categories of the participants and spectators has ceased to be valid. All are now participants if not in the actual fighting or in manufacture of war material, at any rate in the danger of war”. As per the observation of Walter Longsam and Otist Mitchell, “The First World War which lasted for 1565 days was the bloodiest and Costliest war that had yet been fought. During the conflict about 65000,000 men participated in the economically unproductive activity of organised destruction. Approximately one out of five of these men was killed in action or died a later of wounds received in battle. One in three was wounded and some 70,000,00 of these were permanently disabled. Many of the wounded died within a few years after the end of hostilities as a result of war-inflicted disabilities”.

The nature of the World War I can be summarised as follows:

10.2.1 First War on World Wide Scale:

The war started in Europe but it engulfed the entire world directly or indirectly. Its repercussions reflected on every country in the world.

10.2.2 Use of latest War Weapons:

There was advancements of science and technology leading to manufacturing of latest weapons, arms and ammunitions, after the Franco German war. During that period prior to World War I, there was production of advanced armoured tanks, submarines, fighter planes and chemical weapons. The new age weapons were equally capable of attack and defence.

10.2.3 Four-Dimensional War:

This was the only war which was fought on land and above the land, on the sea and under the sea. The tanks, aeroplanes, dreadnought and submarines were used to fight war on land, sea, air and under the sea, making it first four-dimensional war of contemporary period.

10.2.4 The First War with Civilian involvement in Fighting:

The war was a unique as not only armies, navies and were aeroplanes fought but people of different parts of the world were also fighting to protect the civilian population and their high ideals. It was so because at distant places regular armies could not reach to counter attack due to various constraints.

10.2.5 Wide Gap Between the Aims, Results and Price:

The First World War was fought on the high ideals of self-determination and democracy but it was forgotten with the advancement of war leading to principle of maximum revenge. As Dr. David Thompson observed its greatest novelty as, “Historically, was a remarkable disparity between the end sought, the price paid and the results obtained”.

10.2.6 Devastation of the Economies:

The First World War put a heavy economic loss due to loss of not only life but property as well, to the victors as well as the vanquished countries. The money spent on developing, procuring and maintaining advance weapon systems drained the wealth of leading economies also.

Check Your Progress:

Write a short note on Nature of the First World War.

10.3 CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War broke out in August 1914 after a lull in European world of around half century. The period prior to beginning of war was full of tension, rivalry, hostility and distress among European powers. The situation was conflagrated with the murder of Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand, which proved to be the immediate cause for the outbreak of First World War. The deeper causes were more significant and were related to political, military, cultural, social, economic and psychological in nature. It was very much cleared that not a single factor was responsible for the war, the various simultaneous factors contributed to the World War I.

10.3.1 Secret Diplomacy:

The system of secret alliances was one of the major important factors contributing to the cause of World War I. The secret alliances were executed by Otto Von Bismarck, the chancellor of Germany after 1878 to isolate France so that later could not take revenge on Germany, for the loss

of Alsace and Lorraine which was taken over after the Franco Prussian War of 1870.

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- a) **Dual Alliance between Austria and Germany (1879):** France was determined to regain its territory of Alsace and Lorraine wrested by Germany in the war of 1870-1871, Germany became very apprehensive of France and to safeguard the interest of Germany in 1879. Bismarck entered in to an alliance with Austria which was directed against France.
- b) **Triple Alliance (1882):** Italy which was against French protectorate over Tunis, a part of Turkish empire. Italy had imperialistic designs, so it joined the dual alliance of Germany and Austria in 1882. It was popular as Triple alliance which secured the German predominance and isolation of France in Europe.
- c) **Formation of Triple Entente (1907):** The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy made France isolated and insecure. Russia too became apprehensive of Germany's hegemony in Europe which resulted in an alliance between France and Russia (1894) in spite of their differences. This treaty was for "Peace and Equilibrium", as per the French Premier Ribot. Franco Russian Alliance (1894) nullified the isolation of France and proved to be a challenge to German domination of Europe.

The common fear of Germany brought together the two traditional rivals of Europe i.e., England and France. The defensive alliance of France with Britain was known as Entente Cordiale, which was concluded in 1904. In 1907 Anglo-Russian convention materialised. Thus, Triple Entente of France, England and Russia was a reality. The rivalry between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente increased many folds and by 1914 they stood face to face. Later Japan joined the Triple Entente and Turkey joined the Triple Alliance.

- d) **Reinsurance Treaty – 1887:** Bismarck concluded a secret treaty with Russia which was to protect the interest of Germany and Russia against France. It was popular as reinsurance treaty between Germany and Russia (1887).

Most of these alliances were secret in nature, leading to suspicion and Hostility among the world countries resulting in to polarisation of European countries in two camps known as allied powers, which included Britain, France, Russian and Japan, and the Central powers comprised of Germany, Austria, Italy and Turkey.

10.3.2 Militarism:

The post Napoleon Era continued the tradition of maintaining big standing armies. Prussia under the leadership of Bismarck had an efficient national army for the purpose of unification of Germany. The term militarism has three dimensions namely (i) A mad race for armament (ii) Great influence of powerful military and naval officer, and (iii) Preventive war.

- (i) **A Mad Race for Armament:** In the late 18th century, Napoleon Bonaparte established great armies which were ever ready for any war at a very short notice. The Prussian King Kaiser William I, believed that strong military was inalienable component of diplomacy. During the era of Iron Chancellor Bismarck, a strong national army was instrumental in the victory against Denmark in 1864, Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and Franko-Prussian war of 1870.

Post 1870 period was full of mad race for military and naval armaments which led to the universal suspicion, fear, hatred among the nations. It increased many folds after the Balkan wars of 1912 to 1913. The mad race for armaments was also the result of system of alliances which were contradictory and hostile in nature.

- (ii) **Great Influence of Powerful Military and Naval Officers:** The powerful military and naval officers who were leading the respective countries, expected war at any moment and therefore they remained in war preparedness mode so that respective armies could be mobilized quickly to counter any advancement by hostile or adverse military power.
- (iii) **Preventive War:** The contemporary military and Naval commanders believed in the concept of preventive war which would benefit the attacking country by increasing the morale of the citizens and unimaginable devastation of the enemy country. It was a concept which advocated to declare a war upon the enemy while it was still weak and to crush it before it could become strong.

Germany was eager to engage a war with Russia before it could complete its "Great Programme" of reorganization of the armed forces. England wanted to crush the growing German Navy before it could become a great menace to England.

The period between 1870 and 1914, witnessed a great deal of increase in defence expenditures by the European powers for e.g., Germany 335 %, Britain 185 %, France 133 %, Russia 125 % and Italy 185 %. Germany and France spent around 85 % of national income on war preparation. By 1913 the total standing army of France was around 10 lakhs whereas that of Germany was around 8.7 Lakhs. The scientific advancement in the early 20th century led to the production of destructive weapons. It led to the very volatile and hostile environment which needed a flash point or catalyst to wage a war at any moment, and it was provided by killing of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in 1914.

10.3.3 Aggressive Nationalism:

Aggressive Nationalism which was termed as Jingoism was based on false pride, ego and love for one's own country and hatred for the other countries. In some countries people felt that they were superior to the others and they were born to rule and dominate over the others. Bismarck was the personality responsible for in-sighting the feeling of aggressive nationalism in the 19th century Germany, and the 20th century, the

imperialistic design was responsible for the war. The trend of Jingoism or aggressive nationalism reflected in struggle, movements and revolutions to get rid of foreign powers by the native citizens. The examples of submerged nationality were as follows –

- (i) Serbs under Austro-Hungary aimed at joining Serbia
- (ii) Greece attempted to get Thrace, some Aegean islands and parts of Asia Minor.
- (iii) Bulgaria wanted to control Macedonia and Thrace.
- (iv) Italians wished to liberate their fellowmen in Trieste and Trentino, popular as Italia Irredenta that is un-redeemed Italy from the possession of Austria-Hungary.
- (v) Romania was eager to liberate its fellowmen in Transylvania and parts of Bessarabia from Austria Hungary.

These nationalistic movements were responsible for Balkan wars which were major factor for world war I.

10.3.4 Thirst for Colonies:

The Industrial Revolution acted as catalyst for the colonial expansion by the European countries. It resulted in to the rivalry among major European powers. In the beginning of 20th century the rich and industrialized countries competed for amassing wealth and capture the market abroad. England, America and Germany were prominent countries involved in economic competition and race for imperialist possession abroad. They needed more and more colonies. The countries like France and Italy were passing through a stage of balance between agriculture and industry. They wanted to established their colonies in Asia, Africa and East European countries, which were source of raw materials and it lacked industrial development. The imperialist powers desire to invest their surplus wealth and needed market for their products which proved to be one of the major causes for colonial struggle and factor for the World War I.

In the 19th century major portion of Africa was shared between England and France. Germany entered in to the colonial expansion at later stage and hence could occupy comparatively a smaller portion and felt discontent. In the early 20th century, there was an increase in competition and rivalries between England and Germany, it reflected in their politician and industrialist's behaviour as they used to humiliate each other very frequently. The conflicting economic interest of Russia and Austria destabilized Balkan region. There was scramble to expand the economic and political authority by the European powers in the far east and China. Thus, imperialist and economic ambitions created an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and hatred, made and armed conflict inevitable.

10.3.5 The Influence of Press:

The Press was a very powerful medium which was used to create a national solidarity by the government in their respective countries. Governments published the statements to justify a particular foreign policy by them. The media reports and articles issued by the respective governments lacked honesty and truth. It was also used for spreading false propaganda against other nations especially by Austria-Hungary, Germany, Serbia and France. There was an attempt to create a mass hysteria and a war psychosis. For very menial reasons the masses could demand for waging war against the enemy nation. The very furious criticisms in the newspapers became a cause of outbreak of the war. The Press in all important countries indulged venomous propaganda some examples of bad and false reporting such as when the British Press criticised the policy of German Emperor, William II, German became full of hatred and reactionary to the people of England similarly German Press excited the people of England. The relation between France and Germany deteriorated because of Press reports. Newspaper reporting in Serbia and Austria, after the killing of Francis Ferdinand was responsible for acrimonious relation between the two countries.

10.3.6 Lack of International Sovereignty:

There were signs of chaos all over Europe in the absence of any sovereign power to control it. The state of anarchy spread all over among the powerful European nations. In order to gain their selfish motives, they underwent secret alliances which made people lose faith in them. Though Italy was a member of Triple Alliance, it entered in to a treaty with France and Russia, such actions created a feeling of despair among other nations and led to suspicion for each other. There was no international forum or machinery for arbitration, adjudication and consolation to settle disputes among nations. A strong nation with strong military could violate the international law and morality and imposed its will on the weaker nations. The need for the force of arms was felt to be necessary for protection of national interest. The clash of national interest of major world powers became one of the factors of World War I.

10.3.7 Kaiser William II of Germany:

The character of Kaiser William was reflected in the foreign policy of Germany which contributed to the events leading to the war. He was very versatile and a quick learner with his interest ranged from Navy and Architecture to Archaeology but he lacked the qualities of a statesmanship. He dismissed the Chancellor Bismarck, and reversed the foreign policy having balanced approach under Bismarck. His foreign policy was described Welt Politik which replaced Real Politik under Bismarck. Welt Politik denoted for Germans during last decade of 19th century, the invention of a new world mission for Germany worthy of her industrial, technological, cultural and military strength which was possible only with a powerful German navy. The Kaiser's competition with the British navy proved to be suicidal. Kaiser William II through his arrogant

and haughty statements against British as well as sending the Kruger Telegram provoked Britain. The British approach of accommodation and tolerance was construed as cowardice. Thus, with his violent temper and imperialistic ambitions, he drove Europe to the threshold of war.

10.3.8 Germany Acted on the Prussian Policy:

The Prussian policy believed that success was the parameter of right or wrong. According to it victory was rated much higher than spiritualism. The German leaders believed that the German victories would lead to healing the wounds and sufferings was possible only when world would be Germanised. They believed that the German culture was the best in the world. These thoughts prevented cooperation between England and Germany leading to entire Europe divided in two hostile camps, ready to wage a war against each other.

The Prussian spirit identified victory with morality, "He who succeeds is never in the wrong.". According to Mirabeau, "War is the national industry of Prussia". Treitschke used to teach that the state is power, "To care for its power is the highest moral duty of the state of all political weakness that of feebleness is the most abominable and despicable; it is the sin against the holy spirit of politics". According to Professor Lamprecht, "After bloody victories, the world will be healed by being Germanised". The peace of Europe was violently disturbed by the Prussian spirit. The German ruling class, writers, poets, scholars, philosophers, statesman and scientists glorified the spirit of war.

10.3.9 Social Imbalance:

Narrow nationalism which was aggressive in nature, bitterness caused by diplomacy, selfishness and concern for economic interest were at the peak, so much that appeals for peace proved to be futile attempts without any attention by the authorities. The places of peace and good will were replaced by fear, apprehension, malice in public life. The nations were not in the state where they could think coolheadedly. People under the influence of Darwin's principle believed in social Darwinism, which stated that the fittest nation will survive and progress or struggle is the natural law of life and is essential for evolution. Under such excuses the establishment of domination over the other people was justified as a moral action. The rise of materialism weakened, piety and humanity leading to no hurt to moral sensibility of people even during genocide like heinous crimes by the autocrats. The social imbalance caused by such thoughts and actions created an environment which was contradictory and hostile to each nation leading to World War I.

10.3.10 Immediate Cause of War:

The assassination of Prince Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophia of Austria, in Serajevo on 28th June 1914 at 10.15 a.m. by a 24year old Serbian Youth Gavrilo Princep became the immediate cause of war. The relations between Austria-Hungary and Serbia were already strained. Bosnia and Herzegovina wanted to be the independent form Austria-

Hungary and the government of Serbia giving help to both. The prince of Austria along with his royal consort, went over to Serajevo, a capital city of Bosnia where he was assassinated along with his wife by some revolutionaries overtaken by blind spasm of zeal. The involvement of Serbian government in killing of Archduke and his wife by way of supplying weapons, ammunitions and instructors to the members of the Black Hand Society who carried out the murder was proved to be basis of World War I.

From the above account there was no one factor or one individual but multiple factors and forces were responsible for the World War I.

Check your Progress:

Enlist the causes of First World War.

10.4 COURSE OF WORLD WAR- I

After the killing of Archduke and his wife Sophia, the Austrian Foreign Minister Berchtold decided to take revenge on Serbia. The Austrian government held Serbia responsible for the assassination of Archduke and his wife which was endorsed by Dr. Wisener who investigated the murder and concluded that Serbian government had direct and in refutable role in conspiracy against Austria. The commander in chief of Austria, Conrad was also firm to take revenge by waging a war against Serbia, but emperor Francis Joseph was reluctant to initiate war against Serbia, because Russia might enter in to the war on the side of Serbia. The Hungarian Prime Minister Tisza also opposed war cry.

10.4.1 Austria Hungary's ultimatum to Serbia:

On the request of Austrian Foreign Minister Berchtold, Germany committed its full support in any decision or action taken by Austria. The Austria Hungary served an ultimatum to Serbia on July 23rd, 1914 and warranted reply within 48 hours. The allegation against Serbia were –

- (i) Serbia had encouraged Anti-Austria propaganda.
- (ii) No action was taken by Serbia to prevent the murder though it was fully aware of the conspiracy.
- (iii) It did not deliver appropriate punishment to the conspirators.
- (iv) Austria also demanded the inclusion of Austrian officials in the panel of investigators in Serbia.

Serbia stated that it was ready to accept any judgement or decision of the International Court of Justice at Hague and it refused to include Austrian representative on investigation as it was against the sovereignty and prestige of Serbia. All European states as well as German Emperor Kaiser William II found the Serbian reply satisfactory but foreign minister of Austria rejected the Serbian reply and declared war against Serbia on July 28, 1914. Serbia which was assured of Russian support, it welcomed the

war and ordered the mobilization of the forces. France assured the support to Russian policy.

10.4.2 The War begins: Entry of France, Russia and Great Britain:

The first World War began on July 28, 1914 with Austria attacking Serbia. Russian foreign Minister Sazanov persuaded the Czar to mobilize the force, after the Austrian bombing in Belgrade. On August 1st, 1914 Germany declared war against Russia. On August 3, 1914 Germany declared war against France. Italy declared its neutrality. On August 2, 1914, Germany occupied neutral territory of Luxemburg and demanded passage through the Belgium within 12 hours to attack France. Belgium refused the passage to German army and asked for British help because England had guaranteed neutrality of Belgium in 1839 with Prussia and other states. The German occupation of Belgium could endanger the security of England, it demanded Germany to withdraw the demands made by Germany placed before Belgium. As there was no reply by the midnight of August 4, 1914 Britain declared war against Germany the same night.

10.4.3 Role of Japan in the war:

To honour the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in 1902 and having imperialist design in China, Japan issued an ultimatum to Germany on 17th August 1914. It ordered Germany to withdraw all her warship near China and surrender the leased Chinese territory of Kiachow by 15th September 1914. Germany refused the ultimatum and Japan declared war on Germany on 23 August 1914.

10.4.4 Entry of Turkey:

Turkey had entered into a secret treaty with Germany which guaranteed military support to her against Russia as Russia was involved in the dismemberment of Turkish Empire. On 29th October 1914 Turkish armed forces bombarded Russian ports on the Black Sea without formally declaring war. At once Russia declared war against Turkey on November 3, 1914. The England and France also declared war against Turkey on November 5, 1914.

10.4.5 Italy joined the Allied powers:

Italy was an ally of Germany and Austria as she had entered the Triple Alliances in 1882. On August 3, 1914 Italy declared its neutrality. It betrayed the Triple Alliances by signing a secret treaty of London on April 26, 1915. Italy was assured of her domination over Trentino, Trieste, South Tyrol, Gorizia, Gradisca, Istria and Albania Archipelago as well as to establish her influence on the Asian region of Turkey and some portion of German territory in Africa. After the end of hostilities. Italy joined the war on the sides of Allies by declaring war against Austria on 21 May 1915.

10.4.6 Europe the main Theatre of War:

The Allied Powers persuaded Bulgaria to join them but as it was defeated by the Serbia in the Balkan war of 1913, it declared war against Serbia on October 14, 1915 helping Germany led front i.e., Central Blocs. Portugal joined the war on 9th March 1916 by declaring war on Germany. Rumania declared war against Austria on 27th August, 1916. Except Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland and Spain the whole of Europe joined the war.

10.4.7 Two Blocs:

By 1915, the countries involved in the First World War formed Two Blocs namely the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. The Allied Bloc included Britain, France, Serbia, Russia, Italy, Rumania, Japan, Canada, Union of South Africa, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Haiti and Honduras, Portugal, U.S.A., Greece, Siam, Siberia, Cuba, Panama, Brazil and Guatemala, Liberia, China etc. The Central Bloc included Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, Bulgaria etc.

10.4.8 Defection of Russia in 1917 (Russian Dropout):

The Russia was hit severely in the battles of Tannenberg on August 26, 1914 and the Masurian Lakes on August 26-31, 1914. It fought battles on the sides of Allied powers up to 1917 in which around 5 lacs soldiers were killed and around 10 lacs each were wounded and taken prisoners. By September 1915, the entire Poland with the major part of Lithuania was occupied by Central Powers. In 1917 after the Bolshevik Revolution the Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown and the Government led by Lenin and Trotsky was established in November 1917. The Communist Russia signed humiliating Treaty of Brest Litovsk and surrendered to Germany and Austria, its territories of Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Eastern Poland. Thus, Russia withdrew from the First World War.

10.4.9 United States of America (U.S.A.) and the First World War:

At the beginning of the war, the American President Woodrow Wilson declared the neutrality of U.S.A. The public opinion in U.S.A. was in favour of Allied powers. The Allied powers purchased food grains and military equipment from the U.S.A., leading to huge profit to American industries. The American business firms started giving loans to Allied Powers for buying military equipment. After the disassociation of Russia from the War in 1917, the Allied powers suffered set back and were weakened. Germany Navy sunk American passenger - liner Lusitania carrying about 1200 passengers, enraged the American people and government against Germany. In March 1916, Germany sank French Passenger -liner Sussex leaving many American citizens wounded on the ship. On April 18, 1916 American government warned Germany to stop the submarine warfare with immediate effect but on January 31st, 1917 the German government stated that it would attack all the ships that entered the forbidden water after February 1, 1917. Germany sank 65 American cargo ships in March 1917, which angered the U.S.A. and it lost her

patience and declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917. Thus, the war became a World War in true sense of the phrase.

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10.4.10 Surrender of Germany and her Allies:

Allied powers outmanoeuvred the Central powers both in diplomacy and with their combined manpower and resources in war. On 30th September, 1918 Bulgaria surrendered followed by Turkey and Austria-Hungary on 9th November, 1918 Kaiser William II abdicated and fled to Netherlands due to uncontrollable circumstances on account of naval mutiny at Kiel and revolution in Munique. On 11th November, 1918 German delegation under the instructions of their Chancellor Prince Maxmillian of Bader signed the armistice with Marshall Ferdinand Foch, the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers. This marked the end of World War I which lasted for four years three months eleven days.

Check your Progress:

Write the series of events during World War I.

10.5 CONSEQUENCES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World war which lasted for 1565 days brought about revolutionary changes in the social, economic and political spheres of life. It had far-reaching consequences. In the First World War all the resources of the countries involved were mobilized. It was much more than clash of contending armies leading to consequences of world-wide significance.

10.5.1 Great Loss of Human Life:

The First World War caused a great loss of human life. As per the estimates taken in 1931 by Anter Parliamentary Union of Enquiry around 4 crores 14 lacs 35 thousand people which included soldiers and civilians were killed. There was loss of millions of fittest men and permanent disabling in large number. Russia and Germany loss around 20 lacs people each, France around 12.5 lacs, Austria-Hungary 12.5 lacs, the British around 10 lacs. The USA suffered 1 lac 15 thousand deaths, half of them due to diseases or influenza epidemic that followed the armistice. Around 1 crore people were killed among all nations before they could reach 40 years of age. Around 2 crores people were severely wounded and majority of them became disabled for life. The millions of civilians all over the world died of starvation and disease. Millions of people and families were rendered homeless. It gave rise to the problem of rehabilitation of refugees and disrupted families. The death of millions of men in military operations caused large number of female populations in Europe, resulting in declining of birth rate in Europe.

10.5.2 Economic Loss:

In the First World War, 32 countries participated on the sides of Allied Powers and 4 countries on the sides of Central Powers, 14 countries remained neutral. Approximately 2 crores soldiers of Germany and 4

crores of the allies were engaged in the war. According to rough calculation, the total cost of the war in terms of money was around 186 billion dollars. The destruction of property, the loss caused due to sinking of ships and cargoes and the labour which was used for unproductive purposes. There was economic exhaustion of Europe and it was very apparent in central Europe. Mounting national debt and inflation disrupted normal economic life. The cases of unemployment and under nourishment increased in the European countries. The Allied powers had to borrow around 10 billion dollars from the United States of America (U.S.A.). The only nations which survived and thrived were the U.S.A. and Japan.

10.5.3 Political Consequences:

The revolutions of 1830 and 1848 led to emergence of democratic nations in Europe, yet Germany, Russia and Turkey were ruled by the monarchs on the eve of World War I. The Great war witnessed the end of monarchies. During the course of war, the Russian Revolutions of 1917 led to establishment of people's government in Russia. The Kaiser William II abdicated the throne and he fled away to Holland. A new democratic set up in Germany. The Sultan of Turkey abdicated the throne in 1925 and a democratic government was set up. Thus, the first World War brought about an end to autocratic monarchs in Europe.

The end of monarchies encouraged the establishment of democratic governments in Europe on the basis of principles of self-determination. There was the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian Empire and several new states in Europe were created such as Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia.

Post War period saw the progress of Freedom Struggle throughout the World against colonial powers or Foreign Powers to get freedom. In India non-cooperation movement was launched in 1921 against British imperialism.

In Egypt the Wafd Party forced Britain to give nominal recognition to her independence in 1922. The Irish Free State achieved the dominance status after a long struggle against colonial rule.

10.5.4 Allied Powers became Stronger:

The First World War led to the emergence of Great powers in Europe, America and the Far East, Britain became very strong colonial power and extended its imperialistic designs further to exploit the colonies. France gained considerable territory at the cost of Germany which lost miserably. France recovered Alsace and Lorraine from Germany. The U.S.A. which was neutral for the major part of World War I and entered in the last phase of the war in 1917 emerged as a real victor. No battle was fought on its soil. The prosperity of the U.S.A. increased due to boost to its industries on account of distress purchase by the Allied powers during the course of war. Japan in East Asia became powerful at the cost of Germany, Russia and China.

10.5.5 Dismemberment of Turkish Empire:

The Arabs were encouraged by Britain and France to revolt against Turkish government and were promised independence. After the end of war, the Arab countries were brought under the control of Allied powers. The league of nations gave the mandate of Iraq, Trans Jordan and Palestine Britain and that to France of Syria and Lebanon. Thus, the Turkish empire dismembered by the Allied powers but the Arabs were not given Freedom as promised by Britain and France.

10.5.6 Rise of Totalitarian States of Germany, Italy and Japan:

The rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany posed a great challenge to democratic value. Germany under Nazi Hitler and Italy under the influence of Mussolini launched a programme of territorial aggrandizement, which was a threat to world peace. Their philosophies were based on aggressive nationalism which made everything subordinate to state. Hitler and Mussolini were responsible for the collapse of democratic institutions in Spain. The rise of such totalitarian states was a threat to stable peace in European continent.

The rise of Japan after the First World War was looked upon with suspicion by the United States of America. It prompted her to minimize the Japanese influence in Far East. The militarist Japan collaborated with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to counter American interest and fulfil its imperialistic ambitions in South East Asia. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis emerged very strongly. These three totalitarian states disturbed the world peace by following their programmes of territorial expansion.

10.5.7 Economic Stagnation and Fate of the defeated:

There was a very humiliating treatment given to Germany and her allies by the victors of the First World War. The terms of treaty of Versailles made Germany stand fully unarmed before the Allied Powers. The conscription was fully terminated in Germany. Germany surrendered all its warships, submarines, tanks, armed vehicles, aeroplanes and other war material to the Allies. Her colonies were seized and it was compelled to pay war indemnity to the victors. Germany was held responsible for the war which is historically questionable. The Treaty of Versailles reduced the European area of Germany by one-eights and her population by 6.5 million.

It deprived Germany of all her colonies and of all holdings and investments abroad. Thus, Germany was politically, segregated, militarily, humbled, economically crippled, nationally humiliated and physically exhausted.

Germany's main ally Austria-Hungary was forced to sign the humiliating treaty of St. Germain on September 10, 1919. It reduced the Austrian army to 30 thousand soldiers and her naval force to only 3 police boats on the Danube. Austria was the greatest sufferer because her empire army and

glorious dynasty, disappeared just like storm. The Hungarians declared their independence whereas Czechs and Slovaks broke away.

Similarly, the Treaty of Lausanne signed by Turkey was equally humiliating which forced Turkey to renounce her claims over Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, Iraq and Syria.

10.5.8 Inflation and Labour Movement:

After the First World War general inflation led to prices of essential commodities soared beyond the reach of common people. Starvation increased to a large extent all over the world. The Governments restricted the prices of the commodities and capitalism was checked by the state so that capitalist could not exploit the people. This gave rise to state socialism. There was increased in the taxes and introduction of paper currency was required to channelise the trade activities.

War period was characterised by organised labour agitating for their demands. They could extract maximum benefit from the mill and factory owners because during war phase many factories and mills were established to fulfil the demands for the war equipment. The labours established their trade unions which looked after their rights. The importance of the workers is the gift of the great war.

10.5.9 Social Consequences:

The First World war had the casualties of men involved in to the war. There was stark disparity in population of men to that of women in Europe, shortage of men population forced factories to recruit women. The working women became politically active with success leading to improvement in their status. Women also rendered their services at the war fronts by nursing the wounded soldiers. They also involved themselves in various occupations and business activities. The women above the age of 30 years were granted franchise in Russia in 1917, England 1918 and by Germany 1920.

The First World war gave a setback to illusion of racial supremacy among the western countries. During the war the soldiers of Africa and Indian origin participated along with that of European counterparts. The Europeans in general became very positive to Indian and African origin people. This led to the decrease in racial differences and spread of feelings of fraternity all over the world. It further promoted the development of internationalism, peace and prosperity among the nations of the world.

Prior to the First World War faith prevailed predominantly in the life of people but war resulted in to destruction of such beliefs because France, Germany and Austria, they believed in the same God but they justified their act of war by applying the logic with respect to the teachings of Christianity. It was appealed to the devotees to pray for the victory of their country, which was considered and preached by the clergies. The war generated disbelief in Christianity to great extent and people started believing in agnosticism and atheism.

The war forced many countries to resort conscription which made young men pursuing higher education to join their respective militaries compulsory. The teachers also were recruited to fight at the war front. The finance available for the development of education and sciences in major European countries was either stopped or reduced marginally. The war also caused death of many scientists. It had a positive outcome as the scientists got involved in to new inventions in the field of science and humanity leading to path of progress.

During the First World War the great memorials and building were decimated but it led to development of an international culture. The translation of books and exchange in the field of Art and artist resulted in emergence of international culture.

The war also resulted in increase of colonial and imperial tendencies among the European nations. The capitalism which was exploitative in nature and influence the world politics in contemporary world order. Efforts were made to address the issues of drug-trafficking, exploitation of the labour and political problems of the nations through the establishment of World Organisations such as International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), League of Nations etc.

10.5.10 Establishment of League of Nations:

The covenant of League of Nations was unanimously accepted by a plenary session if the Paris Peace Conference on 28th April, 1919. On 10th January, 1920 the League of Nations, officially came in to existence. It was based on the vision of US President Woodrow Wilson. Its objective was to prevent wars in the future, by providing an international forum for co-operation and arbitration in the event of disputes between two or more nations. The covenant of the league was embodied in the first 26 articles of the Treaty of Versailles.

10.5.11 Seeds of the World War II:

The seeds of World War II were sown with the signing of armistice between the Allied powers and the defeated nations of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey. The high ideals of President Woodrow Wilson were forgotten and irrational, illogical, harsh and vindictive provisions were put in the Treaty of Versailles. Germany was forced to accept the provisions which no sovereign nation could accept with pride. It was bound to rise and support any leader who could restore self-respect and pride of Germany and take revenge of its humiliation. Adolf Hitler was hailed by the followers in Germany to the level which brought the World War II a reality. Even Italy and Japan were not satisfied with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and they sided with Germany to take revenge from the Allied Powers by forming Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis.

Check your Progress:

Mention the effects of World War I.

10.6 PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

Paris Peace Conference was held in the capital of France to recognise the great courage and valour shown by the France during the war the armistice was signed between Germany and the Marshal Foch, the Commander in chief of the Allied powers on 11th November, 1918. Paris was selected for the conference for other reasons such as armistice was held in Paris, the offices of the Supreme War Council were located in Paris and Government in exile of Poland and Czechoslovakia were functioning from Paris. But the very purpose of selecting Paris due to the desire for revenge by the French People over shadowed all other objectives.

10.6.1 Nature of the Paris Peace Conference:

The First World War came to an end after a fierce struggle for four years three months and eleven days. During the course of war many monarchies lost their seat, powerful alliances were decimated and humiliated, political map of the world was redrawn and huge loss of life and property were very significant. Although there was jubilation all around due to end of the war but there was headache of the problems of peace which was inevitable.

a) Participating Nations:

The first general session of the conference was inaugurated by the French President Poincare on January 18, 1919. Clemenceau was unanimously elected as the Chairman of the Conference. The 32 nations were invited to attend the peace conference and all of them were members of Allied powers during the war. Russia and the defeated countries were not invited to participate in the work of peace making. The representatives around 70 members from various countries attended it. Thousands of people including diplomats, politicians, social scientists, economist, media persons, members of parliaments and eminent personalities also reached Paris to witness the deliberations for the better future of the world.

b) Supreme Peace Conference:

To transact the business of the conference a ten-member Supreme Peace Conference was formed. The two representatives of five nations namely United States of America (U.S.A.), France, Britain, Japan and Italy were the members of 'Council of Ten'. France was represented by George Clemenceau (French Premier) and Marshal Foch, U.S.A. by President Woodrow Wilson and Foreign Secretary Lansing, Britain by Lloyd George (British Prime Minister) and Balfour, Italy by Vittorio Orlando (Italian Prime Minister) and Sonnino and Japan by Kimoshi Sayouji and Nobaki Mackino. The Council of Ten met twice daily, but as it could not keep the proceedings confidential, a 'Council of Four' was formed.

c) Council of Four:

Japan was offered a prestigious place but its delegation was mainly interested in getting the territory of Shantung and not keenly interested in

other matters. The council of four was formed in March 1919 and representatives of U.S.A., Britain, France and Italy were included in to it. The four personalities were U.S.A. President Woodrow Wilson, British Prime Minister Lloyd George, French Prime Minister George Clemenceau and the Prime Minister of Italy Vittorio Orlando. Orlando left the council in protest when Italy's demand for the port of Fiume on the Adriatic was refused bluntly by Wilson, the council of four remained as Council of Three. About 58 more commissions and committees were set up to investigate in to the subject related to the treaty, prepare and present the report on them. The important among them were the League of Nations commission and the Compensation commission.

d) The impact “Big Four” personalities:

The personalities of “Big Four” influenced the deliberations and the process of decision at the Peace Conference.

Woodrow Wilson:

The President of U.S.A. had an important place in the Peace Conference due to America's valuable contribution to the victory of Allied Powers. His main intention was to have a lasting peace among the nations. His objectives included the establishment of League of Nations and acceptance of principle of self - determination. He was a man with idealistic principles. His approach was a like messenger of peace in a war oppressed world. His limitations included such as not listening to others, very little knowledge of European politics and disliked consulting diplomats or experts. In spite of limitations, he was held very highly among the victors and vanquished nations. Lloyd George and Clemenceau exploited the weakness of President Wilson to their advantage.

George Clemenceau:

The French Prime Minister had a long experience and diplomatic abilities. He was the most influential leader in the whole conference. He had an ardent desire to take revenge on Germany. He was against idealism of Wilson and considered himself to be free from Fourteen Points of Wilson.

Lloyd George:

The Prime Minister of Britain who was the leader of Liberal Party, won the 1918 election by propagating the feelings of revenge. He was willing to accept some of the fourteen points proposed by Wilson, if it suited British interest. His three objectives of Peace Conference were, to disarm Germany as a naval rival, contain France to the extent that could disturb the balance of power in Europe and handsome amounts of booty as a share during negotiations to a great extent he was successful. He was a very interesting personality at the conference due to his sharp wit, humour and cleverness.

Vittorio Orlando:

The Italian Prime Minister was a learned personality with good oratory skill and a seasoned diplomat. He insisted on fulfilment of the promises made in the secret alliances during the war which was refused by President Wilson. In protest of refusal to give Fiume to Italy, he left the group of four.

e) Defects in the Organisation of Peace Conference:

- i) The Secretary General Dutasta was an incompetent, which proved to be a misfortune.
- ii) The participation of large number of delegates along with their secretaries, advisor and representatives proved too vast to conduct business efficiently.
- iii) Japan lost interest in the deliberations in the conference and Italy withdrew its delegation on account of refusal to fulfil her special claims. The delegates of three big countries U.S.A., Britain and France held their meetings in secret and other participants were subjected to neglect as they had to register/notice the decisions of the big three.

f) Problems of Paris Peace Conference:

The conference was confronted with certain problems:

- i) **The wording of the covenant of the League of Nations:** The US President Wilson wanted to incorporate the covenant of the League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles. He was the Chairman of Drafting Commission to frame the covenant of the League. He was given this responsibility in the 2nd Plenary session on 25th January, 1919 and placed the report in another Plenary session held in February 1919. It was finally adopted on 28th April, 1919 after 26 changes to the original draft.
- ii) **The issue of French Security:** France was deeply concerned for its security. It expected retaliation from Germany in future. France wanted to cripple Germany politically, militarily, economically and territorially, so that it could never attempt to threaten France. There was prolonged discussion and a compromised understanding was established between France and Allied powers. U.S.A. and Britain agreed to sign special treaties which guaranteed to the aid of France, if Germany tried to have military or territorial aggression in future.
- iii) **Italy's claim at Paris Peace Conference:** Italy tried to convince the delegates of Britain, France and U.S.A. that without Fiume, its security was at stake. Italy got less territory what was promised in the secret Treaty of London (1915). It boycotted the conference in disgust.

- iv) **Settlement of the Colonies of defeated countries:** The erstwhile colonies of Germany and Ottoman Empire and its annexation by the victors was a great challenge. General Smuts devised a formula known as Mandate System, the territories carved out of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were to be assigned to League of Nations, which in turn, was to delegate its authority to any country to govern these territories under League's supervision.

Check your Progress:

Highlight the role of 'Big Four' personalities during the deliberations at Paris Peace Conference.

10.6.2 The Basis of the Peace Treaties:

The total surrender of Germany on 11th November, 1918 was an outcome of a long peace programme agreed by the Allies and Central powers. The principles of the formal agreement were as follows:

i) **Fourteen Points of Wilson:** US President Woodrow Wilson proposed his famous 14 points in his address to the Congress on 8th January, 1918. His fourteen points were as follows –

- 1) Abolition of secret diplomacy and all alliances should be made in open.
- 2) Freedom of the seas so that during the time of peace and wars, there must be freedom of navigation on the seas except territorial waters.
- 3) Removal of economic barriers and all nations be given equal opportunities of trading.
- 4) Reduction of armaments to the level which is absolutely necessary for maintaining internal peace and order.
- 5) In partial adjustment of colonial claims in doing so the feelings and the interest of the subjects should be kept in mind.
- 6) Evacuation of Russia by all the armies so that it could chalk out her future course of action.
- 7) Restoration of Belgium by withdrawal of German armies so that the Belgium could once again become a sovereign state.
- 8) Alsace and Lorraine to be returned to France and German armies to be withdrawal from French territory.
- 9) Re-adjustment of Italian frontiers on the basis of nationality.
- 10) Autonomy to the people of Austria and Hungary.
- 11) Autonomy to the subject nationality of Turkey so that other races living in the Turkish empire be assured of their security and the straits

of Dardenelles should be internationalised so that ships of all the countries had freedom of transport and trade.

- 12) Creation of an independent Poland by amalgamating all the areas where the Poles lived.
- 13) Evacuation of the Balkans by the central powers from Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro.
- 14) The creation of the League of Nations to guarantee independence to all nations. All big and small states should be its members and the preservation of their political freedom and territorial integrity be assured.

ii) President Wilson's Four Principles:

In his address to the US Congress on 11th February, 1918 President Wilson declared Four Principles for the final settlement with Germany and her allies.

- 1) The first principle was that final settlement should be based on the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustment which could bring a permanent peace.
- 2) The second principle stated that people and territories were not to be bartered about from one nation to the other as a pawn in a game of power politics.
- 3) The third principle unfolded that every territorial settlement after the war should be in the interest and for the benefit of the population concerned and not as a part of mere compromise of claims among rival states.
- 4) The fourth principle stated that all well-defined national aspirations should be fulfilled as far as possible without any discord and antagonism.

iii) Wilson's Five Interpretations:

In his speech in New York on 27th September, 1918, President Wilson laid down the Five Principles of his government with regard to peace.

- 1) There should be impartial justice without any discrimination with victors as well as vanquished.
- 2) There should not be any consideration during peace settlement for special interest of any country or group of countries.
- 3) The member states of the league would abide by its covenant in the interest of World peace.
- 4) There should be no special selfish economic combinations within the League of Nations and no economic boycott in any form against any

state. The league was to be sole authority to impose economic sanctions against an aggressive-nations in the interest of world peace.

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- 5) All the international agreements and treaties should be made public to the rest of the world.

iv) Secret Agreements and Promises:

The Peace settlement was result of compromise of Wilson's idealism with respect to the exigencies of victor. The various factors during the course of war registered their impact on the final peace settlements.

1) The Secret Treaty of London (1915): The treaty was signed between Great Britain and Italy on 26th April, 1915. Though this treaty Italy was assured the territories of Trentino, Trieste and Northern-Dalmatia and a sphere on influence in Asiatic Turkey in return for joining the war on the sides of Allied powers. Italy was also promised a special war loan and a share of the war indemnity.

2) Pledge of the Allies to Rumania (1916):

In August 1916, Rumania was assured to get the provinces of Bukovina and Transylvania if it participates in the war against central powers.

3) Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916):

It was signed in May 1916 between France and Britain. Under this agreement there was an understanding between both over the Turkish territories in the Arab world which were to be administered by them after the end of war. They also agreed to grant independent to certain Arab states which were the parts of Turkish empire.

4) St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement (1917):

By this agreement Allied powers granted a sphere of influence to Italy in the Anatolian districts of Smyrna and Adalia.

5) Naval Agreement between Japan and Britain (1917):

Britain promised to support the Japanese claim over Shanto and German Island north of the equator in return of certain naval assistance. This was executed in the month of February, 1917.

6) Agreement between France and Russia (1917):

In March, 1917 through the agreement Russia offered to support French claims in Alsace- Lorraine, the Saar Basin and the Rhineland in return for French assistance in achieving Russian territorial claims under the possession of Central Powers.

V) War Time Promises and Declarations:

The delegates and the political leaders involved in Peace settlement had in their minds the promises which they had made to the people during the

war. They had natural desire to punish Germany and her Allies to the extent where she could never make any attempt to undo the work of Peace Conference. In 1915 Britain promised to the Arab leader Hussain, the Sheriff of Mecca, the independence of Arab state after the end of war. The Balfour Declaration promised the Jews of the world a national home in Palestine in November, 1917.

Check your Progress:

Highlight the importance of 'Wilson's Fourteen Points' during the negotiations of Paris Peace Settlements.

10.6.3 The Provisions of the Treaty of Versailles:

After a long session of almost four months a draft treaty was ready on May 6, 1919. The printed draft had 230 pages with 15 parts and having 439 sections. The first part described the establishment of structure and function of the 'League of Nations'. The German delegation had arrived at Paris on 29th April, 1919. The draft of the terms and conditions of the treaty was presented by Clemenceau to the German delegates in the Trianon Palace at Versailles on 7th May, 1919. The German delegation was shocked as the terms of the treaty were very harsh and specially, they held German responsibility for the war. The Truce Committee accepted the draft and referred it to the government of Germany. The Government of Germany raised certain objections and demanded certain amendments in it. The allied powers deliberated on the objections raised by the Germany and amended some of the terms and condition of the treaty. Germany was instructed to accept the amended draft till 23rd June, 1919, otherwise Germany would be attacked once again by the Allied Powers. The terms and conditions of the treaty were very humiliating for Germany. A Large number of citizens preferred to sacrifice their life fighting against the Allied Powers than accept the terms and condition. The Commander-in-Chief of Germany Hinderberg stated that it was impossible to defeat Allied powers in war. In protest to the draft treaty Prime Minister Shiedman resigned. The new Prime Minister Gustabour and Foreign Minister Muller agreed to sign the treaty. A German delegate and 31 representatives signed the Treaty of Versailles on 28th June, 1919. The German delegation was humiliated and treated like prisoners. Herman Muller and Johannessbel signed the treaty on the behalf of the Germany. The palace where the document of Treaty was the same hall of mirrors where the Prussian King was declared the emperor of France in 1871 after the defeat of France. It was the same spot where now France avenged the insult meted out to her by Germany. The French delegates once had to signed the necessary documents in the palace under compulsion.

After the signing of treaty with Germany, some more treaties with the smaller powers which were defeated in the war

- i) The Treaty of St. Germain was made with Austria in September, 1919.
- ii) The Treaty of Neville was signed with Bulgaria in November, 1919.

- iii) The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary in June 1920.
- iv) The Treaty of Sevres was signed with Turkey 1920.

Collectively all these treaties go by the name of Treaty of Paris, under every individual treaty League of Nations and the Court of International Justice have been mentioned. Among all the treaties that signed at the Paris Peace Conference, the Treaty of Versailles was the most important document which was signed on June 28, 1919.

I) Treaty of Versailles:

It was signed by the German delegates Herman Muller and Johannessbel. After that Lloyd George, Orlando and Maharaja of Bikaner signed it. Maharaja of Bikaner Sir Ganga Singh was the member of Imperial War Cabinet and he attended the signing of Treaty of Versailles in the palace. Clemenceau followed by petion and Tortauy signed. After that other rulers and delegates signed the document. The condition laid down in the Treaty of Versailles are as follows –

a) Territorial Arrangements:

- i) Alsace and Lorraine were to be restored to France.
- ii) Morsnet - Malmedi and Upen on the border of Belgium and Germany were ceded to Belgium.
- iii) Most of Posen and West Prussia were ceded to Poland.
- iv) The Mineral rich Saar valley of Germany was to be given to France and it was to be put under administration of League of Nations for 15 years. After that through plebiscite, it would be decided the merger of Saar with Germany or France. This was done as a compensation for the destruction of French mines.
- v) A Plebiscite was held in March 1920, in Schleswig, by which north Schleswig went to Poland and the South remained with Germany.
- vi) The Danzig was taken away from Germany and was accepted as an independent state with 700 square miles of sea round her and the League of Nations appointed a commissioner to run its administration. The League of Nations was to get Memel port on the Baltic Sea from the Germany so that it could be transferred to Lithuania.
- vii) Germany recognised the newly constituted state of Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia as sovereign and independent nation state.
- viii) Germany transferred a small portion of upper Silesia to Czechoslovakia.
- ix) Germany had to transfer all the rights of her overseas colonies. The League of Nations distributed these colonies among Britain, France, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Belgium under the 'Mandate System'. The total territory of about 1.25 million square

miles of the German Empire passed under the League of Nations. German localities in the provinces of Kiachow and Shantung were leased to Japan. Samoa Island was given to New Zealand. The West Africa part of German colony was given to Britain. The Camroon and Togoland were distributed between Britain and France. The German territory of South West Africa was given to South Africa. The German New Guinea, Nauru and Islands South of Equator were mandated to Britain. The rest of German islands were mandated to Australia.

- x) Germany surrendered its right and privileges in China, Thailand, Egypt, Morocco and Liberia. The German property and privileges in Bulgaria and Turkey were confiscated.
- xi) Through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Germany took a large part of Russia but through the Treaty of Versailles, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania were carved out of German territories.
- xii) Germany acknowledged the sovereignty of Austria.

b) Military Arrangements:

The Allied Powers intended that the provisions of treaty of Versailles with Germany should render Germany helpless so that it could never be able to disturb the world peace in future. For this following military arrangements were made in the treaty. No other country had ever been demilitarized so sternly as Germany was.

- i) Conscription was called off in Germany.
- ii) The total strength of German army was fixed at 1,00,000 men. The military officers could have 25 years of active service while soldiers for 12 years.
- iii) There was drastic restriction on the production of arms, ammunitions and military hardware. There was a total ban on import of military equipment. The manufacture of arms was to be supervised by an Allied Commission and heavy armaments like tanks, bombing planes and large calibre, artillery was prohibited.
- iv) Germany was prohibited for fortification on the right bank of the Rhine and the area 50 km deep East of the Rhine was to be demilitarised forever. All her fortification were to be destroyed and garrison prohibited.
- v) Germany was prohibited to maintain any air force.
- vi) Germany's naval strength was reduced to a skeleton patrol with tonnage of ships severely restricted and sub-marines entirely prohibited. Its navy could have 6 Battleships, 6 Cruisers, 12 Gunboats and Torpedoes. The total strength of the navy including officers was limited to 15,000. All the surplus warships were to be converted in to commercial ships or destroyed or handed over to the Allied powers.

- vii) The fortification of the sea port of Heligoland would be destroyed.
- viii) There was a provision to set up inter-friendly national commission by the Allied powers to supervise the implementation of the sections relating de-militarisation. These commissions were having vast powers to move freely in any part of Germany to gather information regarding demilitarisation.

C) Economic Arrangements:

- i) Under the Article 231, Germany accepted responsibility for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and association government and their nationals had been subjected due to World War. A Reparation Commission was to be appointed by the Allied Powers to determine the total amount of reparation and the mode of payment. As a part payment on account of reparation, Germany was to turn over her entire mercantile navy, large quantities of livestock, raw materials, coals, chemicals etc. and 5000,000,000 U.S. Dollars in cash to the Allies before May 21, 1921. The total amount of reparation was ultimately was fixed at 27000,000,000 U.S. Dollars.
- ii) Germany was required to build ships for the Allies up to 200 thousand tons a year for 5 years.
- iii) Germany had to annually deliver coal for 10 years as per following arrangements – She would give 7000,000 tons to France, 8000,000 tons to Belgium, 7700,000 tons to Italy and smaller amount to Luxemburg.
- iv) Germany was to give the Allies, Coal Tar, Ammonium Sulphate, Dyestuffs and Chemicals in huge quantities.
- v) The Elbe, Oder, Niemen and Danube rivers were declared international and along with Rhine these rivers were placed under the control of an International Commission, so that free access to the sea might be provided for the land locked countries of the Central Europe.
- vi) The products of the Allied Powers were to be accorded the most favoured nation treatment in Germany.
- vii) The Kiel Canal and its approaches were made open on equal terms to the merchants and war vessels of all countries at peace with Germany.
- viii) All German properties whether private or public in the former German colonies and in the Allied countries was forfeited.
- ix) A large number of horses, cattle, ships etc. were to be delivered to France and Belgium in compensation for those confiscated during the war.

d) Legal Arrangement:

The war guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles held Germany responsible for all the losses and damages to the Allied powers and their associated

countries. The German Emperor Kaiser William II was charged for supreme offense against international morality and sanctity of treaties, but he held taken shelter in Netherlands which refused to hand over him, he could not be subjected to trial. Only some of the war criminals were put to trial at Leipzig and they were sentenced with minor punishment.

e) Miscellaneous Provisions:

- i) Germany was to restore within six months of the treaty, the trophies, Archives, Historical Souvenirs and Works of Art carried away by her army from France during the war of 1870-71.
- ii) Germany was required to return the French flags and political papers seized by her during the course of hostilities.
- iii) Germany was to deliver to his majesty the King of the Hejaz the original Quran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the authorities of Turkey and was presented to the Former emperor of Germany Kaiser William II.
- iv) Germany was required to hand over to Britain the Skull of Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.
- v) Germany was to furnish to the University of Louvain manuscripts, books etc. corresponding in number and value to those destroyed by the burning of the University by the German forces.

f) Guarantees:

The terms of the treaty stipulated certain guarantees. The German area west of the Rhine was to remain under the control of Allied forces for 15 years. The bridge heads of Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz were included in this area. If Germany fulfilled all the conditions of the Treaty, it was guaranteed that Allied forces would evacuate Cologne after 5 years, Coblenz after 10 years and Mainz and other territories after 15 years.

Check your Progress:

Appreciate the provisions of Treaty of Versailles.

10.6.4 An Estimate of the Treaty of Versailles:

The treaty of Versailles was a departure from the idealism of US President Woodrow Wilson. The treaty has been criticized on various grounds –

- i) **Harsh Terms:** The treaty was designed to cripple Germany to the extent to remain in perpetual subjection. The terms of the treaty were very harsh and almost impossible to be fulfilled. It was so severe that no sovereign could tolerate it. By this treaty Germany was economically devastated, politically isolated, militarily humbled, physically exhausted and territorially reduced. It was based on transitory passions and not on permanent wisdom. It reflected the mind set of Allied powers and their associates which was full of

momentary malice, revenge, hatred, bitterness and deviation from balanced justice.

- ii) **Dictated Peace:** The Treaty of Versailles was not a negotiated treaty but was a dictated peace, imposed by the victors upon vanquished and humiliated enemy. The German representatives were not invited to the Peace Conference until the terms of the settlements had been finalised by the Allied powers. The Germans were treated like criminals and were abused. The treaty violated international etiquettes and traditions. The amendments proposed by Germany were rejected. This treaty contained the seeds of future struggle.
- iii) **Violation of the Principle of Reciprocity:** The treaty of Versailles lacked the principle of Reciprocity regarding disarmament, transportation, colonies and punishment of guilty officers and soldiers. All the ideals upon which the treaty was based were forced upon Germany alone and it completely disregarded the Allied powers.
- iv) **Treachery as the Basis of the Treaty:** The examples of treachery were the occupation of Rhineland by France, Dalmatia by Italy and entire North Silesia by Poland. The Germans were very optimistic of 'Wilson's Fourteen Points' could be the basis but it was not so. Germany had agreed to end the war on the basis of this understanding but Treaty of Versailles was a great betrayal for her and led to the Second World War within a period of 20 years.

The Following facts indicates the betrayal of Germany by the Allied Powers:

- a) The Covenants of Peace were not openly arrived at, there was strict secrecy by the Big Four in the deliberations for the formulation of the terms of peace with Germany. The Freedom of seas was not secured.
- b) Free trade was promised in Europe but a set of tariff structures were introduced which affected Germany's Economy.
- c) National armaments were not reduced, but race for armaments continued unabated.
- d) The colonies of Germany were distributed among the Allies in a manner which was lacking open mindedness and impartiality.
- e) The Soviet Union was debarred from being the member of League of Nations.
- f) The boundaries of Italy were not specified on the basis of nationality; lacs of Germans and Yugoslavs were included in Italy. The territories of Poland included many people who were not polish. About three million German speaking people of the former Austrian Empire became the part of new state of Czechoslovakia.
- g) The League of Nations did not adhere to the principle of equality in dealing with big and small nations.

v) Fragmentation of Europe:

There were 19 states at the outbreak of First World War in Europe but after the Treaty of Versailles the number of states increased to 26. Many of the states were so small that they could not sustained economically. There policies interfere with the flow of goods from one part of Europe to another during post war tariff era.

vi) Unsatisfactory Mandate System:

The people of the former German and Ottoman empires were placed under the mandate system to powers like Britain, France, Belgium and Japan which unfortunately did not discharge their obligation satisfactory. The mandatory powers tried to perpetuate their rule over mandated territories and subject nations were denied the right to self-determination.

vii) Powerless League of Nations:

The covenant of League of Nations was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. It was the responsibility of League to enforce the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Policy of appeasement followed by Britain and France rendered league a defunct body. The League could not act effectively when Nazi Germany under Hitler repudiated the Treaty of Versailles. The responsible and eminent members of the league gave fillip to the program of aggression by the Japan, Germany and Italy.

viii) Created Power Vacuum:

The treaty of Versailles created a power vacuum in Europe. Though Germany was weakened to a great extent, she still possessed potential strength. The settlement created emergence of small and weak new states bordering Germany. Soviet Russia and U.S.A. withdrew from the European affairs. Russia a communist power was not in good terms with European countries whereas U.S.A. once again followed its isolationist policy by rejecting the Treaty of Versailles. This prompted Germany under Hitler to crush the neighbouring states such as Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Poland.

Check your Progress:

Enlist the limitations of the Treaty of Versailles.

10.6.5 Other Peace Treaties:

D) The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria (September 1919):

The Treaty of St. Germain was signed between the Allied powers and Austria-Hungary on September 10, 1919. It dissolved the empire of Austria and Hungary. Total population of Austria was reduced from 31 million to 6 million citizens. The Austrian delegation arrived St. Germain-en-Laye in May 1919. The draft of the treaty was placed before Austrian delegates on June 2, 1919 and after the incorporation of some demands of

Austrian delegation it was finally signed on September 10, 1919 at St. Germain. It provided that:

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- 1) The Austria-Hungary Empire was dissolved and replaced by a Republican Government.
- 2) There was ban on reunion of Austria and Germany.
- 3) Austria was forced to recognise the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia.
- 4) The name of the country was changed from German Austria to the Republic of Austria.
- 5) The Austria was to accept the guilt for the war and hence was liable for reparation.
- 6) The total strength of the army was restricted to 30,000 men,
- 7) The Austrian Navy was restricted to 3 police boats on the Danube.
- 8) Italy received from Austria South Tisol, Trentino, Triest, Estria and Postal Island of Dalmatia.
- 9) Poland got Austrian Galicia.
- 10) Rumania was given Bukovina.
- 11) Czechoslovakia received Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.
- 12) Yugoslavia was given Bosnia, Herzegovina, The coast of Dalmatia and some islands.
- 13) The Austria had to renounce all her rights and privileges in non-European area and it acknowledge the right of the Allied powers to initiate charges against Austrian War Criminals.
- 14) The articles related to formation of League of Nation and International Labour Organisation were included in the Treaty of St. Germain.

II) The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (November 1919):

The Bulgaria tried its level best to avoid the severity of Peace terms by sending memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference and blamed the entry of Bulgaria in to the war on ex-king Ferdinand who abdicated on 4th October, 1918, and therefore requested for less punishment. But Allied Powers rejected its request and Bulgaria accepted the Treaty of Neuilly on 27th November, 1919.

- 1) The Treaty provided that Rumania should get the Dobruja along with Bulgaria.
- 2) Greece got Thracian coast and Aegean coast.

- 3) Yugoslavia got most of Macedonia.
- 4) The total strength of the army was restricted to 20,000 men.
- 5) The Bulgarian Navy was dismantled and only allowed to have 4 Torpedo boats and 6 motor boats.
- 6) Bulgaria was required to give 45,00,00,000 Dollars reparation to be paid in 37 years with effect from January 1, 1921.

III) The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary (June 1920):

This treaty was signed in the Trianon palace at Versailles between Hungary and allied powers on 4th June, 1920.

- 1) Hungary was separated from Austria.
- 2) The Maritime Hungarian empire of 1,25,000 square miles with the population of 22 million was reduced to 30,000 square miles with a population of 8 million.
- 3) Hungary gave up the Slovak province to Czechoslovakia, Transylvania to Rumania, Croatia to Yugoslavia, Banat to Rumania and West Hungary to Austria. Thus Hungary became an insignificant state of Central Europe. There was a blatant violation of principle of Self-determination as nearly one-fourth of the Hungarian nationals were assigned to neighbouring hostile states.
- 4) Hungary's army was restricted to 35000 men and Navy was rendered with a few patrol boats.
- 5) Due to territorial arrangements around 600000 men and women of Magyar race and around 4.5 million of former subjects of Hungarian empire passed under alien domination.

The Lovely Mountain region of Transylvania where Magyar nobles used to go for pleasure trips was gone.

IV) The Treaty of Sevres with Turkey (August 1920):

The Peace treaty with Turkey was a very complex and controversial of all the issues faced by the Paris Peace Conference. Because of claims and counter claims of the Allied powers based on secret treaties signed with a Turkey in the past, the negotiations continued for resolving the conflicts of interest and the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey was concluded on 10th August, 1920.

- 1) The Turkey surrendered all her rights and concessions in Egypt, Sudan, Cyprus, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Morocco, Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria.
- 2) Greece got the territory of Thrace and all the islands in the Aegean Sea.

- 3) Smyrna and South Western Asia Minor were given in temporary control of Greece.
- 4) Dodecanese Islands and the territory of Rhodes were given to Italy.
- 5) Britain got Mesopotamia and Palestine while Syria was given to France.
- 6) Armenia was declared independent state.
- 7) The straits of Dardanelles were declared an international area and Turkey was permitted to hold Constantinople and surrounding areas.
- 8) Kurdistan was given autonomy with a provision of demarcation of boundaries.
- 9) As per the agreement among Britain, France and Italy, the spheres of influence were granted to France and Italy in Cilicia and Anatolia respectively.
- 10) Hejaz was to controlled by Britain.
- 11) The Treaty of Sevres resulted in loss of 4,40,000 square miles of land to Turkey. The total population was reduced to 8 million and around 12 million people lost the Turkish nationality.
- 12) The Turkish army was restricted to force of 50000 men. Turkey became a small powerless state. Although the Sultan signed to Treaty of Sevres, the national assembly under Kemal Pasha refused to ratify it.

V) The Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923):

The Turkey nationalist under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha overthrew monarchy established a Republic. The revolutionaries inspired by nationalistic feelings repudiated the Treaty of Sevres which was published on April 24, 1920. The Greeks supported by Allied Powers started the Greco-Turkish war 1921-1922 to enforced the terms of the Treaty of Sevres. During this conflict the ex-king Constantinople ascended on the throne of Greece, who happened to be hostile to the Allies during the First World War. The Allied stopped supporting Greece and the Turkish nationalist were successful in defeating Greeks. They deposed Mohammed VI and drove the Greeks out of Smyrna. Through an armistice concluded on 11th October, 1922, the Greeks were ordered to restore Thrace to Turkey. After the prolonged negotiations since 20th November, 1922. The Treaty of Lausanne modified the Treaty of Sevres which restored the control of Turkey over Anatolia, Armenia, Cilicia, Adalia, Smyrna, Constantinople, Gallipoli, Adrianople and Eastern Thrace. Turkey was not compelled to reduce her army and navy or no burden of reparation. It became free from international control and became ready to develop along national lines. The treaty of Lausanne was signed between the Turkey and the Allied Powers including U.S.A., France, Italy, Rumania, UK, Yugoslavia, Greece and Japan, on 24th July 1923 at

Lausanne, Switzerland. The Treaty of Lausanne in place of Treaty of Sevres was a great achievement for the Turkey under Kemal Pasha.

- 1) Turkish sovereignty over Anatolia was restored.
- 2) The idea of giving independence to Armenia and Kurdistan was abandoned.
- 3) Turkey regained Constantinople, Eastern Thrace, Gallipoli, Cilicia, Adalia and Smyrna.
- 4) The territories Dardanelles and the Bosphorus straits were internationalised.
- 5) The Turkey renounced all her claims over Egypt, Palestine, Sudan, Cyprus, Iraq, Arabia, Syria.
- 6) The Greek and Turkish speaking population were voluntarily exchanged between Greece and Turkey.

It was a negotiated treaty and not a dictated peace.

Check your Progress:

Name the significant treaties signed during Paris Peace Settlements.

10.7 SUMMARY

The Nineteenth century Europe and events in Europe leading to conflict of interest were the background of unimaginable event of world War I. The rise of extreme nationalism and secret treaties infused suspicion among nations and led to race for armaments with lethal powers and destructive capacity. The imperialistic outlook of major European countries such as emperor Kaiser William II and Media full of sensationalism and misleading reports aggravated the condition and one of the major factors of war. The war started with a conflict between Austria and Serbia engulfed the major powers like Britain, France, Germany, Russia, U.S.A. etc. The World Powers got polarised into two sides in this war. In this war the Allied Powers were having Britain, France, Russia, Serbia, Japan, Portugal, U.S.A., Rumania and Greece etc on their side while Axis Powers included Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the other side.

The Germany was held responsible for the World War I. But in reality, Allied powers were equally responsible for the war in one way or the other.

The First World War had a great loss of life and property and it had a long-lasting social impact. There was huge economic burden due to war time expenses which indirectly affected the life of common men of the World as well as trade and commerce throughout the world. Only U.S.A. made huge profits on account of World War I. There was emergence of national socialism as many governments took industries under their

control. The importance of women in society and industry was realised and they were given right to vote by Russia, Britain and Germany. The racial discrimination reduced to a great extent after the war as many Asian and African soldiers proved their abilities along with Allied Powers during the war.

The Paris Peace Conference was called for evolving and everlasting peace settlements mechanism. The establishment of League of Nations to settle the disputes between the countries through discussions was the chief outcome of the war. The 32 countries were invited to attend the Paris Peace Conference. The Council of ten having two representatives each from U.S.A., France, Britain, Japan and Italy had the responsibility to conduct the business of the conference in smooth manner. But this council was reduced to Council of Four represented by U.S. President Wilson, British Prime Minister Lloyd George, French Prime Minister Clemenceau and the Prime Minister of Italy Orlando. Due to the ideological differences and interest, there were varying degrees of influence of these personalities. The demand of Italian Prime Minister Orlando for the Sea port of Fiume for Italy was turned down by U.S. President Wilson, resulting in Orlando left the council and there remained council of three.

The Paris Peace Conference through a series of deliberations concluded the various treaties such as:

- 1) The Treaty of Versailles with Germany
- 2) The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria.
- 3) The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary.
- 4) The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria.
- 5) The Treaty of Sevres with Turkey.

All the above treaties and agreements were dictated treaties and not the negotiated one.

The nationalist followers of Kemal Pasha Repudiated the Treaty of Sevres and it was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne signed in 1923 by which Turkey recovered most of her lost territories. The Peace Treaties of Paris treated then vanquished powers in very oppressive and humiliating manner by the victors, the Allied Powers.

The unjust treaties proved to be background of future disaster in the form of World War II.

10.8 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the nature of secret diplomacy.
2. Explain how the economic imperialism was one of the causes for the First World War.

3. Critically evaluate the consequences of the World War I.
4. Write a short note
 - i) Immediate cause of the World War I.
 - ii) American entry in to the First World War.
 - iii) Peace Treaties signed after the First World War.
5. Briefly describe the causes of World War I.
6. Examine the system of military alliance as the causes of World War I.
7. Examine the factor of aggressive nationalism leading to World War I.
8. In what way Militarism, Imperialism and International Crisis contributed to the outbreak of World War I?
9. Discuss the various effect of World War I.
10. Describe the political, social and economic impact of World War I.
11. Discuss the organisation and problems before the Paris Peace Conference.
12. What were the basis of the peace making?
13. Write a note on the fourteen points of President Woodrow Wilson.
14. Enumerate the important provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and point out their significance in the history of Europe.
15. Discuss the various provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and show how they were unjust to Germany.
16. "The Treaty of Versailles contained the seeds of the Second World War". Discuss.
17. Comment on
 - a) Treaty of St. Germain.
 - b) Treaty of Neuilly.
 - c) Treaty of Trianon.
 - d) Treaty of Sevres.
 - e) Treaty of Lausanne.

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RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917 AND RISE OF DICTATORSHIP

Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Russian Revolution of 1917
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 - 11.1.3 Nature of the Menshevik Revolution
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 - 11.2.3 Nazism in Germany
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11.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- 1) Understand the social and political condition of Russia on the eve of revolution.
- 2) Analyse the factors responsible for the revolutions in Russia.
- 3) Explain the policy, programs and challenges faced by Bolshevik Government.
- 4) Highlight the Mustafa Kemal Pasha's early career and his role as benevolent dictator.
- 5) Understand the problems and conditions in Italy which gave rise to fascism.
- 6) Evaluate the achievements of Mussolini through his domestic and foreign policy.
- 7) Analyse the prevailing conditions responsible for rise of Nazism in Germany.

- 8) Evaluate the domestic and foreign policy of Hitler.
- 9) Understand the rise of dictatorship in Russia under Stalin.
- 10) Evaluate the domestic and foreign policy of Joseph Stalin.

11.1. RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

11.1.1 Introduction- Russia on the eve of Revolution:

Among the significant events of the twentieth century World, Russian Revolution is most important. The Russian Revolution of 1917, which resulted in the end of despotic monarchical rule and established democracy was also instrumental in putting an end to the power of social elites and emergence of dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants.

Russia was the largest East European country having one-sixth of total area of the world with a population of around 180 million. It was ruled by emperor Tzar Nicholas II. The society at large was believers in the Church and common people were illiterate and backward. The society comprised of three different classes – rich aristocrats, the middle class and the workers and peasants based on social and economic status. The emperor and his advisors paid no attention to the welfare of the people and their will, leading to autocratic monarchy in Russia at the beginning of twentieth century. The Parliament was set up after the revolution of 1905, but it was meaningless and rendered powerless under Tzar. The Tsarist regime reflected the autocracy, degenerative nobility, corrupt bureaucracy, suppression of civil and political liberties. The communist ideology of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels filled the revolutionary fervour among the masses of Russia against Tsarist regime.

The Russian Revolution was in two phases, the first in the month of February/March, 1917, which is popular as Menshevik Revolution and the second in October/November 1917, popular as Bolshevik Revolution.

The February/March Revolution of 1917 was led by democratic and Bourgeoisie leadership which ended around 300-year-old Tsarist rule of Romanov Dynasty and established a provisional government. Due to failure of the Menshevik government to fulfil the aspirations of the people, the second phase of revolution to overthrow Menshevik government took place in October/November 1917 by Bolsheviks. Bolshevik Revolution was influenced by the Marxist ideology but it was altered to suit the interest of the Bolshevik leadership such as Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky. Under the Bolshevik government no other political party than Bolshevik party was allowed to function in the country. Soviet Russia become one party totalitarian state.

Menshevik and Bolshevik were the two political parties, since 1903. Prior to that both factions were the part of Russian Social Democratic Party. The Menshevik were evolutionary in approach. They aspired to establish communist regime in a gradual manner through educating the masses. They disagreed on any form of revolutionary means to achieves its ends.

The Bolshevik firmly believed in revolution to get communist government in Russia, so that socio-economic and political aspirations of the masses could be fulfilled. They were not averse in adopting violent means to fulfil their ends.

11.1.2 Causes of Menshevik Revolution February/March 1917:

The discontentment of Russian people was expressed in the armed uprising against Tsarist autocracy in 1905, it was suppressed by the Tzar with a brutal force. The people at large in Russia were seeking an opportunity to overthrow the autocratic rule of Tzar, which was realised in February/March 1917. The factors responsible for Menshevik Revolution against Tsarist regime were as follows:

a) Despotic Tsarist Regime:

Russia was ruled by the autocratic Tsars, who were strongly opposed to the ideas of democracy and nationalism. They were not responsible to anyone. The Tzar Alexander I (1801-1825) who was liberal to some extent but after the revolt of Poland and contemporary external circumstances, he adopted the reactionary policy. The Tzar Alexander II (1858-1881) was having liberal attitude and he emancipated the slaves, introduced reforms in local administration but he had to reverse his policy and adopt reactionary policy on account of opposition of feudal chiefs. His period was marked by emergence of secret revolutionary and terrorist organisation which influenced the students to participate in revolutionary movements. The Tzar Alexander II was assassinated by one of the terrorists. The Tzar Alexander III (1881-1894) believed in harsh policy of ruthless suppression for a successful ruler. The Tzar Nicholas II (1894-1917) followed the similar policy but due to revolution of 1905, he announced the elections to Duma. (Russian Parliament) He did not allow Duma to function effectively.

There were responsible governments in most of the parts of Europe by the end of nineteenth century but Russian citizens were deprived of their rights. Any resentment to the government action was punished very severely. The increasing atrocity by the Tsarist regime intensified the peoples' discontent and made people to demand for reforms.

b) Restrictions on the People:

There was a censorship of Press against any article or material published criticizing or opposing the Tsarist regime. It restrained the printers, writers and publishers to express themselves or peoples' will so that freedom of expression was under suppression. This led to the dissemination of ideas of nationalism and liberty among the masses, gradually through underground movement. The political activist involved in political activities opposing or criticising the government's policies were arrested and they were punished by methods like flogging, life imprisonment, exile to Siberia or even death penalty. The People were not having basic freedoms of speech, press, association, national representation and

arbitrary arrest or deportation. The government put strict censorship on education leading to illiteracy of 75% of total population.

c) Economic Factors:

It was one of the root causes for the revolution in Russia. The primitive pattern of agricultural and industry left the general population in a state of misery and pauper. The following characteristics of Russian economy under Tzar were responsible for poor economic conditions.

1) Serfdom:

The Feudal structure of the Russian society led to the social hierarchy where members of the Royal family, the nobles and clergymen enjoyed high social status while majority of peasants and workers were backward, illiterate and under privileged. There were the Serfs who were at the bottom of the strata of the society. They were treated as the slaves. In the feudal structure the peasants were tied down to the land as serfs. They were treated like an object who could be sold and purchased. They were at the mercy of their respective masters, generally very cruel. The Emancipation Decree of 1861 issued by Tzar Alexander II (1858-1881) freed the Russian peasants from Serfdom but the so-called Serfs were not allowed to leave the village without the permission of the police and were bound to the village.

2) Heavy Taxation:

The imposition of heavy land revenue and other direct and indirect taxes rendered the Russian villages full of poverty, hunger, diseases and deaths.

3) Unequal distribution of land and waste of Public Money:

The money received from the general public through heavy taxation was used for luxurious life of the Royal Court. The major part of public money was spent in maintenance of large army and navy. The land distribution system was unjust and imbalanced. The Tsarist family, the nobles and the clergies who constituted 10% of the total population in Russia controlled 60% of the land under their possession. One third of the total peasantry was landless. It led to the discontent among the masses against Tsarist regime.

4) Industrial Backwardness:

The industrial backwardness of Russia attracted the foreign capitalist to invest heavily and exploit the resources in Russia. The Foreign capital was invested in the major industries of iron, coal and oil. The foreign capitalist controlled the capital of six leading Banks of Russia.

The advent of industrialization during Tzar Alexander III (1881-1894) by way of construction of railways and installation of industries led to the birth of new proletariat (Working class) class who were subjected to exploitation by the hands of capitalist class.

d) The Marxist Ideas (Expansion of Socialism in Russia):

During the reign of Tzar Nicholas II (1894-1917), the trade unions and voices for worker rights were crushed, but the Marxist ideas played a major role in awakening the working class with the confidence and courage to demand their rights.

The Marxist Socialist founded the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1898. In 1903 this part split into two groups viz, The Bolshevik and the Menshevik. By the year 1917, the events in Tzar's court dominated by Rasputin and his associates, defeats of Russia during the First World War, demoralised Russian army, economic distress, shortage of food, the incompetence of the government in dealing with national problems and loss of faith in the Tsarist government made a revolution inevitable in 1917.

e) Russo – Japanese War (1905):

The defeat of giant Russia by a tiny Asian nation, Japan in the war of 1904-1905 was a great set back to Russia. It brought national humiliation to Russia. The people blamed the Tzar government for the defeat as the modernisation of military and warfare was neglected under his regime.

f) Revolt of 1905:

The Russian defeat in the Russo- Japanese war prompted the prince Misky, the minister of interior who invited the reformers to submit a petition explaining their problems. A petition which demanded no punishment without trials, freedom of speech, public meetings, forming of association and the framing of the constitution was prepared. The Public excitement was very high and people went in a procession on 22nd January 1905. It was peaceful procession but the troops fired upon them which shocked the people and the day is known as 'Bloody Sunday' in the history of Russia. It was followed by frequent strikes in different cities and in numerable assassinations. The people demanded the convention of National Assembly to which emperor yielded to their demands. It set up an imperial Duma which was nearly a consultative body with a limited Franchise and lacked real representation of the masses. Though the Revolt of 1905 was a failure, it convinced people how to organise themselves in future revolts.

g) The defeat of Russia in the World War I:

The Russia was economically and military not prepared to fight the world war I. It entered the World War on sides of Allied powers and had to face a strong well equipped and experienced military of Germany. The first phase of the war resulted in death of many Russian soldiers fighting against the German war machine. The Tzar regime continued its luxurious life as if no set back to Russia in first World War. This led to the anger among masses towards Tsarist regime. They considered that Tzar was misfit to handle the situation. The defeat against the Germans had a demoralising effect and only solution people thought was an armed revolt.

h) Persecution of National Minorities:

The various National minorities formed an alliance to overthrow the Tzar in September 1904. Their strength in the first Duma was 70 members. The National minorities consisted of the Poles, Finns, Ukrainians, Latvians who were determined to retain their distinct identity. Their strength was reduced substantially in the third and fourth Duma due to electoral law of 3rd June 1907. Most of the government offices and authority was with Russians having no sympathy with the minorities. The policy of Russification aimed at suppression of non-Russian subjects by way of ban on their languages and confiscate the property from the time of Tzar Alexander I (1801-1825). There was violent protest in Georgia, Poland and the Baltic Sea. These revolts were suppressed with high handedness and in human manner by Tzar Nicholas II (1894-1917). Thus, ruthless persecution of national minorities caused separatist tendencies among them resulting in subversive propaganda and disruptive forces which caused the downfall of the monarchy in Russia.

i) Immediate Cause:

The increase in prices of food grains due to shortage of supply resulted in general discontent and outbreak of strikes throughout the country. It further transformed in to an insurrection directed against Russian participation in the war and the monarchy. On March 08, 1917 the Women Textile Workers in Petrograd went on strike demanding food. It led to a huge demonstration with cry for 'bread' and demand for the downfall of the monarchical regime. The army remained neutral and mutiny was reported in some garrisons. The Tzar Nicholas II abdicated the throne, which was the end of monarchy and in Russia, a new provisional government was set up.

Check Your Progress:

Name the factors responsible for February/March 1917 Revolution in Russia.

11.1.3 Nature of the Menshevik Revolution:

The February -March Revolution of 1917 was confined to the Petrograd (Presently Saint Petersburg) and entire country was not involved. The monarchy was forced to abdicate by the course of events at the capital. The provinces and army had no direct role in the events of February-March revolution. This revolution was a revolution of the Mensheviks. The provisional government represented the middle class intellectual and the bourgeoisie having moderate and liberal views. Mensheviks were in favour of the institution of private property and wanted to introduce socialism through peaceful and constitutional means.

a) Internal Affairs of Temporary; Liberal Government in Russia:

With the abdication of the throne by Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917), there was an end of Romanov dynasty rule of almost 300 years in Russia. The

provisional government formed after the February-March 1917 revolution had no constitutional basis. It was constituted by the provisional committee of the Duma and the executive committee of the Soviet. Prince George Lvov was appointed as Prime Minister and Milyukov was given the charge of foreign affairs. Gushkav was appointed as War Minister and Alexander Kerensky was appointed as the new Minister of Justice. Terevenko was given the charge of Finance Minister. The Allied Powers and other foreign governments gave recognition to this provisional government. Although the revolution was mainly carried by the toiling peasants and workers, yet the leadership of the provisional governments passed in to the hands of the nobility and the middle class.

The provisional government favoured liberalism and made the following announcements.

- 1) **Political Announcements:** All the political prisoners arrested during the regime of Tsar were set free, the people exiled were permitted to return to Russia, Poland was assured of autonomy and the rights of Finland were restored. The announcement of setting up of a constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult Franchise for a new Constitution was done by the provisional Government.
- 2) **Announcements regarding Freedom:** The Freedom of Press, speech and expression was guaranteed. The workers were allowed to form the Trade Unions and their right to protest and strike was accepted, and the restrictions against the Jews were abolished. The special privileges given to the Greek Church were abolished.
- 3) **Other Announcement:** The Police Force was reorganised. The soldiers enjoyed the same right as civilians except on the frontline. The government took the responsibility to procure the food-grains from the farmers at fair price and trade was to be under the control of government.

b) Internal Differences in the Temporary (Provisional) Government:

The temporary government was having the member in its Cabinet from different parties. The Bourgeoisie nature of provisional government was in the contrast of the Soviets which consisted of the revolutionary elements. They were antagonistic in nature with respect to each other as they differed in principle on the internal policy. The provisional government having liberal and moderate approach was of no use unless it was supported by the executive committee of the Soviet represented by the workers, farmers and soldiers. There was sort of diarchy in Russia as the temporary government was authority without power and Soviet of the workers was having power without authority.

The conflicting understanding and approach led to the differences between the provisional government and the Soviets. The first instance of conflict between two was reflected when provisional government wanted to punish the soldiers who were guilty of insubordination during the February-March Revolution of 1917 whereas the Petrograd Soviet wished to reward

the soldiers of the Petrograd units for their help in overthrowing the monarchy. The Soviet of Petrograd order to the soldiers and sailors directed to obey only those commands which were not against instructions of the Soviet. The temporary government opposed such orders. The provisional government was against army going under the control of an external body like the Soviet to protest the influence of the Soviet the minister of war Guchkov resigned on 1 May 1917, The Foreign Minister Milyukov assured the Allied powers that Russia would continue to participate in the First World War but the Soviet was fully opposed to such commitment and Foreign Minister resigned on May 2, 1917. Now Kerensky was appointed the New War Minister.

The gross disagreement between the two factions was reflected when provisional government proposed to establish a system which favoured and guaranteed personal property and personal freedom whereas peasants, workers and soldiers advocated confiscate the property and estates of landlords without paying any compensation and distribute among the peasants. They favoured nationalisation of industries and withdrawal from the First World War. But in reality, the provisional government took additional measures to safeguard the interests of landlords as the owners of the land. The capitalist and the bankers were interested in continuation of the prevailing land tenure system. As 60% of the estates were mortgaged with them.

Gross miscalculation by the leaders of the provisional Government underestimated the power of Bolsheviks and their designs. The leaders like Lvov, Milyukov, Guchkov wished to have restoration of constitutional monarchy and control the future agrarian revolutions and established discipline upon the industrial workers but Bolsheviks in collaborations with the army brought an explosive situation.

c) Formation of the 1st Coalition Government:

It was formed on 5th May 1917. It put an end to the Diarchy System (Dual Power) and the Cabinet consisted of six Socialist representatives from the Soviet and nine Non-Socialist belonging to other parties, Prince Lvov who was the Prime Minister of the New Cabinet could not enlist the support of the ministers due to conflicting interest among them all.

d) Conflict between Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government:

Lenin along with his follower reached to Petrograd on April 3, 1917. He travelled in a sealed coach of Railway through Germany and Sweden in his visit to Petrograd. Next Day i.e., 4th April he placed his famous April Thesis before the All-Russian conference of the Soviets held at Taurida Palace. As per his April Thesis, he demanded to stop support to the Bourgeoisie and imperialist provisional Government, withdrawal from the first World War and political power to be transferred to proletariat and peasants. It was not immediately responded by the other leaders of the Bolsheviks. After the arrival Trotsky from New York in the month of May 1917, the strength of Bolsheviks increased in Petrograd. The demonstrations organized by Bolsheviks on July 3 and 4, 1917, took a

violent turn. The provisional government raided the offices of the Pravda, the Bolshevik newspaper and many Bolshevik leaders were arrested including Trotsky, Kamanev, Kollantai and A.V. Lunacharsky. Lenin escaped the arrest and went underground. General Brussilov was replaced by General L.G. Kornilov as the Commander-in-chief.

e) Formation of 2nd Coalition Government:

The defeat of Russian armed forces in Galicia in June 1917 and the armed revolt of the Bolsheviks in July gave a big set back to the first coalition Cabinet. Various ministers resigned from their post. The Government had to face the peasant uprising who forcibly seized the estates of big landlords. The ministers having radical view proposed revolutionary land reform legislation. The executive committee of the Soviet confronted Prince Lvov demanding the immediate proclamation of the republic, the dissolution of the Duma and ban on sale of land until land reform legislation were passed by Constituent Assembly. Prime Minister Lvov who was a great landlord resigned from his post leading to the 2nd Coalition Cabinet headed by Kerensky as the Prime Minister was formed on 24th July, 1917.

The Conservative elements supported General Kornilov the Commander-in-chief to overthrow the government led by Kerensky and established a Bourgeoisie government. General Kornilov was dismissed on 27th August 1917 who revolted against Kerensky government on 8th September. The Bolsheviks supported Kerensky to suppress the revolt by Kornilov but Kerensky failed to gauge the real motive of Bolsheviks to seize the supreme power in the country.

f) Formation of 3rd Coalition Government:

The Prime Minister Kerensky also became the Commander-in-chief after the resignation of all the ministers from the Cabinet, on 30th August, 1917. On September 25 the 3rd and last Coalition Cabinet having 10 socialist and 6 non-socialist minister was set up. Earlier on 1st September, 1917 under the pressure of the Soviets Russia was declared as a Republic. On October 6, the state council and the state Duma were dissolved. It reflected the influence of Bolsheviks in Soviets.

The Provisional government headed by Kerensky was very weak and lacked support of the people. His assurances to the masses were taken as a pinch of salt. His government lost credibility and due to their role in suppressing Kornilov's Rebellion the Bolsheviks earned the great reputation in Russia. Thus, Bolshevik revolution was inevitable in the history of Russia.

Check Your Progress:

Evaluate the contribution of Menshevik Government.

11.1.4 Bolshevik Revolution October - November 1917:

The October-November revolution of 1917 in Russia was a great historical development because it showed all the nations, the road to new social system i.e., transition from capitalism to socialism. The weak provisional government led by Kerensky collapsed and in October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution broke out. The Bolsheviks through the newspaper 'Pravda' which was the voice of the Bolshevik, spread their ideas throughout Russia. Their demand for stop war, land grants to the peasants and bread to the poor had a mass appeal in favour of them. They planned to capture the power through armed revolution. They appointed the Polit bureau to execute the plan. Trotsky appointed a Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd soviet. The Kerensky government was not strong enough due to revolutionary, socialist and Menshevik parties had quit his cabinet. The Bolsheviks leaders wanted to execute their plan of revolution before November 7, when All Russian Congress of Soviet was scheduled to meet. Kerensky ordered the arrest of Bolshevik leaders on 5 November, 1917, Bolsheviks excited the people against the government and on the night of 6-7 November, the Bolsheviks captured major government officials, buildings including telephone booths, Post offices, Railway stations and Banks. On the morning of 7 November 1917, workers, soldiers and sailors under the leadership of Bolsheviks attacked the former Winter Palace of the Tzar in Petrograd. The members of the provisional governments who had taken shelter in the Palace were arrested. Kerensky fled from the Capital and other minister of the provisional government were arrested. The people were informed in the form of posters pasted at prominent places declaring the abolition of provisional government by revolutionary committee of the proletariat and the Petrograd garrison.

It was an epoch-making historical event because the fall of Russian capital in to the hands of Bolsheviks took place in a very short period and without any bloodshed. The second 'All Russian Congress of Soviets' comprising the delegates of workers and soldiers proclaimed Russia a Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, the power post into the hands of the people and the proletariat who were exploited in the past but were full of revolutionary zeal. Its main focus was to construct a new society free from any exploiter and the exploited, a suppresser and the suppressed, the communist society.

The second All Russian Congress of Soviets, the members of which were elected by 20 million people in a democratic manner. At its session the Soviet Cabinet was elected under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. There were two resolutions moved in the All-Russian Congress.

- 1) All the stake holders involved in the War were appealed to stop the war and begin peace talk and
- 2) It was decided to confiscate the land belonging to land owners without any compensation.

A council of commissioners was set up under the leadership of Lenin other members were Stalin, Trotsky, Raikav and Milyutin. Lenin issued many

commands and put forward the programs of newly constituted government.

a) The Organisation of Bolshevik Government of Lenin:

The Russia was having seven separate National classifications. (Divisions) Each class was given such a Republican shape that it concentrated power in the hands of the Soviets. Every class was known by the name of Soviet Socialist Republic. A Central Organisation of different states known as Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. The chief organs of the government were:

- 1) All Russian Soviet Congress:** It had total number of representatives of One Thousand Three Hundred (1300). The entire power of the Bolshevik government was with the Soviets and to govern the local Soviets Centralised government was established.
- 2) Central Executive Committee:** The Election of the Committee was made by Soviet Congress. The new laws were passed by this committee which were referred for the final approval to the Soviet Congress. The total number of the members of the Committee was 200.
- 3) Council of the People's Commissars:** It was set up on the pattern of foreign cabinets. Its members were elected by the Central Executive Committee. There were about 18 members in the council and they were known as Commissars. The actual administration of the government was delegated to the People's Commissars.
- 4) Presidium:** It was the committee appointed by the Central Executive Committee which elected the members of the Council of People's Commissars.

b) Franchise and Voting:

All the adults over the age of 18 were given the right to vote irrespective of their sex, but they should earn their livelihood. The local elections of the Soviets were made through every adult man and woman. All the local Soviets collectively elected the provincial Soviet Congress and they in turn elected the Russian Soviet Congress which was greatest centralised power of the government. It elected the Central Executive Committee for smooth functioning of the administration. The Bolshevik Organisation was like a pyramid. The base of which was thousands of Soviets and the Central government drew all its powers from them.

c) Consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution:

The Revolution of October – November 1917 was carried out by the poor farmers and labourers to put an end to autocracy of the rulers and realise the government of the labourers. The Revolution brought out following arrangement.

- 1) The government under took the control of the means and modes of production.
- 2) The land grants to the peasants were only for sustenance so that he could support his family.
- 3) The National Labour Organisation supervised the Council of Workers responsible for management of factories.
- 4) Loans raised by Menshevik government were cancelled.
- 5) Every person was expected to earn his/her bread through labour and no one could earn money without putting labour in it.
- 6) The capitalist was also expected to work to enjoy their voting rights. They were prohibited to keep arms without putting labour.
- 7) The Educational facilities along with compulsory military education for labourers were introduced.
- 8) All the treaties of the previous governments were abrogated.
- 9) As per new national principles the different races were given to form independent kingdoms. These principles of Bolshevism facilitated the respective kingdoms of different races, which were merged in one single kingdom known as Soviet Union.
- 10) The control of churches over education was abolished and Education was nationalised. The department of Education was under the direct control of state. The wards of peasants and labours were allowed to have free access to Education.
- 11) The Workers of the World were treated at par and they could settle in Russia and enjoy the political rights also.
- 12) Bolshevik Revolution infused the feeling of fraternity among the masses.

Check Your Progress:

Highlight the significance of role of Lenin during Bolshevik Revolution.

11.1.5 Causes for the Success of Russian Revolution:

- 1) Bolshevik party represented the aspirations of peasants, labourers and poor people who constituted majority of the population.
- 2) The peasants and workers were fully convinced the Bolshevik Party was the organisation which could liberate them from the clutches of landlords.
- 3) Under the leadership of Trotsky, young enthusiasts joined the revolutionary organisation and were imparted military training. The Red Army comprised of such revolutionaries participated in the revolution leading to success.

- 4) Foreign help was a turning point as Bolsheviks could convey the message among the masses that it was the design of opponents of Bolsheviks to set up foreign rule in the country. People got convinced and whole heartedly supported the Bolsheviks.
- 5) The revolutionaries were subjected to brutal force to suppress the revolution by the opponents. As they were fearless and ready to sacrifice their life they could succeed.
- 6) Russia was fully drained of resources due to its participation in war. (World War I) Wide spread hunger, unemployment and poverty was a common phenomenon. The revolutionaries gave priority to the basic needs of common man, such as bread, clothes and employment to be fulfilled first and not the expenditure in the war. They appealed for a peace-negotiations and it was well accepted by the people which led to success of Bolsheviks in its aim and objectives.
- 7) The Bolshevik Revolution was supported by the workers of the entire world due to understanding among the workers of the world for the principle of fraternity and equality.

Check Your Progress:

Mention any four causes for the success of Russian Revolution.

11.1.6 Russia Under Lenin:

After the success of Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Lenin in his address to All Russian Congress of Soviets stated, 'Now we shall march forward in the direction of constructing a new social order'. He was greatly influenced by the 'Marxist ideology' and wanted to adopt them to the economic and political life of Russia before implementation. He outlined his programme as follows:

- 1) Early end of war for negotiating peace treaty. (First World War)
- 2) Nationalisation of all private land without any compensation.
- 3) Workers to have the ownership of the factories.
- 4) The Capitalists to be deprived of their political rights.
- 5) The nationalisation of Banks and centralised Banking system.
- 6) Role of government in the economic activity by doing away Laissez Faire.
- 7) Production to be under the control of government.
- 8) All independent trading companies to be compulsorily made members of the syndicate.

a) Russia Withdrawal from the War:

After the revolution of October – November 1917, the power and authority came in to the hands of Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. They negotiated the treaty with Germany and on March 3, 1918 Foreign Minister Trotsky signed with Germany the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The peace talks were attended by the delegates of Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey along with Russia and Germany. Russia accepted all the terms and conditions proposed by the Germany. The provisions of the treaty were as under –

- 1) Russia was to withdraw the forces from Kars, Ardahan and Batum and to fix their borders in association with Turkey.
- 2) Russia was deprived of Eastern Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.
- 3) Russia agreed to pay 300 million gold Rubles as war damages.

This treaty was very humiliating for Russia as it had to withdraw from all the territories which were under Russia since the days of Peter, the great Russia lost 73% of iron, 89% of coal, 27% of agricultural land and 44% of its population. Subsequently the defeat of the Germany in the first world war made the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk defunct.

b) Civil War:

Bolshevik Government after the Revolution of October-November 1917 had to face its adversaries until beginning of 1919, who could be categorised in following manner-

- 1) The supporters of the Romanov Dynasty who wanted to re-establish Tsarist regime.
- 2) The western type of democrats who wanted to establish democracy in Russia on the lines of France and U.S.A., to have an elected legislature and to frame new constitution answerable to the public opinion.
- 3) The members of Bolshevik party who were against sudden change of the economic system through revolutionary means.

These forces organised revolts against the Bolshevik government in various part of Russia, Allied forces were supporting these revolts. At one moment of time the authority of Bolshevik government was practically confined to Petrograd and Moscow and their suburban provinces. The Red Army was completely reorganised and the communist party motivated the people to crush Anti-revolutionary elements supported by foreigners. Leon Trotsky as a People's Commissar of War played a vital role in crushing these forces. He maintained order throughout the formidable Red Army.

This was not a war between two separate countries but between the people of the same country with two different ideologies. The conflict between

Red Terrorism and White Terrorism brought about a fearful situation. The horrible acts committed by Bolshevik were known as Red Terrorism and that of adversaries was called as White Terrorism. Members of the Emperor Nicholas's family were put to death in July 1918. The Bolsheviks defeated the rebellious commanders. Trotsky defeated Yudenikh and saved Petrograd. The Allied powers resorted to economic boycott of Russia. Russia experienced severe famine during this period but ultimately Bolsheviks emerged victorious under the leadership of Lenin.

A special court known as Cheka was set up in Russia, which punished around 10,000 adversaries of the Bolshevik government. Felix Derjisky, the chairman of the court believed that policy of terrorism was a must to display the power of Proletariat.

Cheka contributed towards disarming opposition to the revolutionaries. The Bolshevik Revolution which appeared bloodless in the beginning turned out to be the 'most bloody' and horrible revolution in history.

c) War Communism (1918-1921):

The Civil war was accompanied by a crushing economic distress in Russia. In 1920 total Industrial production to that of 1913 was only 13%. The policy adopted during the period of civil war is popular as War Communism, which was effective from July, 1918 to March 1921. Bolshevik wanted to establish an economic system based on the principles of Karl Marx. The Civil war had resulted in unequal and embittered relations between the rural and urban sectors. War Communism was considered to regenerate economy by practical solutions to the economic variables. This transformed the entire country in to a huge military camp.

The characteristics of War Communism were as follows:

1) General Nationalisation:

All large-scale industries, establishments and workshops were nationalised. In 1920 even small-scale industries and handicraft workshops were also nationalised.

2) Procurement of Food stuffs:

The Bolshevik Government took possession of all the land from landlords and declared it as the property of state and redistributed it among the peasants. The Government had the right to procure all the food grains beyond sustenance of the peasant as they were not paying any taxes to landlords anymore. But few of the farmers wanted to sell the surplus produce in the open market to reap profit, which government strictly prohibited. The peasants who refused to surrender surplus food grain at government fixed prices were treated as enemies of the revolution and were exterminated. The recovery of surplus food grains was through armed workers who use to attach and confiscate food grains from the erring peasants. In March 1921, a new tax remine was introduced which

fixed the rent according to the size of the farms. The poor peasants were levied no taxes whereas rich ones (Kulaks) were charged heavily.

But the Civil War left thousands of acres of land uncultivated. The peasants were against the forcible requisition on of food stuffs, hence the production was much below the expectations. As compared to 7,40,00,000 tons in 1916 it fell to 3,00,00,000 tons. There was the condition of starvation in the country. The drought in 1920 and 1921 aggravated the condition. There was the failure of crops in the south east leading to a great famine resulting in to the death of 5 million people. U.S.A. helped with money, food grain and medicines otherwise the casualties would have been much higher.

3) State Monopoly of Trade and Centralised Allocation of Supplies:

The Communist government banned private trade. There was nationalisation of supply of goods. There was the provision to distribute the goods to the consumers through Public Distribution System. All the transactions were to be done in kind not in cash. The barter system was used to complete the economic transactions. The withdrawal of use of money as medium of exchange led to extraordinary inflation in the country.

4) Government control over Trade Unions:

The Government curtailed the freedom of trade unions. It banned strikes as the government represented people itself.

5) Dictatorship of the Proletariat:

This was a unique feature of war communism. It meant the implementation of the steps to suppress any resistance of the defeated capitalists and all the elements of corruption of the old regime.

6) Failure of War Communism: The war Communism resulted in sharp decline in the industrial production and employment. There was general inflation of essential commodities. There was huge decline in the value of Russian Ruble with respect to U.S. dollar. The value of U.S. dollar to that of Ruble in 1918 was about 9 Rubles in 1919 it became 80 Rubles and 1920 it touched the 1,200 Rubles. Peasant uprising were very common in rural Russia to protest high prices and there was a great discontent in the industrial workers due to transformation of trade unions in to auxiliary agencies of the proletarian states. There was a great famine in 1921 which added to the difficulties of the Soviet government. In March 1921 the sailors of the Russian navy at Croustadt which was a strong hold of Bolshevik revolted. The government crushed the revolt by sending troops of the Red Army. Lenin regarded it as a symptom of growing discontent against the government. Later Soviet leaders decided to adopt a stern policy for the eradication of such hostile movements.

d) Lenin's New Economic Policy (1921-1929):

Lenin was successful in suppressing the revolts with brutal force but he assessed the causes of the failure of war communism and adopted a realistic approach. He understood and got convinced that the principles of Communism could be put aside to raise the production and increase the productive power of workers and peasants. He was not averse to return to capitalistic system which was the basis of his New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) introduced by Lenin in 1921 and it was operative for 7 years (1921-1928). He realised that to save communism he must accept a little of Capitalism as it was just a retreat to gather and consolidate his strength for future forward march with full force to achieve economic goals. The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) was the outcome of the analysis of the Soviet government of all the economic steps taken till date. He directly interacted with the workers and peasants and also read the letter published in the newspaper *Bednot* (The Pauper) to understand needs and mental conditions of the workers and peasants. The New Economic Policy was instrumental in reconstruction of Russia. The characteristics of New Economic Policy was as follows –

1) Regeneration of Agriculture:

The system of compulsory requisition of agricultural produce was discontinued. It was replaced by the agricultural tax in kind to be paid by the peasants. The peasants were allowed to sell their surplus produce in open market after paying agricultural tax. It encouraged peasants to increase their agricultural production. From 1924, the government started accepting tax in cash instead of kind as by that period the currency had become stable.

2) Free Trade and Autonomy for Co-operative Societies:

The government department of Commissariat of Supplies which enjoyed a monopoly over purchase, collection and distribution of agricultural commodities was abolished. The cooperative societies were revived and restored with independent states and commercial autonomy which facilitated the re-establishment of market relation between agriculture and industry.

3) De-nationalisation:

The general nationalisation implemented during the period of war communism was discontinued. There was denationalisation of some large scale, medium scale and small-scale industries.

4) Decentralisation of Industrial Administration and Management:

It was one of the most important measures taken under New Economic policy which reduce state interventions in industrial administration and management to a great extent.

5) Revival of the Private Trade:

As per the New Economic Policy private traders could control three quarters of the total trade in retail business of Russia but they could secure control over 20% of the wholesale business of the country. The Co-operatives were controlling most of the wholesale businesses.

6) State Monopoly of Foreign Trade and Austerity Measures:

The New Economic Policy facilitated the state monopoly of foreign trade. The Austerity measures to avoid deficit in budget were adopted by reducing state expenditure by way of reduction in the number of government subsidized enterprises, closure of non-productive enterprises and separate budget for local and state in order to cover local expenditure from local revenues.

7) Freedom to Workers:

The New Economic policy abolished labour conscription. Trade Union were allowed with certain limits to safeguard the rights of workers. The New Economic Policy brought economic recovery but there was rise of state capitalism and Lenin was very clear that New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) was a temporary retreat from pure communism and the goal of state socialism was not abandoned. This policy was at its climax in 1925 and Bolshevik Party formerly discarded it in 1929. The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) helped in the early recovery of economy after the first world war, the revolution and civil war.

Lenin died on 21st January, 1924 at the age of 53. To honour his contribution Petrograd was renamed as Leningrad on 26th January, 1924. His body was buried in a specially constructed Mausoleum in the Red Square of Moscow. Lenin was sole and spirit of the Russian Revolution and he made a realistic assessment of the situation in contemporary Russia and formulated the strategies of the Russian Revolution. He was a great statesman and leader who chalked out path of economic, social and political regeneration of Russia. To his fullest capacity and ability, he successfully guided the party and the government during the war and foreign intervention in spite of various hurdles.

Check Your Progress:

Appreciate the role of Lenin through his New Economic Policy (N.E.P.).

11.2 RISE OF DICTATORSHIPS

The rise of dictatorship in the Turkey under Kemal Pasha is known as Kemalism in Italy under is Mussolini is known as Fascism, the dictatorship in Germany under Hitler is popular as Nazism, the Communist dictatorship in Russia under Stalin is known as Stalinism, posed a great challenge in the post First World War world. It hit hard on the very base of international peace efforts and institutions such as League

of Nations. These dictators rendered the League of Nations powerless on account of their repeated aggressions.

11.2.1 Kemalism in Turkey:

After the first world war there was a rise in the spirit of nationalism. In the middle East Arab nationalism was having a sole objective to get rid of the imperial power having their dominations in different parts of the Arab world. They were determined to established independent nations for themselves. Turkey also got influenced by the tide of 'Nationalism' and 'Self Determination', which was the main objectives of Arab Nationalism.

In the 19th century the Sultan of Turkey began to be regarded as a 'Sick Man of Europe'. The Ottoman empire was spread in three continents in the Mid-fifteenth century, dominating the territories of Asia Minor, Middle East, and the Balkan peninsula. The Ottoman Empire lost its territorial position gradually and by 1914 Turkey, in Europe was reduced to the area surrounding Istanbul and a corner of Eastern Thrace. During the First World War it sided with Central Powers and the defeat of central powers had a big blow to the Turkey. The dictated Turkey of Sevres (1920) which was accepted by the Sultan, Muhammad VI government. It deprived the empire of virtually everything except Istanbul and the Northern and Central portion of Asia Minor. Turkey surrendered all her claims to the lands inhabited by non-Turkish population.

The Turks were humiliated with the acceptance of terms of Treaty of Sevres. They were in need of the leadership to restore the national honour under these circumstances, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, a man of great military capability, strong character and iron will emerge on the political stage of Turkey.

a) Rise of Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

Kemal Pasha was born at Salonika, Greece and got early education to Military School. He graduated in Military Science at the age of 22 from Military Staff College in Constantinople. He had a great impact of French revolution and was dis-satisfied with the misgovernance of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909). He developed in to a first-rate soldier and at the same time was interested in revolutionary literature. He was a part in the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. But as it resulted in virtual military dictatorship in place of constitutional government, he disassociated from the movement. During the First World War, he rose to the rank of General. He became famous as a military commander by defeating the British in 1915 at Gallipoli Peninsula.

After the war, the Turks were discontented over Sultan Government's inability to defend their homeland. Kemal rallied the people against the treaty of Sevres through his speeches and accorded the support of Anti-Sultan and Anti-Allies sentiments. He organised the Turkish Nationalist Party called a People's party with the slogan- 'Turkey for the Turks'. The government tried to suppressed the nationalist, arrested and deported them. Kemal Pasha in exile went to Anatolia where he raised the

nationalist army and established parallel government of the Turkish Republic at Ankara in 1920 as a rival government to that of Sultan at Istanbul. He called a grand national assembly at Ankara and declared that it was the only representative of the Turkish people. The assembly elected Kemal to be its President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

As a first act he was to clear the country of foreign troops. He forced Italian troops to move out from southern Anatolia, and the French troops from Cilicia. The Greeks got a large portion of the territory by the Treaty of Sevres, so their focus was to see that the Turks kept to the terms of the treaty. The British government supported the Greeks financially. In 1921, they attacked Turkey and move towards Ankara. To their great surprise Turkish troops pushed them back. Kemal then captured Smyrna and pushed out all Greek inhabitants from Asia minor. Kemal also wanted to cross the straits but the British warships prevented him from doing so. Kemal avoided confrontation with the Britain so concluded the peace with them.

The Mustafa Kemal's victory over the Greeks pressurised the Allies to revise the Treaty of Sevres. In 1923 they met at Lausanne and negotiated a new Treaty known as Treaty of Lausanne. By this treaty, Turkey regained Eastern Thrace and Constantinople, Smyrna, Gallipoli and the Greek speaking Aegean Islands, the Dodacanese. All the restrictions on Turkish Army, Navy and Air force were removed. Foreign control in customs was lifted. Turkey demilitarised the straits. The Treaty of Lausanne was a great victory for Kemal and a huge humiliation for the Allies. His popularity as a real leader spread all over the Turkey. He had shown that he was capable enough to secure what he wanted.

The Grand National Assembly had voted to depose the Sultan Muhammad VI who was driven in to exile in November 1922. On 29th October, 1923, the Turkey was declared as Republic and Kemal were elected its first President. After the Treaty of Lausanne, he abolished the Caliphate in March 1924 which relieved the Turkish people from orthodox and autocratic rule of the Sultan.

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

- i) The safeguarding and stabilization of the Republic.
- ii) The creation of National and unified system of Education.
- iii) The need to 'Cleanse and elevate the Islamic faith, by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument to which he had been accustomed for centuries.

It implied that he believed in separation of religion from the government. This was his first open attack on Islamic orthodoxy. He had to face a stiff resistance for his reforms and administrative change but he dealt with it firmly. He was virtual dictators of Turkey but his dictatorship was

benevolent in nature which benefited the people of Turkey and he used his powers for the good of the country.

b) Reforms of Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

In order to transform Turkey into a modern, progressive state aided by westernising trends he wielded dictatorial powers. His chief aim was to Europeanise Turkey. His programmes were based on six principles:

- 1) Republicanism
- 2) Secularism – Separation of Religion from the State
- 3) Populism – Equality before the Law
- 4) Nationalism
- 5) Statism – State intervention in national economy.
- 6) Reformism

He was determined to transform all ancient systems in the country and remodel Turkey on western pattern. The modernisation and development of Turkey became his goal. His party approved the six principles which were known as Kemalism, in 1931 and incorporated them into the constitution in 1937. The various reforms introduced by Kemal in Turkey were as follows –

1) Administrative Reforms:

The whole country was divided into 62 Vilayets (provinces) which were further divided into 430 Kazas (Districts) and each district was further sub-divided into Nahiya (Boroughs). The old monarchical state was replaced by a Republican Democratic State.

2) Legal Reforms:

Mustafa Kemal abolished religious courts in April 1924 and replaced the Islamic law by modern scientific civil codes. He introduced Swiss Civil Code, Italian Penal Codes and German Commercial Codes in Turkey by evaluating the legal systems and laws of different European countries. A new business code based on the Mercantile laws of Italy and Germany was adopted. The legal reforms diminished the rights of the Ulemas who were the despotic custodian of the law. Mustafa Kemal Passed several decrees regarding private debts and permitted their collection without much delay. He abolished the system of arrest and imprisonment of debtors and adopted the Swiss system of registration of the immovable property.

3) Military Reforms:

He decided to make Turkey a great military power recognised on modern lines. A new uniform was introduced for the soldiers and they were provided sophisticated equipment and weapons. The special attention was given on training, disciplines and education of military officers. The

modernisation of artillery, air force and navy were undertaken so that Turkey could defend herself from any external aggression.

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4) Abolition of Caliphate:

The strict Islamic relation was opposed to the modern reforms which Mustafa Kemal intended to introduce in Turkey. All the Turkish sultans had been the Caliphs or religious head of the Muslims. All Sultans were both, religious as well as political heads of the country. After the abolition of Sultanate, the people thought that the Caliph was head of the administration. Hence on March 3, 1924 Kemal Pasha through a resolution in the national assembly abolished the Caliphate and next day the last Caliph was banished from the country. In 1928, the National Assembly deleted from the constitution the provision that Islam was the state religion, religious toleration was adopted and Islam was considered as one of the religions of Turkey. Monasteries and religious orders were prohibited and their properties confiscated. Sacred Tombs were closed as the places of worships. The religious schools were replaced by a state school. Any resistance to these reforms were suppressed and silenced. The Sharai courts were the Mullas and Kazis sat were abolished, their meetings, conferences, the dress and the customs were strictly banned. All the Turkish citizens were forced to put on European dress wearing of fez cap by men became an offense and was to be replaced by European hats. A law was passed which forbade pilgrimage to worship of the Mausoleums of the holy saints. Now the government officers had to swear not in the name of 'Allah' but allegiance to the republic.

5) Educational Reforms:

Kemal Pasha realised the importance of education in the development of spirit of nationalism. The contemporary religious education was prevalent in Turkey which needed drastic change. Adult Education was promoted and all Turks under 40 years of age were made to take lessons in reading and writing. In 1930's the literacy rate in Turkey was only 15%. He brought all schools under the Ministry of Education which ended the influence of Mullas and Maulvis in the field of Education. Mustafa Kemal closed the Islamic religious educational institutions known as Madrasas and they were converted in to government schools. It was compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 16 to attend government schools. He adopted the Roman script in place of the Arabic script in 1928. Through constitutional provision Primary Education was made free and compulsory. By 1933 the number of students in Primary and Secondary schools multiplied several times. New Secondary Schools and Universities were also established. The experts from foreign countries were invited for higher education. The special institutions were established for the study of agriculture, commerce and science. A Medical college was built in Istanbul. The college for Political and Social Sciences was established in Ankara. The efforts were made to popularise newspapers for which government constituted a news agency called the Anatolia News Agency and it initiated several newspapers such as Akasam, Ulus and Jan. For proper education of students, he made provisions for training of teachers

by establishing a number of Teacher's Training Institutes in different parts of Turkey to impart training to the teachers on western lines. He provided liberal scholarships for brilliant Turkish students to study in foreign countries.

6) Reforms in Women's Conditions:

The Social and Political rights of women were not in existence in Turkey. They were kept in seclusion and were deprived of education. Kemal Pasha banned Purdah (Veil) system and established separate schools and clubs for women. He abolished Polygamy in 1926 and introduced compulsory registration of marriage. In the matter of divorce, equal rights were granted to men and women in 1929. The women were also granted Adult Franchise in local elections and 5 year later in national election. In 1934, they were given the right to contest election for the National General Assembly. In 1935 election 17 women were elected. The women became eligible for business and other professional careers such as lawyers, teachers, engineers, doctors, nurses etc. The Men and Women were allowed to mix up freely and could visit dance halls. The women were given Freedom to choose their husbands. These initiatives created an environment in which women with new zeal and their own will could contribute to the national reconstruction. It also makes Turkey unique among Muslim countries.

7) Economic Reforms:

There were several obstructions in making Turkey industrially self-sufficient as 80% of the population was dependent of agriculture. There was shortage of funds and means of transport were underdeveloped. Kemal Pasha adopted the policy of 'Controlled Economy'. In 1927 protective tariffs were introduced to help local industries. The first five-year plan based on Russian model having importance to the production of consumer foods was implemented since 1933. The expansion of railway lines and road ways was undertaken. New railway lines were laid from Ankara to Karyaseri, Sewas and Samsun in 1924. Some of the contracts were given to foreign companies and the government kept industries as well as means of transport under its control. The government control industries were such as wine, tobacco, salt, arms and ammunitions, petroleum, sugar, water transport and matches. He also took help of foreign experts by inviting them for the development of industries. He founded several banks for control of economy and supply of finance. The Summer Bank was established for public industries and Ish Bank and Eti bank to assist it. These initiatives convinced the foreigners of the economic prosperity of Turkey and they began to advance loans for her development projects. Russia granted an interest free loan to Turkey in 1934. He encouraged domestic and foreign manufactures to introduce modern machinery and allowed their imports without import duties. Tax concessions or exemptions from taxation were granted to several industries for the first ten years. He set up Supreme Economic Council having Economic experts on boards to supervise the implementation of various economic plans for the reconstruction of the country. There were

improvements in the harbours. The ambitious Housing Programmes and Public works were undertaken to generate employment. The works were taken to have proper drainage and water supply. He introduced the land reforms by dividing up the big estate. He encouraged people to adopt better method of cultivation and produce cotton, tobacco, flux, opium, figs, raisins etc. due to their demands in European markets. He encouraged cattle breeding, sheep rearing, and dairy industry. He encouraged the peasants to form co-operative societies to increase production and prevent exploitations. He allowed foreign capital in the exploitation of natural resources and minerals of Turkey which helped to get chromium, copper, silver ores, salt, lead, mercury, antimony, manganese etc. and coal mines to develop and exploit. He also undertook oil exploration and exported it to many countries. All these efforts brought prosperity of the Turks.

8) Other Reforms:

Kemal Pasha introduced some reforms for the development of nationalism in Turkey. He changed the name of Constantinople to Istanbul, Angora to Ankara, Smyrna to Izmir and Adrianople to Adrene. He introduced a legislation in 1935 which made it compulsory to use a surname with individual name. Persian Titles were abolished. The weekly holiday on Friday was abolished and Sunday was declared weekly holiday. This decision was motivated by economic reasons. Turkey had trade with Europe, where Sunday was holiday so it was declared holiday on Sunday in Turkey also. He adopted Gregorian Calendar in place of Mali Calendar. The western clock which marks 24 hours were made basis of keeping time. The Metric system of weights and measures were made compulsory in 1932. In 1925 Mustafa Kemal danced with a woman in Public which was first such incidents ever happened in Turkey. He abolished the Muslim style of greeting and promoted the European style of shaking hand while greeting each other.

c) Foreign Policy of Kemal Pasha:

Kemal Pasha was suspicious of the western powers because of the harsh treatment, Turkey received after First World War. To counter influenced of Western powers he developed friendly relation with Russia. In 1925, he concluded a Treaty of Mutual guarantee and neutrality with Russia. But he was suspicious of Russia's plans to spread communism. Russia also did not approve of Turkey suppressing communism and the relations between two were not so good. In 1932 Turkey joined the League of Nations. He tried to develop diplomatic friendship with neighbouring countries.

After the exchange of Turks living in Greece with Greeks living in Turkey, it had good relation with Greece. It signed the Balkan Pact in 1934 with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia to safeguard from threat of Fascism. It was followed by the Easter Pact in 1937 by which Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan promised not to interfere in internal affairs of each other and to consult among themselves on matters of international concern.

The peaceful attitude of Turkey brought her closure to the western powers. To counter the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, Turkey could convince Allied

Powers to fortify the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardenelles. Though the straits were declared open to all countries during peace times, and Turkey to have exclusive control during times of war. The only country with which Turkey was having estranged relation was Italy, Mussolini attempted to convert the Mediterranean Sea into an Italian lake which was not approved by Turkish people. Turkey supported the League of Nations and protested against Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. To counter Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, Turkey signed treaties of Mutual Assistance with Britain and France.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha was given the title of Atatürk, meaning 'Father of Nation'. He governed Turkey from 1922 until his death in 1938. He was regarded as one of the true revolutionaries of History. He was instrumental in modernisation of Turkey during first half of the 20th century. He was a true liberator of his people and founder of their nation. Though Kemal Pasha ruled Turkey as a dictator, but it was not in the pattern of Mussolini or Hitler, both of whom he despised. His main objective was creation of strong, secular, republic, democratic in structure having national sovereignty as a supremacy over individual rights. He kept away his country from the war after the independence. He did not exterminate ethnic minorities, although the revolt of Kurds in 1930 was suppressed with brutal force. A soldier by profession, he set the example of subordinating the military to civilian authority. He was against racism and offered asylum to Jewish intellectual from Hitler's Germany and suppress Anti-Semitic propaganda in Turkey.

Check Your Progress:

Describe the nature of dictatorship in Turkey under Kemal Pasha.

11.2.2 Fascism in Italy:

Post-World War I, the popularity of Lenin attracted the workers of Italy. Italian people found a role model in Lenin and the slogan 'Long live Lenin' was very popular in Italy. The workers in Italy wanted to have control over factories and the peasants were gradually capturing the land but Italy could not become a communist country. The workers released their hold on factories due to lack of experience and inability to procure raw materials.

Italy participated in the First World War on side of victorious Allies but it emerged as a defeated nation from the war. Italy was dissatisfied, disappointed and wounded in her self-esteem, as she failed to secure anything tangible at the Paris Peace Conference. The general public blamed the contemporary leadership incapable to secure favourable terms at the peace conference. They got influenced by the rise of fascism in Italy. Chaos, disorder and revolts were beyond the control of the government after the Paris Peace Settlements. Gradually the nationalists were influenced by followers of fascism. The word 'Fascism' comes from the name given to the symbol of the power and authority of the ancient Roman government in the form of a war axe (fasces), surrounded by a bundle of rods. Force or power is the essence of Fascism.

According to William Ebenstein, "The fascism is the totalitarian organisation of government and society by a single party dictatorship, intensely nationalist, militarist and imperialist." It was opposed to individualism, capitalism, socialism, liberalism, communism and internationalism.

a) Causes of the rise of fascism in Italy:

The Italy was disappointed after the First World War because the allies did not deal as per the commitments and assurances made to Italy for her participation in war on the side of Allied powers. The country spent a lot in the war, making Italy economically weak. No allied power came to her rescue during the economic crises after the first world war. Italy had been a republic since 1860 but local and regional elements were very prominent and influential among the people. The presence of communism was felt very much after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Fascism was the result of discontent and despondency prevailing in post-world war I Europe. The contemporary liberal party governments under Geolitti and later Nitti proved unsuccessful in solving the problems of the country. The result of overall discomfort, disgrace and humiliation of Italy and its people, led to rise of fascism party which completely revolutionised the administration of the country.

The following causes were responsible for it:

1) Dissatisfaction caused by the Paris Peace Conference:

In case had Italy joined the first World war on the side of Germany and Austria, she was to get Trentino but the Allied powers signed a secret agreement in London in 1915 and promised Italy to give her Tyrol up to Brenner pass, Trieste, Estria, Fiume, all other territories of Dalmatian coast, some parts of Albania and some territories out of the lands of Turkey and Germany but after the war Woodrow Wilson refused to accept the Treaty of London which was a secret agreement, Italy had to be satisfied with Trentino, some portion of Dalmatian coastal strip and South Tyrol. Her dream to expand up to Balkan peninsula and Africa was shattered. People felt frustrated as they did not get Fiume and they were anguished that the allies behaved treacherously. The ruling government was held responsible for the insult and neglect of Italy. Italian poet D'Annunzio captured Fiume with the support of Fascists and the warring soldiers had joined the Fascist party. Thus, the Peace Conference of 1919 insulted and brought the National dignity of Italy to its lowest level which deeply hurt the sentiments of the people and such circumstances led to the birth of a new party in Italy.

2) Post War Economic Discontent:

Italy spent a huge amount of money during the First World War which led to economic crises after the end of the war. She had to raise heavy debt and its currency was facing the devaluation of around 70%. During the war Italy lost 6,50,000 people and around 10,00,000 people were wounded. Italy incurred economic loss of 1200 million Dollars and

property worth 300 million Dollars had been destroyed. Her industries and trade were in very bad shape. There was growing numbers of mass hunger and unemployment in the major cities and a town of Italy. Such economic crises made her totally dissatisfied. Italy's economic condition was very precarious and had its repercussion on domestic policies also.

3) Popularity of Hegelian Principles:

According to German thinker Hegel, 'State is the supreme Manifestation of God on earth'. He believed that a divine state could never make mistakes. The right of citizens can never conflict with the right of state as those rights were granted by the state itself. The Italian Scholars Gentile and Prezzoline popularised the ideas of Hegel among the masses in Italy. This led to the birth to the belief 'Nothing for the individual, all for Italy.' Hegel's principles subordinate individual to the state and there was a significant similarity between the ideas of Hegle and the Fascist party, which inspired and benefited the Fascist party.

4) Influence of Communism:

The extensive propagation of communism led to the success of Mussolini's Fascist party. The people in Italy were apprehensive of the rising influence of communism. Fascism of Italy was a reaction to communism. The rise of Marxism and Unionism produced a violent nationalism among the peasants and workers, leading to a belief of establishing the government of proletariat in Italy on the lines of Bolsheviks in Russia. Italians came under the influence of social democrats and many unemployed labourers joined it. They started criticizing the government through extremist and violent ways. Creating disorder in the country. There were series of strikes and the capture of mills and factorise by the labourers. In the elections held in November 1922, the socialist secured 156 seats but fascist party opposed communism to its fullest capacity. Mussolini manage to enlist the support of the capitalist and the landlords. The left forces failed to maintain unity due to split between communist and socialist which paved the way for the rise of Mussolini in Italy from 1922 to 1944.

5) Programme of Fascist Party:

Fascist Party attracted people in Italy through its popular programmes such as Nationalisation of Munition Factories, economic council having legislative powers, management of specific industries by workers and working towards eradication of unemployment. They also declared that their main objective would be annexation of Fiume and Dalmatia. Every section of the society including workers, farmers, capitalist and landlords were satisfied with the promises made by Mussolini to cure the ills of the nation by implementing his bold programs. He also promised for the maintenance of the institution of private property. Mussolini was well supported by a large section of population in Italy.

6) Need for a Strong Government:

Italy witnessed six governments within a short period from 1919 to 1922. The governments were mostly short lived with coalition of heterogeneous majority of discordant factions. During the period from 1920 to 1921, Italy faced the state of civil war and around 100 conflicts occurred between the fascist and the radicals. Major Riots took place at various places such as Bologna, Florence and Milan. But government could not take appropriate effective action. Out of fear from the communist the government offered Mussolini to join the government in spite of having only 35 deputies in the National Parliaments in the year 1921 which was refused by the fascist party. Mussolini who was the editor of “Popolo d Italia”, mobilised the public opinion against the Red Menace and discredited coalition government.

7) Non-co-operation of the Nationalist and Patriots of Italy:

The nationalist and the patriots held the government of the country responsible for accepting the humiliating terms of the Treaty. They were against the existing regime of the country, there by the patriots of the country gave birth to the emergence of Fascism.

8) Faulty Franchise:

There was a faulty system of voting in Italy which led to quarrels among the political parties in the parliament rather than constructive work of nation building and general welfare of the people. The parliamentarians were involved in personal grudges and rancour.

In 1919 liberals gained majority in the elections under the leadership of Geolitti. He was criticised by the leaders of other political parties. The social democratic party under the leadership of Vonommi and that of Catholic Party under Father Sterzo were also getting popularity with their presence among the masses. All these parties believed in constitutional methods and a policy of peace, which was no match to the terrorists of the country. The government was helpless and could not take firm action against them under such circumstances the Fascist Party by its ideology of Fascism was gaining popularity gradually in Italy.

9) General Awakening and Historic March on Rome:

The several sections of the society including Landed Gentry of Italy, Capitalists, scholars of various Universities, Traders, Youths, Retired Soldiers and Nationalist could not tolerate the speedy fall of the country. They were of the opinion that only a strong government in the country could restore its glory. They formed a union known as Fascio, which was not influential body in the beginning but later became to be a recognised power. Under the leadership of Mussolini, it became very powerful. They removed the existing government and established a Fascist government under Mussolini.

The Fascist party participated in parliamentary elections in the past but they did not believe in parliamentary democracy. The National Fascist party established by Mussolini believed in organised violence and one point programme i.e., Action. The members of the Fascist party wore 'Black Shirt', gave Roman salutes, fortified themselves with brass knuckles and guns which they used against their opponents frequently such as Communists and Socialists.

Mussolini laid down his plan of coup d'état. He gave an appeal of, "On to Rome" at a public gathering in September 1922. But he declared his faith in the monarchist tradition. He attained political power in a constitutional form. Mussolini declared October 27, 1922 as the date for the March of the Fascist on Rome and demanded the formation of a Fascist government. He declared that either they could receive power in a peaceful manner or they would snatch it by invading Rome. He ordered the division of its 'Black Shirt' party members to attack Rome. King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed the Prime Minister Luigi Facto and invited Mussolini to form the government. In that manner the Fascist Regime came in to power in Italy and Communism was in full retreat and the Menace of Bolshevism disappeared.

Though Mussolini was de Jure a Prime Minister, yet de Facto he was a dictator. He started wiping away his enemies with barbaric cruelty. His opponents left Italy and fled to foreign countries. By 1928 except Fascist Party other parties were dissolved. Thus, Mussolini came to establish the autocratic Fascist Regime in Italy.

Check Your Progress:

Describe the factors responsible for rise of Fascism in Italy.

b) Rise of Benito Mussolini:

Benito Mussolini was born in Romagna in 1883 in the family of a blacksmith of the hilly tracks. He was a man of revolutionary ideas. During his young age, he started his career as a journalist in Switzerland. He established a labour party and later started propagating the ideas of Communism. To avoid Swiss government action due to his involvement in spreading Communist ideology, he fled from Switzerland and took refuge in Italy.

In 1908, he was imprisoned by the Italian government for spreading revolutionary ideas among the masses. His popularity shot up after the arrest and he was considered to be a top Communist of the country. He became chief editor of 'Forward' a communist organ of Milan. He put pressure on the government to join the war on the sides of Allied Powers in the beginning of 1914. He also participated in the war and showed his extraordinary courage and valour. He was allowed a dignified leave in 1917 when he was wounded. After recovery he again started editing his paper, 'Popolo d'Italia' (Forward). By the end of war, he continued to repudiate the communist anti-war propaganda and tried his level best to keep the moral of his countrymen high.

Julius Cesar and Napoleon were the ideal heroes of Mussolini. He was a very effective public speaker and during his speeches he promised everything to everyone. He convinced the people to accept the government in which the dictates of the leader (he himself) were to be blindly followed by the people. He was against democracy and used to say, 'The Fascist asserts with force that all men are unequal'.

Mussolini left the fold of communism and established 'Fascios' and had many followers to his ideology. The uniform of his followers was a 'Black Shirt' and hence the name of the party was known after it.

The post war Italy gave an opportunity to Mussolini to establish the Fascist organisation. Mussolini laid the foundation of Fascio de Combattimento or Fascist (Military) Party in the city of Milan on March 23, 1919. 'Fascio' is derived from Latin word 'Fasces' meaning a 'bundle' or group. There were only 54 members in his organisation in the beginning and most of them were war veterans or nationalist of violent ideas.

The Objectives of Fascist party declared in the beginning were as follows:

- 1) To secure just rights for the soldiers who had returned from the war front and to safeguard their interests.
- 2) To bring about changes in the internal policy of the country.
- 3) To work for the fulfilment of Italy's aspirations in the international fields.

Mussolini was the chief commander of the party and was called the Duce- According to Mussolini following was the programme of the party:

- 1) The Nationalisation of ordnance.
- 2) The workers must control certain industries.
- 3) The working hours for the workers should be maximum 8 hours a day.
- 4) The 85% of the profits which capitalists earned during the war should be confiscated.
- 5) The property of the Church should be seized.
- 6) To constitute a Constituent Assembly for framing a new Constitution for the country, the members of which should be elected through proportionate electorate based on adult franchise.
- 7) Dalmatia and Fiume must be brought under the possession of Italy.
- 8) Economic councils should be constituted with right to make laws.

According to Mussolini Fascism was a practical approach which was based on realism and not on theory as was the case with communism. He believed that Fascists had the courage of breaking the concept of traditional political thinkers. According to him Fascist were aristocrats and revolutionaries and reactionaries too. He also believed that Fascist were workers and anti-workers and pacifists too. He opined that it was enough that Fascist had a point of view State First and everything afterwards.

c) Success of Mussolini:

Benito Mussolini was undisputed mass leader of Italy who could awaken the people to the national sentiment, national organisation and national prestige. During his regime he crushed the anti-nationalist elements. His attention was for the development socio-economic and cultural life of the people. He appointed his trusted men to the key post of administration, army, justice etc. He had a very powerful control of the nation though his authority.

Mussolini hated democracy and majoritarian concept. He believed that state was supreme. All was within the state and nothing outside of the state for him. According to him state was the end and individuals the means. He formed the following organs to run the administration.

- 1) **Ministry:** It was constituted like a Cabinet, by the members of who were loyal to Mussolini.
- 2) **Grand Council of the Fascist Party:** It was headed by Mussolini and had 25 most important members of the party in the committee.
- 3) **Parliament:** It was bicameral the senate whose members were appointed for lifetime and the Chamber of Deputies, members of which were appointed by the ministry and the Grand Council of the Fascist Party.

Mussolini Captured the entire authority of administration and gave an assurance to the people of Italy that all the aspiration would be fulfilled which republican failed to achieve. As a Prime Minister, he scared the Parliament to delegate all the powers for one year. Later he removed all his opponents from the administration and filled the vacancies with people loyal to him, on important posts. In November 1923, he got a new Election Act passed by the parliament, which assigned two-third seats to the party getting highest number of votes in the general election whereas other parties could share remaining one-third seats in proportion to the votes polled by them. In the election held in April 1924, The Fascist Party secured the 65% of the votes by virtue of which winning majority in the parliament. The socialist leader Matteotti demanded for fresh election but his objection proved to be futile and after some time the Fascist shot him dead.

In January 1925, Mussolini owed all the responsibility which has happened from the day of him becoming the Prime Minister. He also declared before the Chamber of Deputies that he would crush any

opposition to his Supreme authority, many Ministers from non-Fascist Party resigned and were replaced by Fascist Ministers.

Russian Revolution of 1917
and Rise of Dictatorship

In 1925-1926 Parliament passed two resolutions which gave supreme power to the Mussolini in the government and authorised him to issue decrees without approval of the parliament, which could be considered as general laws. He was accountable to the government alone but all the Ministers of his Ministry were accountable to him. He was the Supreme Commander of the Army, Navy and Air Force. He had undisputed authority and control over administration, Judiciary and education. The civilian administration forced the non-Fascist to leave and the personnel had to take oath of loyalty to the Fascist Party. The Central government appointed officers known as 'Podestas' who took the administration of the towns in their hands from Municipal Committees. The Governors or Special Commissioners were appointed in the large cities like Rome, Naples and Milan for effective administration. The system of Jury was abolished from the courts and Fascist civilian and military officers chaired the specially courts to decide political cases.

By 1926 all the political parties except Fascist Party were suppressed. There was strict Censorship on print media. The Secret police known as OVRA (Organizzazione Volontaria per la Repressione dell'Anti-Fascismo) was constituted to search and keep watch who conspired against the Fascist Government. The secret police used to bring opponents to the courts secretly where secret witnesses gave evidence in front of the Judge, whose only qualification was being Fascist. The opponents were put in to confinement for an indefinite period. There was censorship on teaching, textbooks, newspapers, Radio and Postal Systems. The students in schools were forced to repeat the slogan 'Mussolini is Always Right'. The king and the parliament existed without any active power and authority.

d) Domestic policies of Mussolini:

Mussolini came in power on tall claims and promises made by him to nation. To fulfil the aspirations of the people, solution to economic problem was a must. His domestic policy tried to revive the country by increasing the productive capacity. He had to face economic distress of Italy having deficit budget of more than 600 million and value of currency was falling. Under such circumstances, he introduced following measures

1) Economic Policy under Mussolini:

Mussolini wanted a self-sufficient Italy. He initiated the improvement in agriculture popularly known as 'Battle for Grain'. Various measures such as land reclamation, training to the farmers and manure production. His initiative of draining of Pontine Marshes. The agricultural co-operatives were established and an agricultural credit bank for the benefit of peasant. All these measures were to counter the foreign import of agricultural items. The process of rural electrification was initiated by building of hydroelectric power plants.

Italian manufactured cars were in great demand in Europe and competed with American manufacturers. Italy entered in to trade and commercial agreement with various countries. The stimulus to tourism was provided and government aid to mercantile shipping was encouraged. Italy received orders for constructing war vessels for several countries.

He nationalised the mills and factorise and introduced better working conditions for the workers. For better relations between the capitalist and the proletariat, he established syndicates. Due to his efforts economic condition of Italy improved to a great extent. It became one of the richest countries in Europe.

He along with De Stepani, the finance minister introduced drastic reduction in the state expenditure and imposed new taxes, which balance the budget by 1925. The Currency got stabilised. His effort and his encouragement to the scientist of the country added to country's progress. There was credible success to make country self-sufficient.

His government initiated a comprehensive program of public works which generated employment and improved the economic conditions of large section of the society who were no source of the income. The schools, buildings, houses, dams, canals, harbours were constructed old Roman memorials were renovated and important cities were beautified and decorated. The cities witnessed the constructions of grand modern buildings and memorials. These measures generated employment as well as reminded the Italians of their glorious past.

In spite of all his efforts, Italy could not achieve sufficiency due to lack of iron, coal, oil, cotton and other vital sources for industrialisation. The Great depression of 1929 resulted in setback to economy of Italy and revaluation of the currency Lira and the government failed to give Italy a favourable balance of trade.

2) The Lateran Accord with the Pope:

Mussolini was instrumental in bringing to an end of the 50-year-old quarrel between the Italian state and the pope. After the unification of Italy, the pope called himself 'Prisoner of Vatican'. Mussolini had no faith in religion but he knew the importance and political value of religion. He was anxious that religion should be enlisted for rather than against the state. The members of the Fascist Party were primarily Catholics and Italy was home for millions of Catholics. Mussolini negotiated a settlement with Pope Pius XI who without being an advocate of Fascism, wanted to end the conflict which was to nobody's advantage. The informal talks between the two parties began in 1926 and the two parties came to terms by signing an agreement at the Pope's second palace at Rome, the Lateran on 11 February 1929. Cardinal Gasperi on behalf of the pope and Mussolini on behalf of the government of Italy signed the Treaty. It is popular as Lateran Accord. It had three parts – part I – was a political Treaty; Part II – was a Concordat, and Part III- was an agreement in financial aspects.

The political Treaty recognised the Vatican City as an independent state under the sovereignty of pope. In return, the pope also recognised the government of Italy under the Savoy dynasty and agreed that he would in no way be connected with secular disputes between various states as well as the internal conferences convinced to discuss those disputes. Pope renounced his claim to Rome and acknowledge it as the capital of Italy. Under this Treaty Pope was given freedom to negotiate relations with other countries and correspond with them. He was allowed to have his own currency and post and telegraph arrangements. The Vatican City became one of the smallest sovereign states in the world. Now the Pope was no more the 'Prisoner of Vatican'.

Under the Concordat the government recognised the catholic religion as sole official religion of the government of Italy. It undertook to enforce the directions of Vatican regarding marriage and morals among the catholic citizen. The Pope was free to appoint Archbishop and Bishops on the conditions that before their appointment the government of Italy would be consulted for not being anti-Fascist. They had to take an Oath of loyalty to the government when they assumed office. Marriage was recognised a religious ceremony and all the church marriages were legitimised. The religious instructions were made compulsory in Primary and Secondary Schools. The government of Italy accepted to give salaries to the priest as usual. The teachers of educational institution teaching religion was to be appointed by Pope.

Under the agreement on financial aspect the government of Italy agreed to pay the Pope a sum of 75,00,00 000 Liras in cash and 1,00,00,00,000 Liras in the form of government bonds as compensation for the church property confiscated in 1870. The Pope accepted the amount as a final settlement of all his financial claims. This agreement survived Mussolini's down fall and were embodied in the constitution of the present-day republic of Italy.

This agreement was accepted with joy and satisfaction by both the parties. Mussolini said, 'Every citizen of Italy is a catholic and every catholic, a citizen of Italy.' Similarly, the Pope said, 'God has been restored to Italy and Italy has been restored to God.'

The relations between the Pope and Mussolini improved but soon after the differences started between them on question of the education of the Youth. Mussolini merged the Catholic Scouting Troops in Balillas. At the age of 14 years every child had to take oath of loyalty to their Duce. Mussolini and to follow his dictates blindly. Pope was against this oath. Later in 1931, both again signed an agreement and the right of Church institutions to impart religious instructions was restored.

Check Your Progress:

Highlight the importance of domestic policy initiated by Mussolini.

e) The Foreign Policy of Mussolini:

The Paris Peace Conference was a great setback to Italy's ambition for territorial expansion, and she was deserted by Allies. The country was humiliated leading to discontent and despair among the citizens. Italians wished to regain the lost glory. Mussolini declared, 'Expansion of Italy is a question of her life and death; Italy must expand or she would perish.' He adopted an active foreign policy to satisfy the national consciousness of Italians. It was based on Fascist principles and had following objectives-

- 1) To restore the glory of Italy in the World and make her one of the great powers of the World.
- 2) To establish Italian empire in Africa and Mediterranean Sea.

Mussolini considered amendment of Peace Treaties and took some important Steps:

1) Acquisition of Rhodes and Dodecanese:

Mussolini was committed to strengthen the maritime power and position of Italy. Italy was situated on the sea coast but it did not have enough freedom to reach the Ocean. Only possibility to reach the Ocean was through Strait of Gibraltar or the Suez Canal. Mussolini was aware that any accident could close the Suez Canal while British dominated the strait of Gibraltar. He considered that Italy was a Prisoner in the Mediterranean Sea. Italy put her claims on Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, but Treaty of Sevres (1920) forced to drop her claim on these islands. In 1922, the Italian government refused to honour this Treaty, which was opposed by Britain and Greece at that time. In 1923 through the Treaty of Lausanne, the Italian claims on these islands were accepted. Mussolini built a naval base there; it was the first success of his foreign policy and strengthen his position in Italy.

2) Attack on Corfu:

On 27 August 1923, the Italian Chairman of the international commission for delimiting the frontier of Albania and Greece, along with his four staff was murdered by Greek bandits near Janina in Greece. Mussolini immediately served an ultimatum demanding compensation from Greece and asked to investigate the murder with the assistance of high officers of Italy and tender an apology. Italian warship bombarded the Greek island of Corfu on 31 August 1923, and occupied it without reference to the League of Nations. The Greeks fulfilled the demand for a compensation of 50 million Liras. The Inter-Allied Commission of enquiry, investigating the Corfu incident showed very little sympathy to Greece. After receiving the compensation Italy evacuated Corfu. Thus, Mussolini challenged the right of the League of Nations and could realise the damages from the Greece. It was expressive of the new spirit of boldness and encouraged Mussolini's expansionist ambitions.

3) Acquisition of Fiume:

At Paris Peace Conference (1919) there was bitter controversy between Italy and Yugoslavia on the issue of Fiume Port. The Inter-Allied Authorities decided to make a 'Free City' in 1920. On 27 January 1924, Mussolini signed an agreement with Yugoslavia which made the original solution creating Fiume a free city, abandoned and greater part of Fiume was incorporated in Italy leaving Yugoslavia in the possession of Port Baros, a neighbouring town of Fiume. Thus, Mussolini strengthened his position in the Adriatic Sea.

4) Albania and Italy – Yugoslav relations:

After strengthening the position in the Adriatic Sea. Mussolini intended to grab Albania on the other coast of Adriatic, which was a newly constituted state recognised by the Peace Conference of Paris. It created a fresh bone of contention between Italy and Yugoslavia. In 1912, Albania was set up as an independent state by Austria- Hungary and Italy to block Serbian expansion. In 1920, Albania became a member of the League of Nations. Italy had tried to dilute the independence of Albania by various methods. Mussolini granted large amount of money to Albania for its development and tried to establish financial and military control over it, leading to deterioration of relation between Albania and Yugoslavia. Mussolini's control over Albania facilitated to control the strait of Otranto which endangered Yugoslavia access to Mediterranean. In November 1926, there was a revolt in Albania against the government of Zog which forced it to sign a treaty on 27 November 1926 with Mussolini at a place called Tirana. The terms of the Treaty of Tirana were as follows:

- 1) Italy assured of status Quo in political and territorial integrity of Albania.
- 2) Albania promised not to sign any agreement with any other country which will be detrimental to Italy.
- 3) The Albanian forces will be trained by military officers of Italy.
- 4) On the request of Albania, Italy got the right to interfere in the internal and external policies.

The conclusion of Italio-Albanian Treaty made Albania virtually on Italian protectorate. Thus, Mussolini fulfilled his long-cherished desire of Italian people.

In the year 1927, there was an imminent War between Albania backed by Italy and Yugoslavia because the former had arrested the Legation Officers of Yugoslavia at Tirana but the matter was sorted out without armed conflict. Now Yugoslavia turned to France for an alliance. There emerged a controversial figure of a Young Muslim Chief Ahmed Zogu in Albania who was proclaimed as Zog I in 1928. He tried to reduce Italian influence but could not succeed. On Good Friday of 1939, Italy invaded

and annexed Albania and the King Zog had to flee from the country with his wife and two-day old son.

5) Treaty with Russia:

Mussolini needed the support of a big country like Russia, for his claims against France in the Mediterranean Sea and to have strong position in south-east Europe. He signed an agreement with Russia in 1924 and recognised the soviet government and, entered in to a trade agreement. He also tried to make Russia a member of league of Nation. It stabilized the relation of Italy with Russia.

6) Treaty with France:

Italy and France were having rivalry in North-Africa, Western Mediterranean Sea and the Balkan states, the main reason of strained relations between Italy and France. The Occupation of Tunis by France increased the differences with Italy. There was dictatorship in Italy whereas France was a democratic republic. Mussolini desired to make the Mediterranean Sea a 'Roman Lake'. The rise of Hitler in 1933 in Germany forced Italy and France to come close to each other. Hitler wanted to capture Austria whereas Mussolini wished to maintain his influence over Austria. Mussolini sent the Italian Army to the Brainer pass and neutralised the Hitler's attempt to occupy Austria in 1934. In January 1935, France and Italy signed an agreement by which France left 1000 square miles of desert area in Libya and handed over her shares in the railway line between Jibok (On the coast of the Red Sea) and Adis (Capital of Abyssinia) to Italy.

7) Attack on Abyssinia (Ethiopia):

Italy had a long cherish desire to occupy Abyssinia since the 19th Century. Italy under Mussolini made Eretria, Somaliland and Libya as part of Italian empire. By capturing Abyssinia Italy wanted to have a vast empire in Africa. The Japanese aggression in Manchuria proved the weakness and irrelevance of the League of Nations. It prompted Mussolini to fulfil his objective to capture Abyssinia. To counter the Nazi revolution in 1933 England and France were instrumental for Mussolini's aspirations of capturing Abyssinia. The creation of 'STRESSA FRONT' was result of the policy of Mussolini's effort which brought France close to Italy, so that Nazi danger could be repulsed 30 Italian were killed on December 5, 1934 in a conflict with Abyssinia at a place called Walwal one of the uncertain frontiers between Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia. Mussolini very swiftly demanded apology form Abyssinia and heavy amount as compensation. Abyssinia approached the League of Nations but later failed to take any action for almost 10 months. Mussolini with the support of France attacked Abyssinia in October 1935 and captured Adoba and entered deep in to the Abyssinian territories. The League of Nations declared Italy an aggressor and under clause 16 put economic sanctions on her. But these conditions were not applied strictly. Italy could garner the sympathy of France. Britain also did not close Suez Cannel to respect the international law, on the other hand Italy procured unabated supply of

military equipments from Germany and in May 1936 it occupied Addis Ababa. The king Haile Selassie took refuge in England and Mussolini declared the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III as the Emperor of Abyssinia in 1936. In November 1938, Britain and France recognised the Italian supremacy over Abyssinia. It was a big blow to the basic principles of the League of Nations. Within 19 months Mussolini declared War against Britain and France which was unexpected by concerned countries.

8) Participation of Italy in Spanish Civil War:

There was outbreak of civil war in Spain in 1936 between the republican government comprising of all the leftist Parties and the orthodox popular as 'Nationalist' who were supported by military officers. The orthodox had the support of General Franco who was a Fascist by nature. Italy wanted to establish her supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea. Italy supported Franco because it realised that success of Franco could of great help to Italy to check French and British influence over the Mediterranean region. Mussolini also wanted to have naval and air base along the sea coast of Spain and could procure metals such as iron, copper, zinc and lead which useful for war purposes and necessary for industrial development of Italy.

Germany also helped General Franco, so that France would have to defend all her boundaries and could not concentrate her army on the Rhine border alone but would have to divide it which would be advantageous to Germany.

Britain and France were sympathetic to republican government but the presence of communist elements in them forced them to pretend neutrality and made no efforts to protect the republic.

Russia on the other hand wished the victory for Franco because it did not want Spain to join the Anti-Communist bloc like Italy and Germany, but because of distance Russian help could not prove very effective and ultimately with the support of Italy and Germany Franco came out victorious in 1939.

The Spanish Civil war and Italian support to General Franco proved Fascism as effective world player and Anti-Italy group in the western Mediterranean Sea were defeated in their purpose. He found a new friend against France and also it proved ineffectiveness of the League of Nations. Later Italy annexed Albania to Italy in 1939.

9) Rome-Berlin-Axis:

The success of Mussolini in Abyssinia encouraged Hitler to mobilise troops in de-militarised zone of the Rhineland on 7 March 1936, which was violation of Locarno Pact. Mussolini considered Britain and France as insignificant in international politics. He was impressed and admired Hitler. Germany recognised the Mussolini's conquest of Abyssinia which brought Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany closer to each other based on mutual interest and their opposition to Bolshevism. In his speech at Milan

on November 1, 1936. Mussolini declared, "The Rome-Berlin Line is not diaphragm but rather an axis." He became partner of Germany and both the countries were committed to work against Bolshevism and recognise each other sphere of interest. They signed a protocol for mutual co-operation on 21 October 1936.

10) Rome-Berlin Tokyo Axis:

In 1937, Mussolini joined the Anti-Comintern Pact which was earlier signed between Germany and Japan on 25 November 1936, which was directed against international communism. In May 1939, Germany and Italy signed a non-aggression and defence pact.

11) The outbreak of World War II and Downfall of Mussolini:

The World War II started with the attack of Hitler on Poland on September 1, 1939. The pact demanded that Italy must have joined the War but Italy remained neutral initially and tried to help Germany because in comparison of Germany Italy was weaker and there was also probability of Britain and France attacking Italy more easily than they might attack Germany. Due to old policy Italy wanted to join the war when she had seen its results. Therefore, when Mussolini was fully convinced of Hitler's victory, he declared war against the Allied Powers on June 10, 1940.

However, the Italians did not win great victorious and in 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini on 25th July 1943 and signed an armistice with the Allied Powers in the month of September. Germans rescued sickly Mussolini and made him organise a brutal puppet government in northern Italy as southern Italy was invaded by Allied Powers.

In the last phase of the war, Mussolini tried to escape with his mistress Clara Petacci but he was captured and shot by Italian Freedom Fighters on 28 April 1945. His body was hung by the hills in Milan. Few Italians wept for him or the end of Fascism.

Check Your Progress:

Highlight the importance of foreign policy under Mussolini.

11.7.3 Nazism in Germany:

Germany faced various troubles in the last phase of World War I. In November 1918 they lost the hope of winning the war but after the defeat of Germany they lost their patience also. They lost their faith in Kaiser William II, who was unable to control the situation. The naval soldiers in the fleet of Wilhelms Howvern rose in revolt, which triggered further revolts in other parts of Germany. Even though there was no prominent leader to lead the revolution, it was led by disciplined, self-regulated, respectable and gentle middle class. On the advice of Chancellor Prince Max, Emperor Kaiser William II resigned on November 10, 1918, and fled away to Holland. This further deteriorated the situation. The Social

Democratic Party declared the establishment of the Republic on November 9, 1918. The Chancellor Prince Max found it difficult to control the situation, so he resigned from his assignment. The Socialist Leader Friedrich Ebert, who was the President of Social Democratic Party was made Chancellor. His interim government signed the Armistice on November 11, 1918 and brought World War I to a close. It spelled the doom of the Empire founded by Bismark.

The German Communist tried their level best to capture power from 6th to 15th November 1918 under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, who was influenced by the Russian Revolution. Friedrich Ebert suppressed the communists with the brutal force and many communist leaders were put to death. Bavaria also made this kind of effort but had failed.

a) Establishment of the Constituent Assembly:

The government of Friedrich Ebert took effective steps to establish a National Constituent Assembly. The elections were held as per the declaration made on 19th January 1919. Several political parties contested the elections held on the pattern of proportionate representation and around 30 million voters exercised their franchise. Out of 421 seats in the Constituent Assembly, the Social Democratic Party won 163 seats, the Catholic Centre Party won 88 seats, The Democratic Party won 75 seats, The Nationalist Party won 42, The Independent Socialist Party won 22 and The People's Party 21, the remaining 10 seats were shared by 4 majority party. There was no political party which secured absolute majority.

b) The Formation of Interim Government:

The first session of the Constituent Assembly was held at Weimar. Ebert's temporary government resigned before the session. The Social Democratic Party in coalition with centre party and the democratic party formed the government as no single party was having majority in the Assembly. The coalition was known as Weimar Coalition. Friedrich Ebert was elected as the first President of Republic and Philipp Schiedman was elected as Prime Minister. The Home Minister, Hugo Preuss drafted the constitution accepted by all the parties in Germany.

c) The Weimar Constitution:

The German Empire (Reich) consisted of 18 federated states. The sovereignty vested in the German people and all citizens above 20 years of age were given the right to vote, the citizens were granted freedom of expression and religion. The President was made the head of the executive with a term of 7 years. The President was empowered to appoint the Chancellor who could form the ministry with the advice of President. The constitution had provision for the Bicameral Legislature having lower house (Reichstag) and the upper house (Bundesrat). The election of the lower house was to be held four years and upper house had the representative of the states, based on the respective population. The upper house had limited powers as compared to the lower house. The real power

of the state was resided in the cabinet of ministers and the President of Germany was nearly a constitutional head of the state.

d) Difficulties of the Weimar Republic and Rise of Nazism in Germany:

The political instability during 1919 to 1933 proved the weakness of the Weimar Republic and gave rise to the emergence of Hitler on the political scene of Germany. The people saw a strong man in Hitler and Hitler exploited the sentiments of people and became an undisputed leader in the country. The factors responsible for the collapse of Weimar Republic and rise of Nazism are as follows-

1) Unfamiliar Democratic Tradition:

The Democratic government through Weimar constitution was new to the Germans. There was no change in bureaucratic structure of state and socio-economic base of the country in spite of new government. They had no love for the parliamentary government and were totally unaware of the difficulties of the party system. There were frequent changes of the government and lack of coherent policy and program for national regeneration between 1919 and 1933 which witnessed rise and fall of ministries.

2) The humiliating Treaty of Versailles:

The Treaty of Versailles had stringent and harsh terms such as imposition of war guilt, the loss of colonies, the allied military occupation of Rhineland, the war indemnity as well as restrictions on Germany to have strong military by way of dismantle the mechanism and equipment under the supervision by the Allied Commission. The Treaty of Versailles was a national wrong and people of Germany repudiated the Treaty as it was a dictated peace. It was considered as the work of devil and the discontent of the masses were towards social democrats and republications. They lost faith in the parliamentarians of Weimar Republic. The Nazi party and its followers encashed the discontent prevailing in the German society and could convince the masses that abolition of Weimar constitution and establishment of strong government was the remedy to overcome all the difficulties caused by Allied Powers.

3) Economic Crisis:

The German Republic had to face severe economic crisis due to heavy losses in World War I except war material manufacturing units, several of other industries had closed down leading to rise of unemployment. The burden of payment of reparations put it in extreme financial difficulties. The Great Depression of 1929 further deteriorated the economic conditions of Germany. It became impossible for her to pay the instalments of war damages. It was refused to avail loans even from America. The German currency Mark was devalued to the great extent. In normal days 20 Marks were equivalent to 1 pound but in December 1921,

the 1 pound was equivalent to 770 Marks and that of in August 1922 reached to 30000 Marks. In 1923, it became equivalent to 190 crores.

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4) A Fear of Communism:

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 the communist ideas were infiltrating in Germany. They were called Spartacists in Germany and they aspired to form communist government. The fear of communist expansion led to brutally killing of the leading communist such as Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by the troops of government. Hitler with the support of militarist, industrialist and workers tried his best to counter and decimate the communists.

5) Rise of Nazi Party:

Hitler was vehemently opposed to the terms of Treaty of Versailles and was very vocal against it at every platform. Hitler promised and gave Germans a high-sounding program of 25 points full of promises. He promised something to everybody and got the mass support. He also capitalised on the fear of spread of communism. The Nazi movement under his leadership was based on Anti-Communism, Anti-Semitism and ambitious economic programs. Adolf Hitler the Chairman of the Nazi party was born on 20 April 1889 in a middle-class family at Braunau in Austria. His father was Customs Inspector and parents wanted him to join civil services but in 1908 he went to Vienna to study Architecture. Due to failure at the entrance exam, he became a draughtsman and decorator. He lost his job frequently and he blamed the Jews and the socialist for this. He was an ordinary soldier during the World War I. He worked as a corporal for some time, fought bravely and was awarded iron cross first class in 1918. During the last months of the war, he was wounded and hospitalised at a military hospital. He got the news of fall of Germany, abdication on throne by Kaiser William II and formation of Republican Government while he was in hospital. On his discharge from the hospital, he was determined to join politics. On his arrival at Munich in May 1919, he got an opportunity to work in the information and broadcasting department of the territorial army. His main duty was to report the high officials about the activities of the political parties and stop the propagation of the socialist ideas. During this assignment he came in contact with German Workers Party founded by Anton Dracksler in 1918 with 20-25 members. He worked with full dedication to raise the membership of the party. In 1920 it was renamed as National Socialist German Workers Party or Nazi Party. Dracksler was expelled from the party and Hitler captured all power himself in the same year. He strengthened the party with the help of Hess, Goering, Rozenburg and Goebbels. The party had a special Symbol, Swastika, an Anthem, Greetings, Slogans. Hitler had personal militia the 'Brown Shirts'. Its main role was to protect the party meetings and disrupt the meetings of opposition parties, especially the Social Democrats and the Communist. For his personal security, he had a special military force whose members wore uniform of Black shirts with the emblem of a human skull. In 1923, Hitler along with Ludenford unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the German Republic. Hitler was imprisoned for the act and

during his jail term, he wrote his book 'Mein Kampf'. He made it compulsory reading for every citizen as it outlined his program for building a Nazi Germany and establish domination over the world.

He was sentence for five years but was set free by the end of 1924. In 1923, the Nazi party was declared illegal and there was dissension among the members of the party. From 1925 to 1929, he reorganised the party and expanded the membership. Many of his opponents were expelled from the party and organised a military force having two wings The first was called S.A. (Sturm Abteilung) consisted of aggressive armed forces. Their uniform was Brown Shirt and Swastika marked badges on their sleeves They were responsible to organised demonstration protect the party meetings and forcibly disrupt the opposition parties. The second wings called S.S (Schuiz Staffledn) consisted of selected security guards having uniform of black shirt with a human skull mark on them. They acted as the bodyguards of the party leaders and were assigned special missions. In 1923, the Nazi party established two branches of the central organisation. The first branch used to criticize the policy of the present government and dealt with foreign department, the press and the organisation of the party offices. The second branch was having the responsibility to prepare ground for the establishment of Nazi Government. Department of Agriculture, Race Relations, Home, Law and Labour worked under it. Goebbels was in charge of the Department of Propaganda. Hitler came out with a newspaper called 'Volkischer'. Beobachter branches of the Nazi party were opened at every place all over Germany. Hitler took advantage of problem faced by Republican Government and blamed it for all the problems faced by Germany. He assured the people to restore the national honour and prosperity of Germany in the elections of the Reichstag held in May 1928, the Nazi Party won only 12 seats but in ensuing elections of 1930 his party member in Reichstag increased to 107 with 6.44 million (20%) votes. In March 1932 Presidential elections, he was one of the candidates beside sitting president Hindenburg, and the communist leader Unsurt Thalman. Hindenburg polled 49.6% votes, Hitlers 30.1% and Unsurt Thalman 13%. In parliamentary elections of 1932, Nazi Party won 230 out of 576 seats. Though he could not muster absolute majority, yet he had the largest number of seats as compared to other parties.

6) Anti- Semitism:

The Jews were not more than 1% of German population but they dominated politics, business, trade and the arts. They were most prosperous group in Germany and owned large industries but the common people hated them as exploiters. The Jews enjoyed prominent place in several fields of public life. Hitler took advantage of Anti-Semitic feeling of the people and promised to expel the Jews from the country and hand over their factories to the unemployed, for which he was supported by the unemployed. One of the popular Nazi sayings was 'The Jew is our misfortune. Hitler is our saviour'. Hitler organised mass slaughter of the Jews in gas chamber. The Jews were regarded as non- Aryan person. In April 1932, a law was passed to dismiss all non-Aryan officials mostly the Jews. They were deprived of German citizenship and most of them

assassinated and expelled from the country. The protection of the human rights of the Jews was a distant dream in Nazi Germany.

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7) Denunciation of Christianity:

Nazism opposed Christianity and denounced Jesus Christ for being an Asiatic Jew. Though Hitler condemned the ethical percept of Christianity, yet he tried to enlist the support of Catholic and Protestant Churches in order to remain in power. After assuming the supreme power in Germany, he launched open attacks on Christianity. The people of Germany were indoctrinated to denounce Christ. They followed the ideas which were totally absurd and self-contradictory.

8) Magnetic Personality of Hitler:

One of the reasons of the success of Nazism was the magnetic personality of Hitler. He was equipped with all qualities required for a popular leader. He was very shrewd politician, a powerful orator, a brave soldier and skilled with melding the political scene in his favour according to circumstances. He was a resourceful revolutionary and an able organiser. He used all possible means to impress the people. His companion Goebbels had an extraordinary skill to project Hitler as the only option for all the problems of Germany. They followed the principle of propaganda as 'Repeat a lie many times till it appears to be true'. Hitler denounced defeat in the war as national humiliation and promised to restore the national glory.

9) Success of Hitler:

After the elections of 1932, the Nazi party was clearly the largest party. Hitler was called upon to take up as the Chancellor. In January 1933 he formed a coalition government and to have an absolute majority in the Reichstag, election was held again in March 1933. He adopted all possible means to ensure his success in the elections including repressive and violent method against the rivals. He appointed his trusted colleagues as cabinet members. Hermann Goering was given the portfolio of home who recruited large number of Brown Shirts S.A. and Special force S.S. in the police. Hitler planned to neutralise the power of communist. On February 24, 1933, the party headquarter of the Communist in Berlin was raided and it was declared that the several proofs revealed that communist had been planning to revolt and capture power in Germany. After this, few days before the elections which were scheduled to be held on February 27, the building in which the Reichstag was to be hosted was set on fire. A semi-lunatic communist young man called Marinus Vonderleub was arrested for burning the building Hitler took advantage of this incident and requested the President to suspend civil liberties as well as freedom of speech and press and to hold meetings. The Communist Party was declared illegal and prominent communist leaders were arrested. Thus, Hitler fulfilled his purpose. In the 5 March 1933 elections, the Nazi Party won 288 out of 647 seats and their associate the nationalist party won 52 seats. Thus, the Nazi and the Nationalist Combine got on absolute majority in the Reichstag. After acquiring the power, he began to destroy the republic. The

Republican National flag was removed by Hindenburg order and was replaced by flag of the old German empire and the Nazi flag with 'Swastika mark' were installed and held in high esteem. In the first session of the Reichstag on March 23, 1933. Hitler asked the Reichstag to handover all power to him for four years which was accepted due to threat, by the Reichstag and he became all powerful.

Now one-man rule replaced the Constitutional Government. He called Germany, the third Reich. After the death of President Hindenburg, Hitler abolished the office of the President and merged both the offices of the President and the Chancellor in to one. He preferred to be called Fuehrer. His action was approved by 90% in opinion poll. The all the sovereign powers had passed in his hands.

Check Your Progress:

Discuss the conditions responsible for rise of Nazism in Germany.

e) Domestic Policy of Hitler:

On the domestic front Hitler took the following steps to consolidate his authority in the country.

1) Political Parties were banned:

Hitler accused the Communist of anti-national and divisive activities and banned the Communist Party. Just before the order issued on 5th, March 1933 for fresh elections, the Reichstag was conveniently burnt and the Communist were blamed for the act. He debarred the Communist party and in the elections his party secured 288 seats in the Reichstag. Gradually Hitler eliminated all opposition parties. The enabling act, 'The Fundamental law of Hitler's regime' gave him dictatorial power. Thus, by July 4, 1933 one by one all political parties were banned and Nazi party was officially declared through Cabinet Decree, only legal political party in Germany. Thus, Hitler became all powerful in the Central Council of ministers. The Law for Restoration of Civil Services provided that the non-Aryans i.e., the Jews and all other who were not willing to serve the national Socialist government loyally could be expelled from the various government services. About 28% of civil servants were removed from their post under this law. Hitler declared the National Socialist party as the state.

2) Suspension of Weimar Constitution and End of Federal System of Government:

Hitler got the enabling law passed on 23rd March, 1933 which virtually suspended the Weimar constitution. He started acquiring dictatorial powers and ruled the country by issuing decrees. He centralised the powers in him which resulted in the loss of autonomy of the Federal states of Germany. By 1934 all the Federal States under his control. The state diets were abolished and the power of State Legislative bodies were transferred to Reich the National Parliament of Germany. Behind all his

actions of establishment of totalitarian state, the principle of 'One Party, one leader and his Absolute rule' was predominant.

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3) Control over Autonomous Bodies:

All the autonomous bodies in the Germany were brought under the control of central Nazi government. The chairman of municipalities and village councils were appointed by the Central Government. These members were appointed in consultation with local Nazi leaders. All the rights of local-self-government were transferred to the officers appointed by Central Government.

4) Assumptions of President's power by Hitler:

On 30th June, 1934 after the President Hindenburg's death, Hitler succeeded to Presidency by ratification through plebiscite on August, 19, 1934.

5) Check on Civil Liberties:

Under Hitler's totalitarian regime all civil liberties were withdrawn. Press, Radio, Cinema, Schools and Universities etc. were all deprived of their independence and strict government, control was imposed on the freedom of expression of ideas and undertaking of any economic or social activity. Any person could be arrested at any time without assigning any reason, and imprisoned for indefinite period. Very harsh measures were adopted to terrorise the people. The special concentration camps were built for torturing the people under suspicion. In April, 1933, Hitler organised the secret police under Himmler to suppress any voice of dissent. These police were known as Gestapo. On June 30, 1934, the bloody Saturday Rohm and his followers and other dissidents were executed. Papen who had advised President Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as a chancellor, narrowly escaped death. After this thorough purge of Nazi Party, Hitler had sigh of relief and was saddled with supreme power.

6) Unification of Labourers:

Hitler tried to destroy the independent powers of German Trade Unions which were under the influence of Marxism. He dissolved the trade unions, confiscated their property and all the workers were put in one union. German Labour Front whose chief was a Nazi leader, he declared May 1 as the national holiday just for the sake of show. The German Labour Front had separate units for agriculture, commerce, transport and industry. It tried to coordinate the interest of the workers with those of the capitalist. Strikes and lockouts were strictly banned. All these measures increased the production and government made efforts to increase exports and curtail imports. These efforts raised production as well as the disciplined working class.

7) Supreme Command of German Armed Forces in the hands of Hitler:

Hitler's purge of the army took place in 1934 when Field Marshal Blomberg was dismissed. The General Fritsch, the Commander-in-Chief of German army was also dismissed. On 20th August 1934 a new law was passed under which the German armed forces took a new oath of allegiance to Hitler. Thus, he not only became the Head of the Government but also the Head of the State and Supreme Commander of German Armed Forces.

8) The Nazification of Germany:

The rise of Nazism meant entire reorientation of Germany. There was complete Nazification of Culture under the leadership of German propaganda minister Goebbels. The culture of German nation was put in to 'A Nazi Strait Jacket'. The press, the universities, schools, stage and cinema were controlled by the Reich Chamber of Culture. Education was fashioned to suit the objectives of Nazi party. The main objectives of the curriculum were – Education of the Nazi racial principles, description of the glorious tradition, History and Culture of the German nation, Ideals of political soldier, games and sports and acquisition of physical fitness through compulsory labour in farms and camps. A firm determination and power of the quick decision was to be developed among the youth. German students from the university level were taught about the superiority of the German race, violent nationalism, militarism, discipline, obedience, strength of character and healthy body. The feeling of extreme racialism was inculcated in the minds of young boys and girls of Germany and the ideal of German life became, 'One race, one language, one culture and one leader'.

9) Economic Prosperity:

Through planned economic programmes the economic prosperity was expected. The peasants were forced to increase the agriculture production. The Food Estate established by a law (1933) control production, marketing and processing. The Nazi economic policy were framed by Dr. Schacht. It was believed deliberately designed to function not only in time of war but during the peace that led to war. It destroyed organised labour and free scope for entrepreneurs. The small entrepreneurs became mere wage earners. The labour was reduced to virtual serfdom and strikes were banned and trade unions were declared illegal. The working class was placed at the mercy of capitalist and the government. The Nazi Germany provided jobs to a large number of workers in ammunition factories which solved the problem unemployment. Through the Nutrition Estate Law (1933) the farmers and the landlords were required to declare the quality, quantity and the character of the crops that were to be raised. During 1933 to 1937 the agricultural income increased by 51%. Germany became almost self-sufficient in agricultural production. The Marshland were drained and artificial fertiliser were used to boost the production and agriculture was modernised. Thus, Hitler freed Germany from the economic crisis and put an end to the problem of unemployment. The

industrial production almost doubled and the foreign trade also expanded. The Nazi's fully controlled the German economy with a practical economic policy suited to their needs.

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Check Your Progress:

Write the significance of domestic policy of Hitler.

f) Foreign Policy of Nazi Germany Under Hitler:

Objective and Method of Hitler's Foreign Policy –There were three basic objectives of Hitler's Foreign Policy:

- 1) To denounce the Treaty of Versailles.
- 2) To Organise and bring together all the German race under the Third Reich and
- 3) To expand the German empire

To achieve all these objectives Hitler did not hesitate to adopt any method. The path chosen by Hitler for the achievement of these objectives has been explained in his book 'Mien Kampf' He adopted all illegitimate methods like threat, assault, arrogant presumption of peace, denunciation of Treaties and War.

He believed that conduct of vigorous foreign policy was possible only through transformation of nation into a strongly armed military state. To fulfil the objectives of his foreign policy Hitler took following actions-

1) Snapping Relations with League of Nations:

The World Disarmament Conference held at Geneva on 2nd February 1932. It was attended by representatives of 61 States including Germany. In this conference the controversy raised over the issue of offensive and defensive weapons and the issue of German claim to parity in acquisition of armaments. M. Tardieu, the French delegate pointed out that it was not possible to draw the line between aggressive and defensive weapons. France was not ready to concede parity to Germany in acquiring armaments and insisted that Germany should adhere to the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The French delegate intensified opposition after Hitler became the chancellor of Germany on 30th January 1933. On 17 the May 1933, Hitler declared that if a decision was to be imposed on Germany on the pre-text of majority decision, Germany would prefer to resign from Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. In October 1933 it withdrew from both World Disarmament Conference and League of Nations. Hitler carried out a plebiscite on his decision to quit League of Nations and 95 % of the voters supported his decision.

2) Nazification of Danzig:

After assuming the power Hitler proceeded with the Nazification of Germans beyond the border of Reich. Hundreds of Nazi agents infiltrated in the free city of Danzig which was administered by the League of

Nations. According to the Treaty of Versailles, in the elections held on 28th May 1933 the voters Danzig gave a decisive victory to the follower of Hitler. Dr. Hermann Rauschning, the Nazi leader became the President of the Senate of a free city of Danzig.

3) Retrieval of the Saar Territory:

According to the Treaty of Versailles the Saar was detached from Germany and was placed under the administrative control of the League. France was given the right to occupy and exploit the Saar for next 15 years and plebiscite was to be held after 10th January, 1935. In the plebiscite held in January 1935, 90% of the electorate was in favour of merger with Germany. On 1st March 1935, the Saar was handed over to the Germany which added to resources of Nazi Germany and indicated the efficacy of the Nazi technique of propaganda. Encouraged by this victory, Hitler intensified Nazi propaganda among the Germans living outside Germany. He expected to built a greater Germany by gradually merging with Germany not only these areas but also Ukraine in Russia.

4) Non-Aggression Pact with Poland:

Germany concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland for 10 years on 26th January 1934. This agreement specifically outlawed war between two countries and defined more precisely the obligations of the Anti-War Pact. It suited the contemporary needs of both Germany and Poland and also terminated the state of isolation of Germany. The motives of the Poland were plain and understandable. The emergence of a powerful Germany was a threat to her which was eliminated by this pact. Now Poland was not to be a battle ground between Russia and Germany, it became a buffer state between Russia and Germany. Now she was to be less dependent on France for her security. Apparently, Germany made professions of peace but Hitler entertained ulterior designs on Poland. As the events of 1939 showed this pact was a stop gap arrangement, Germany had no intentions to guarantee permanently the frontier of Poland.

5) Attempt to grab Austria:

During the last days of World War I, the Hapsburg emperor of Austria-Hungary abdicated throne and parliamentary republic was established there. According to the Treaty of Saint Germain, the merger of Austria with Germany was forbidden. In the mean time when Nazi party came in to power in Germany, the Austrians gave up the idea of merger. The Nazi Germany wanted the union with Austria. Taking advantage of depression, Hitler established a branch of Nazi party in Austria and made abortive attempts to topple the republican government. The Prime Minister of Austria, Engelburt Dolfoss who was the leader of Christian Democrats, apprehending the Nazi danger suspended the constitution of 1933 and took all powers in his hands. He put restrictions on the Freedom of Press and in June 1933 declared the Nazi party illegal. Germany in retaliation, raised the prohibitive visa fee on the tourists going to Austria and thus, harmed her economic interest. To restrict the Nazi influence in Austria, Mussolini supported the Dolfoss government. On 25th July 1934 an armed group of

Austrian Nazi revolted to overthrow the government of Dollfuss. They captured the office of the chancellor, and another group took the radio station under its control. Chancellor Dollfuss was murdered on the same day, but the Austrian government suppressed the rebels with the help of military. Thus, Hitler's attempts to merge Austria into German empire aborted. The main reasons behind the failure of Hitler's attempt were, first the Nazi party was not strong enough in Austria; second the Fascist government of Italy never wanted Austria and Germany to merge to form a vast empire. The boundary of Austria touched Italy and Mussolini considered it a threat to his country if a vast German empire was organised in his vicinity. At this time Czechoslovakia also supported the policy of Italy.

6) Naval Agreement with Britain (18 June 1935):

The France bloc became powerful by concluding treaties with Italy and Russia besides a number of smaller states in Central and Eastern Europe. Britain did not like France to become powerful in Europe. Hitler understood this mentality of Britain and also knew that Britain did not consider German army and air force hostile to her interest. Hitler agreed to assure Britain that he would not expand his naval force. Consequently, an agreement was signed between Britain and Germany according to which Britain permitted Germany to build all types of warships not exceeding 35% of the tonnage of the British ships. She even allowed her to build sub-marines. Thus, Britain in a way confirmed the violation of the clauses relating to naval force in the Treaty of Versailles. This dual policy of Britain annoyed both France and Italy and the diplomatic front constituted in Stresa broke down. This was a remarkable success for Hitler. Britain also accepted a German proposal which permitted Germany to have an air force proportionate to that of her neighbours. After this agreement, Allied Powers had no moral authority to complain against German violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

7) Remilitarisation of Rhineland:

On 7th March 1936, Hitler announced Germany's denunciation of the Rhineland demilitarisation clause of the Treaty of Versailles and Locarno agreements. Germany denounced the French Russian Treaty (May 1935) on account of considering it as military alliance directed against her. He blamed that the treaty between France and Russia was against the spirit of Locarno agreement and therefore Germany was not bound to act according to Locarno agreement. During his speech in the Reich, around 20 thousand German troops occupied the Rhineland and started fortification there. Hitler successfully played up Germans Anti-Communist stance which resulted in Anglo-French policy of appeasement. By putting blame on the France, he stopped the western nations from taking any action against Germany.

8) Rome- Berlin- Tokyo Axis:

The aggressive activities of Hitler brought European state closure to each other, against Germany. At that time, Hitler found two dissatisfied nations,

Italy and Japan which had lost their friends because of their expansionist plans. Italy and Germany had common enemy in Communism and both believed in Totalitarianism. Initially Mussolini had opposed Hitler, but the war with Abyssinia had made them friendly. During the Abyssinian War France and Britain put economic sanctions against Italy under the instructions from the League. But Germany did not care for the league and extended full support to Italy. This action of Germany brought two countries together and Italy realised that Germany was her true friend. They signed an agreement on 21st October 1936, when Ciano on the behalf of Italy and Neurath on behalf of Germany signed a protocol for Italo-German cooperation. This is known as Rome-Berlin Axis. The two-nation agreed:

- i) To cooperate in all matters of mutual interest.
- ii) To protect European culture from communism.
- iii) To extend economic health in the basin of the river Danube and
- iv) To protect colonial and territorial integrity of Spain.

Germany accepted Abyssinia as part of Italian empire and in return Italy granted some economic facilities to Germany in that area, thus ending the isolation of Germany.

Hitler also tried to make friends with Japan to strengthen international position of Germany. Japan too was looking for a friend who could mount pressure on Russia because Japan found Russia as a stumbling block to extend her influence in China. Germany found Russia as a major factor to check her advancement towards the east. Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact on 25th November 1936, which was against the Russian International Organisation for the propagation of Communism (Comintern). There was a secret clause in which they agreed to sign no political agreement with Russia. Italy also joined the Anti-Comintern agreement in 1937. Thus, a group of three major totalitarian and militarist countries came in to existence. It is known as the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Italy and Germany called it guarantee of World peace. Soviet Russia opposed it.

9) German Military intervention in Spanish civil war:

On 17th July 1936, General Franco revolted in Morocco and led to revolt in Spain, which was the main reason of Civil War. On October 25, 1936 Germany and Italy had a secret Pact related to Spain by which on November 18, 1936 both the countries recognised General Franco as the ruler of Spain. Germany supplied an army unit 15000 men in addition to technicians, planes and sub marines. Italy also contributed 1 Lacs troops in addition to an air force with more than 6000 men, 4370 trucks, tanks and automobiles, 750 canons and 40000 tons of ammunition. From the middle of 1937 civil war tilted in favour of General Franco who was supported by Italy and Germany. Britain, France and United States remained neutral and followed the policy of non-intervention. The league of Nations passed a

resolution on 2nd October, 1937 stating that there were foreign troops on Spanish soil but could do nothing. In January 1939, the rebels captured Barcelona and in March occupied Madrid. By 29th March 1939, the whole of Spain came under the possession of Franco and the civil war came to an end. After 2 years and 254 days of bitter fighting, the prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany was on the top whereas it weakened the democracy. It also prompted the dictators to go ahead with aggressive designs.

10) The Annexation of Austria by Hitler:

Hitler wanted to deprive Austria and Czechoslovakia of their independence and make them part of German empire. Austria was Hitler's home, and it was a German land. Its annexation with Germany was in the consonance with Nazi political philosophy. The international scene was set for the launching by Hitler of his policy of aggression. Through the Axis and Anti-Comintern agreements, Germany was in close friendship with Italy, Japan and Spain. By the end of 1938, Hitler got an opportunity of annexing Austria as he knew that Britain would not risk a war to save Austria. France was facing political turmoil and without British support she was unable to enter in to war. Mussolini was his friend. Hitler placed three conditions before Austria –

- (i) The Austrian Nazi party be declared legal.
- (ii) The Nazi arrested in the Dolfoss murder case be released and
- (iii) The Nazi leader Seyssinquant be appointed defence minister of Austria.

The Austrian Prime Minister Dr. Schuschnigg was given three-day time to decide on these three conditions.

Austria had to concede to all the demands made by Hitler. The Austrian Prime Minister announced Plebiscite on Austrian independence on February 9, 1938. He declared that if the people were in favour of merger with Germany in scheduled plebiscite of March 13, he would gladly accept it. Hitler was fully aware that majority of Austrians were in favour of maintaining their independent existence. German troops began to concentrate on Austrian border and opposed the plebiscite. He sent another warning to Austrian Prime Minister to postpone plebiscite, resigned from the post of Prime Minister and appoint the Nazi leader Seyssinquant as the Prime Minister of Austria. The Schuschnigg resigned from the post and Seyssinquant sent telegraph requesting Hitler to send German army to maintain law and order in Austria. But it was not true the German army had already crossed Austrian border. On March 13, the German Reichstag passed a law and announced Austria a part of the German Empire. The Austrian President Miklauss had to resign. On March 14, Hitler entered Vienna with German armed forces. Britain and France did nothing against the action of Hitler but sent letters of protest. France was grieved by German attack and Poland was apprehensive of her security. Nazi Germany took economic and military control over all the

roads, reserves and railway lines in South-Eastern Europe. Hungary and Yugoslavia and Bohemian and Moravian districts of Czechoslovakia came in to the control of German Empire. A 6.7 million population of Austria became the man power for the German army easily available. It also added to her internal resources and expanded her self- sufficiency. Hitler grabbed Austria very easily without being vary of oppositions from western nations.

11) Explosive situation in Czechoslovakia:

After the annexation of Austria the position of Czechoslovakia had become vulnerable as it was surrounded by the German empire on both the sides, because the Rhineland was again militarised, France was unable to send any military help to Czechoslovakia. It could not get any military equipment from Russia due to obstructive border policy of Poland and Romania. Britain followed the policy of appeasement. It was the best opportunity for Hitler to implement his aggressive plan. After the First World War, Czechoslovakia was constituted by Allied Powers having majority of population belonging to two races – The Czechs and the Slavs. Beside these two races 3.5 million Germans, 5 lakhs Romanians, 8 lakhs Hungarians and 7000 Polish population lived there. The Germans were mainly in Sudetenland for which Hitler demanded an autonomous government but the Czech government opposed it and started preparation for war.

France advised Czechoslovakia to provide some facilities to the Germans living in Sudetenland to reduce tension. Russia assured Czechs of help in case Germany attacked them. Hitler had several reasons for occupying Czechoslovakia.

- (i) It had a strategic importance.
- (ii) The powerful Czech army could endanger the existence of Germany.
- (iii) Hitler assured that Czechoslovakia was not supported by her friends at the time of crisis.
- (iv) Czechoslovakia being the member of League of Nations had a parliamentary government so her policy was in contrast with that of Germany.

Hitler instructed Conard Hamlin who was the leader of Germans in Czechoslovakia to organise all the Germans and cause trouble to Czech government. Hamlin successfully appealed the Germans in Czechoslovakia to join his party and also convinced all the German members in Czechoslovakian ministry to resign from their posts. Hitler blamed the Czech government of atrocities on the Germans, through the Press and started venomous propaganda against Czech government. Czech government rejected the demand for equality and autonomy for the Germans proposed by Hamlin's party. Thus, problem of Sudeten Germans and Czechoslovakia was internationalised. In reality Hitler wanted to

increase the tension between Sudeten Germans and Czechoslovakia to get an opportunity for interfering on the behalf of the repressed Germans.

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Hitler wanted Mussolini to help him against Czechoslovakia. By the third week of May 1938 the Czech government ordered partial conscription for her army. At the same time Britain and France warned Hitler and Ribbentrop against committing any military aggression against the Czech government. Hitler announced that he had no intention of attacking Czechoslovakia. The British Prime Minister Chamberlain wanted to resolve crisis through the policy of appeasement. Czechoslovakia had a Treaty of Mutual Help with France and Russia. Britain with sympathetic attitude proposed to mediate. Hitler met with Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden near Munich on September 14, 1938.

Hitler made it clear that other than methods of transferring Sudetenland on the principle of Self-determination, nothing was acceptable to him. Chamberlain in consultation with France sent a joint proposal of hand over to Germany the areas where population was more than 50% of German, for the peace in Europe. Czech government turned down the Anglo-French proposal on September 20, 1938. But under the pressure Czech government had to accept the proposal. Chamberlain had a second meeting with Hitler on September 22, 1938 at Godesburg in Rhineland where Hitler placed fresh demands that together with Germany, Poland and Hungary should also get the territories as per their demands on the basis of self- determination. On September 23, he submitted the memorandum to Chamberlain with the following demands:

- (i) The entire Sudetenland marked in the enclosed map must be handed over to Germany by October 1, 1938 and Czech forces and police should withdraw from there.
- (ii) All the fortifications, railways lines and factories etc. in the areas to be transferred must be kept intact no food supplies, animals or raw materials should be withdrawn from this area.
- (iii) All German prisoners should be set free.
- (iv) The final boundary should be demarcated through plebiscite under the supervision of an international commission.

The Chamberlain was deeply shocked by these proposals and again in the night of September 23, he censured the Hitler for misconstruing his efforts for maintaining peace. So, the talks failed. On September 28, 1938 in a letter to Hitler, he appealed to call on international conference to resolve the crisis. Mussolini also tried to influence Hitler who agreed to put off his campaign for 24 hours.

12) Munich Pact:

The conference of four big nations began in Munich on September 20, 1938. Germany, Britain, France and Italy were represented by their

delegates Russian and Czech delegates were not invited in this conference. The agreement signed by the four nations is known as Munich Pact.

- i) The Czech government would vacate the Sudetenland between October 1 and 10, 1938. But during vacating the territory no railway lines, factories, fortification or other building would be pulled down.
- ii) One representative each from Germany, Britain, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia would be deciding the terms and conditions for vacating the Sudetenland.
- iii) The above mentioned five members commission was authorised to decide the date of the plebiscite but that should not be later than the end of November.
- iv) The people would be free to decide within six months whether to stay in transferred territories or to vacate them.
- v) The Czech government would release all the German political prisoners within four weeks.
- vi) Britain and France guaranteed the security of the new borders of Czechoslovakia.

Munich Pact deprived the Czechoslovakia of an area of 11000 square miles, strong fortification, huge ordinance factory at Skoda, important railway lines and other industrial establishments. German troops occupied Sudetenland in the morning of October 3, 1938. Hungary took over the Magyar districts from Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939. The plebiscite proposed in the pact was never held. The German forces captured all the areas which included where the population was mostly Czech. The international commission formed under Munich Pact became insignificant. The Czechoslovakia was dismembered and it was a diplomatic victory of Hitler.

13) Non-Aggression Pact with U.S.S.R.:

In the Munich agreement Soviet Union was not even consulted by Anglo-French powers. Later, their attempt to bring Soviet Union close to any future attempt by German against Poland, failed on 23 August, 1939. Germany signed a ten-years a Non-Aggression Pact with Russia. Both the parties agreed refrain from any act of aggression against each other and to remain neutral in case of any of them was involved in war with a third power. Hitler had his motive to deter Anglo-French military action if Germany invaded the Poland. He also expected that Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact would force Britain and France to drop their pledges of protection to Poland, which could facilitate annexation of Poland without going to a major war. Stalin on the other hand thought that the war on the issue of Poland, between two groups i.e., Germany and Italy on the one side and Britain and France on the other would exhaust them and would leave the Soviet Union in a dominant position in the European continents.

These were the considerations which brought Germany and Soviet Union to conclude the pact.

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14) German Ultimatum to Lithuania for Surrender of Memel:

Germany demanded the surrender of Memel and surrounding districts from Lithuania. The German armed forces occupied this region on 21st March, 1939 and the port of Memel was remilitarised by Hitler.

15) The Italo- German Pact of Steel:

On 7th May, 1939, after a conference in Milan, Germany and Italy announced that they would transform the Rome- Berlin- Axis in to a formal military alliance. This was followed by the conclusion of so-called pact of steel between Germany and Italy which had the provision that attack on either of the partners, meant an attack on both. It provided for consultation between the two countries whenever their interest was threatened. It also provided for co-ordination of the economies of the two countries for war time purposes.

16) The German attack on Poland and outbreak of World War II:

In 1934, Germany and Poland had signed a Non-Aggression Pact for ten years, with the objective that Poland would remain neutral while Germany was taking actions against Austria. Hitler asked Poland to provide a corridor to reach her sea- port of Danzig. This violated the pact of 1934. Poland rejected this demand and Hitler started preparation to attack her. In the mean -time, Hitler signed a Non- Aggression Treaty with Soviet Russia on August 13, 1939. This treaty was made for ten years and it assured Germany of no Russian support to Poland, in case Germany was at war with Poland. When Hitler was assured on the side of Russia, he attacked Poland on September 1, 1939. This was the beginning of the World War II. Hitler declared that he was struggling for self-defence. Britain entered into war against Germany of September 3, 1939 at 11.15 a.m. when Hitler rejected the demands of Britain and France to evacuate Poland. France also entered into the war against Germany on the same day at 5.00 p.m. Thus, the Hitler's hope for another Munich was shattered.

Check Your Progress:

Evaluate the international conflicts and responses from Hitler.

11.2.4 Stalinism in Russia:

Stalinism is associated with the Joseph Stalin. He was a communist dictator of Soviet Russia from 1929 to 1953. Stalinism refers to the political principles and economic policies adopted by Joseph Stalin from Marxist-Leninist thought. It included centralised autocratic rule and total suppression of opposition. He executed or jailed most of the people who had help him rise to power. Under Stalin, Soviet Russia had the world - wide network of communist parties and it was spread to eleven other countries. His policies transformed Soviet Russia from an underdeveloped country into an industrialised and military might in the world. During the

Second World War (1939-1945), Soviet Russia was an ally of the USA and Britain against Nazi-Germany. However, Stalin opposed and, on occasion, betrayed his allies. The last years of Stalin, Soviet Russia were marked by the nations of the free world joined together against communism, which was beginning of the cold war.

a) Rise of Stalin:

Joseph Stalin was born on 21st December, 1879 in Gori, a town in Georgia. He was son of a Shoemaker. He belonged to the orthodox Christian church and at an early age decided to become a priest. He was influenced by radical literature and was asked to leave the seminary. In 1899, he decided to devote his time to the revolutionary movement against the Czar. He worked as an underground revolutionary and spread Marxist propaganda among railway workers. He gave up his religious education to devote his time to the revolutionary movement against the Russian monarchy. The Russian police arrested him and he was sent into exile to Siberia. By 1904, he managed to escape and he returned to Georgia.

Stalin was a member of the Russian Social Democratic Party. Lenin influenced him and when the party split into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, he joined the Bolsheviks. Between 1905 and 1913, he was arrested, imprisoned or exiled several times. In 1912, he was appointed as a member of the Central Committee of Bolshevik Party. Although he did not play any role in October Revolution. Stalin became a member of a Soviet of People's Commissars. During the Civil war, he supervised military actions against the white army along the western front. Stalin held important position and by 1922 he was elected General Secretary of the Communist party. This position gave him a base for political power.

b) Struggle for Power:

The death of Lenin in 1924 sparked the rivalry between to great leader, Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Trotsky was Lenin's Commissars of war and he had helped in organising the Red Army during the Civil war. Trotsky believed that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was the first of its kind in a long chain of revolutions that were to come all over the world. His theory was called 'Permanent Revolution' and Russia would help other countries turn communist. Trotsky had many opponents because of his violent temper and his dislike of the peasants. Stalin on the other hand was a realist in politics. He put forward his doctrine of 'Socialism in a single country'. This doctrine meant that Russia should first concentrate on her own economic development before trying to bring about world revolution. He was a smart politician and worked quietly to remove Trotsky from his post. Then he expelled him from the communist party and deported to Alma Ata in 1927. Later in 1929, Trotsky was exiled to Turkey and finally assassinated in Mexico City in August 1940. Thus, Stalin got rid of his principal rival and became undisputed leader of the government of USSR.

Stalin exercised great influence in the communist party and the government machinery. He remained the leader from 1928 to his death in

1953. During this period, he brought about great changes in the country. His success was not only of his personal dictatorship but also to the five-year plans. He did not like criticism of any kind. So, he got rid of all his opponents by killing them or sending them to concentration camps. All political parties were banned and there was strict discipline in the communist party.

Check Your Progress:

Give a brief account of rise of Stalin in Russia.

c) Stalin's Domestic Policy:

1) Introduction of five-year plan by Stalin:

Stalin was determined to bring about revival in Russia. He wanted to do it by a planned economy. His program was a plan for the economic and cultural revival of Russia for five years. The main principles of the plan were

- i) Nationalism
- ii) Increase of Production
- iii) Industrialisation

The objectives of the plan were:

- i) Economic Self-Sufficiency
- ii) Elimination of Capitalism

i) Introduction of First Five Year Plan by Stalin (1928-1932):

The first five- year plan was the work of a specialised body of the State Planning Commission known as the Gosplan. The aim of the Commission was to develop heavy industries manufacturing producers goods. At the end of the planned period in 1933 Soviet Union emerged as a highly industrialised state. All the targets set in this plan were achieved in both agriculture and industrial sector. Five year plan in four years was the slogan.

Some of the achievements are:

- 1) Enormous Tractor Works at Kharkiv, Automobile factories in Moscow and Gorki, Tractor plants in Rostov and Stalingrad, Steel furnaces in the Don Basin, fertiliser works in the Urals and enormous dams were created.
- 2) The electrification target was 17120 Kilowatt and the actual output at the end of plan was 13100 Kilowatt, but it compared favourably with pre-plan output of 5050 Kilowatt.
- 3) In the field of agriculture, rapid transformation of small land holdings of peasant proprietorship into large scale organisation based on

collective farming astounded the world. The kulak was destroyed and the peasants' holdings disappeared.

- 4) Production of oil crossed the target of the plan.
- 5) The Soviet Government announced in 1932 that the first plan was successful to the extent of 103.4% in developing heavy industry and 84.9% in case of light or consumer goods industry,
- 6) During the plan period, labour productivity was increased by 41% in industry.
- 7) In 1932 there were about 11,500,000 unemployed people in the USA, 56,00,000 in Germany and 2300,000 in Britain whereas in Soviet Union unemployment was abolished and this was an epoch-making triumph of the Soviet society.
- 8) Removal of illiteracy was an important item in the first plan. Many academic and technical schools were set up, but the communist controlled them, so that communist ideas would influence the students. Education was made compulsory for every child for 7 years.
- 9) Religion had no place in Marxian Philosophy and Communist believed that it was "Opiate of the people". The orthodox church of Russia had always been strong supporter of the Czar. So, the communists were determined to crush it. Church property was confiscated and many churches were converted into museums and clubs. Religious preaching was forbidden and communist party members were not allowed to attend church. Atheism was encouraged.

ii) Introduction of the Second Five Year Plan by Stalin (1933-1937):

This plan increased the production of coal, iron and petroleum. The first plan laid stress on quantity, but the second plan laid stress on quality. It paid greater attention to the production of consumer goods and transport facilities. Industrial production shot up by more than 100% as compared with 1932. In agriculture, collectivization was increased. The collective farms, combined the features of communism with limited individuals' ownership of homes and animals. After paying their fixed quota to the state the peasants were allowed to sell the extra grains. This served as an incentive to the peasants to produce more. The second five-year plan had the most ambitious economic objectives. It aimed at the installation of more than 4500 new industrial enterprises and tremendous increase in the volume of industrial production.

iii) Introduction of Third Five Year plan by Stalin (1938-1942):

This plan was cut short by the invasion of Russia by Nazi Germany. It put emphasis on the defence of the country followed by consumer goods. Importance was given to the improvement of the transport, increase in the production of iron and steel, aluminium, zinc and nickel and the building

of chemical industry. Regions, which had lots of raw materials like Siberia were to be developed.

iv) Introduction of the Fourth Five Year Plan by Stalin (1946-1951):

The chief objective of the Fourth Five-year plan was to restore the war-ravaged regions of Soviet Russia and to reach the pre-war level industries and agricultural output. The plan fulfilled its objectives in four years and three months. The industrial output reached its pre-war level by 1948. However agricultural productions could not improve due to severe drought in 1946.

Results of the Five-Year Plans:

There is no doubt that because of these plans, Russia made amazing industrial and agricultural progress. The natural resources of the country were tapped and scientific methods were used to develop them. The condition of the peasants had improved. The Country was also self-sufficient in food production. Unemployment was no longer a problem in Russia. Workers received better wages and had better working conditions. There was cent per cent cities.

But it must be remembered that all these achievements had been attained by ruthless exploitation of human resources. Individuals' needs were sacrificed to the needs of the ruling party.

Check Your Progress:

Highlight the achievements of five-year plans introduced by Stalin.

d) Policy of Russification:

During the 1930s Stalin adopted a policy of Russification. The government strictly controlled the minority nationalities in Soviet Russia. In 1939, Russia captured a large part of Poland. In 1940, Russia invaded Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. He set up communist governments and joined them to the Soviet Union.

e) Collectivization:

Stalin introduced the process of agricultural collectivization along with the first five-year plan. Its objectives were to bring rural farms together into larger tracks of several thousand acres, under the communal proprietorship of peasants. He believed that it was necessary in order to introduce mechanisation. Improved agricultural outputs, thereby producing marketable surplus for export in order to import foreign machinery. It was to make grain collection easier and reduce the amount of labour needed to work on such collectivized farms and the excess labour could be employed in industries. The cost of agricultural production could be cheaper which meant urban wages could be reduced and the manufacturing cost would go down. The increased exports could attract import of capital goods.

Stalin began the programme of agricultural collectivization in 1928 which was at its peak in 1930. Groups of about 20 small farms were merged in to large collective farms. Except for small private plots, land was taken from private ownership. The ownership of the land was common to all the peasant who worked on the collective farm. The peasants drew wages on the basis of the time spent working on the collective farm. A large portion of the grain had to be sold to the state at low price fixed by the government.

This scheme had a widespread resistance from prosperous farmers known as Kulaks who violently opposed the loss of their lands. Stalin deployed red army units to suppress the Kulaks agitation with brutal force. Many of Kulaks were rounded up, killed or deported to labour camps. In retaliation, the Kulaks killed their cattle, destroyed machinery and burned their crops. But with coercion and support of red army, the rebellion by a rural bourgeoisie was eliminated at gun point and it was replaced by a rural proletariat.

Agricultural collectivization was nearly completed by 1939. It had disastrous impact on the peasant. The immediate chaos led to poor harvest and a famine led to the death of over 10 million people. Although agricultural output did not increase as per the expected estimate during the early years of collectivization, the scheme was beneficial to the government. The central bureaucracy regulated the distribution of agricultural product as well as allocating them for export to pay for the importation of much needed industrial machinery.

f) The Purges initiated by Stalin: Though many remember Stalin for the good work for reviving Russian economy, there are many who remember him as being a ruthless dictator. Stalin was a man who demanded total obedience from all citizens. Stalin crushed the voice of dissent with iron hand. He crushed his opponents whether they were leftists or rightists. He eliminated Trotsky, his formidable rival and the prospective successor of Lenin in the struggle for power. Trotsky was eventually expelled from the party and exiled. The great purge commenced in December 1934 when Stalin's most trustworthy friend Sergei Kirov, Party Secretary in Leningrad was murdered. He lashed out to right and left and about hundred suspected former Czarist officials were shot dead. The top-ranking leaders of left and right wings of the Communist Party were sacked and their only crime was their opposition to Stalin. Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Marshal, Tukhachevsky and several top-ranking army officers perished as a result of the great purge.

By the end of March 1939, the purge came to an end by then every Soviet citizen was given to understand that Stalin was the State and that to question his leadership or policies would invite the charge of treason. However, the reign of terror came to an end when Joseph Stalin suddenly died of a Cerebral Haemorrhage at the age of 73 on 5th March, 1953.

g) The Constitution of 1936 To make it seem that his government was semi-democratic and to give it a facade of legality, Stalin adopted a constitution. The Stalinist Constitution had the following features:

i) Bicameral Legislature: The Constitution of 1936 provided for Bicameral Legislature known as the Supreme Soviet consisting of two chambers called the Council of Union and the Council of Nationalities. The term of the Supreme Soviet was fixed at four years. The Council of the Union was the lower chamber while the Council of Nationalities was the upper chambers. It met twice a year usually for not more than a week in each session.

ii) Presidium: This unique institution enjoyed full authority when the Supreme Soviet was not in Session. It was composed of 37 members. It was elected jointly by both the chambers of the Supreme Soviet. It was described as super executive body which was armed with heavy power and functions. It could dissolve the supreme Soviet, order fresh national elections, revoke the decision of the Council of ministers, issue decrees, appoint new ministers and interpret laws. It could appoint and remove the high army officers.

iii) Council of People's Commission: The executive authority was vested in the Council of People's Commissars consisting of 50-60 members named by the Presidium and confirmed by the Supreme Soviet. The various departments of the government were entrusted to the members of the Council of People's Commissars.

iv) Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens: The Constitution of 1936 in its chapter X provided a long list of Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Soviet citizens. Among the important rights was the right to work, the right to free expression, right to practice religion, right to vote etc. The Soviet citizens were required to perform certain duties such as obedience of a law, observance of labour discipline, honest performance of public duties, protection of public property and defence of nation. But in practice none of these happened since Stalin did not want it to.

Check Your Progress:

Highlight the significance of domestic policy under Stalin.

h) Stalin's Foreign Policy:

The Soviet Union had emerged from the Civil War and foreign military intervention, virtually broken. During the days of Lenin; suspicion and distrust about Western democracies took a firm root in the minds of the Russian people. The re-establishment of Third Communist International (Comintern) and its close co-operation with the government of Soviet Union confirmed western susceptibility. The decision of the Stalin to build up socialism in one country that is Soviet Union, contributed to the better relation with the West. But general perception of U.S.A., Britain, France and the Western media thought of agenda of 'World Communist revolution' as purpose of Third International, still persisted. Stalin realised

that it was necessary to work for peace. He did his best to allay the suspicion of the West regarding the spread of communism. Foreign relations during his days are summarised as follows-

1) Efforts to gain Recognition of the Soviet Government:

By the end of 1924, Soviet Union secured recognition from minor states like Poland, Lithuania, Georgia, Latvia, Finland, Afghanistan and Persia. By the Treaty of Rapallo (1922) Germany indirectly recognised Soviet Government. In 1924 Labour Party Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald recognised the Soviet Union. By the end of the year Austria, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Norway and Sweden accorded recognition to the Soviet Government. In 1925, Japan and Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Portsmouth and resumed diplomatic relations. In 1933 the election of President Roosevelt contributed to the recognition of the Soviet Union.

2) Membership of the League of Nations:

Due to the Influence of Jewish foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, in 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations as a permanent member and fully supported the collective security system through the League of Nations. It also sought to cooperate with the West against the threat of Nazi Germany.

3) The Mutual Assistance pact with France:

The rise of Hitler in Germany posed a serious threat to security of Russia as well as France. The Russia decided to cooperate with France in all attempts at collective security against Germany. Both the countries signed a Mutual Assistance Pact in 1935. A similar Pact was signed with Czechoslovakia.

4) Changed Role of the Comintern:

At the seventh and last Congress of Third International (Comintern) in 1935 in Moscow passed a resolution to halt Communist revolutionary agitation against capitalist Governments and to support a popular front of Liberal parties in every country for checking fascist aggression.

5) Understanding with the U.S.A.-

Japan was the common enemy of Soviet Russia and U.S.A., in the far East. Both the countries reached agreement to preserve the territorial integrity of each other and to prohibit subversive activities and propaganda against each other. In spite of this agreement tension continued to grip their relation due to Mutual Suspicion.

6) Russia's Disillusionment with England and France:

Stalin's policy of collective security based on cooperation with France and Britain, changed suddenly. Stalin did not agree with Britain's policy of appeasement. Stalin was angry when the Munich Pact (1938) was signed

because Britain and France did not consult him. Stalin's proposal for a Triple Alliance between Russia, England and France was turned down. In 1936 the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan followed by the formation of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis in 1937, opened up the strong possibility that Russia would be faced with a war on two fronts.

7) The Non-Aggression Pact with Germany:

After considering and evaluating all possibilities Stalin convinced that in order to postpone the inevitable war against Germany, he should seek better relations with Hitler. In 1939 the Soviet-Nazi Non-Aggression Pact was signed. It was agreed that Russia would remain neutral in case of war between Germany and other Western Power. It also included secret provisions according to which East Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Finland were to go Russia while West Poland and Lithuania went to Germany.

8) Annexation of the Baltic States:

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Stalin occupied Finland, Eastern Poland, some parts of Romania and all the Baltic States, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, in violation of the terms of Treaties concluded with them.

9) German Attack on Russia:

In spite of the Non-Aggression Pact, Hitler launched 'Operation Barbarossa' and invaded Russia in June 1941. Russia was not prepared for the war, and her army had to retreat. Soon Germany was almost at the Moscow's doors by October 1941. Stalin assumed direct leadership of the war and they put-up a stiff resistance. The Germans had not taken the Russian winters into account and they were forced to retreat. Germany lost the battle of Stalingrad in January 1943. It was only after this that the leaders of Allied Powers, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met at Tehran (Iran) in 1943 and agreed to work together. The 'Big Three' agreed that the United States, England and the U.S.S.R. would work together until Germany was defeated. The Three Leaders met again early in 1945 at Yalta in the Crimea to discuss the military occupation of Germany after the war.

10) The Cold War:

After the defeat of the Axis Powers in the Second World War in 1945, Stalin cut off relations with the Western Powers. He setup Communist Governments in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. Stalin also drew up the so- called Iron- Curtain between the Eastern and Western Europe. In 1945 Germany was divided in to Four Zones, each occupied by the Americans, British, French and Soviet Troops. Berlin, which lay deep in the Soviet Zone was also divided among the Four Powers. Stalin refused to cooperate in administering Germany and in 1948, France, England and the United States merged their Zones into the West German Federal Republic (West Germany). To prevent this action, Stalin tried to drive the Allies out of West Berlin by

blockading the city. But the Allies airlifted supplies in to Germany for eleven months. Stalin ended the blockade in May 1949. Stalin's aggressive policies led the West to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949. This was a Defence Organization. As against NATO, Stalin organized the Warsaw Pact, comprising of Soviet Russia and other Communist Countries. This type of a relationship resulted in what has been called the Cold War.

Check Your Progress:

How far Stalin's foreign policy was responsible for the emergence of Cold War in world politics? Explain.

Death of Stalin:

By 1950, Stalin mental and Physical health began to deteriorate and he was away from Kremlin, the Government Headquarters in Moscow, for long periods of time. He died of complications from a Stroke on 5 March, 1953. Stalin's political successors expressed relief and moved quickly to reverse some of the most brutal features of his regime. Nikita Khrushchev, who replaced Stalin as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), denounced Stalin's methods of rule and political theories known as Stalinism, in his 'Secret Speech' to the 20th Party Congress in 1956.

11.3 SUMMARY

Before World War I, Russia was not only one of the largest countries in the world, but also one of the so-called Powers. Nearly 4/5 of the population consisted of peasants and the people were economically and culturally backward. Economic conditions were unsatisfactory, because industrial development was slow and in agriculture farmers still used traditional methods of cultivation. Taxes were very high. The military had become weak due to corruption and inefficient management.

Politically, Russia had a monarchical system of government and was ruled by the Romanov Tsars. They were despotic rulers and the people had no rights. After the defeat of Russia by the Japanese in 1904. The Russian revolted but they were ruthlessly put down. Though the Duma was summoned, in practice it had no power, the conditions prevailing in the country inspired revolutionary movements of which the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries were important.

The Tsar and his advisors, the bureaucracy, the military officers and the feudal elements were opposed to reforms. So, when the country involved itself in World War I, the weak autocracy collapsed. Two Revolutions broke out- the February Revolution and October Revolution of 1937.

The February revolution saw the Mensheviks in power with Alexander Kerensky as the leader of the Provisional Governments. The October revolution saw the Bolsheviks in power with Lenin as the leader. The Bolsheviks introduced a Socialism system of government. Lenin dealt

with the Civil War effectively and also withdrew from the First World War. However, his initial economic reforms were not so successful. He then introduced the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) with a partial return to capitalism. The Revolution had a deep impact on many countries of the world. It challenged the traditional economic, political and social systems.

Kemal Ataturk introduced reforms based on his six principles and modernised his nation. The renaissance of Turkey is attributed to the personality of Ataturk. Under him Turkey was an authoritarian state, ruled by a government based on one party system. But it was not totalitarian like Italy or Germany. He showed a great respect for human and legal standards, which was absent in other dictators. He was an inspired leader who snatched 'Sick Man of Europe', from his death bed and gave him a new life. He brought fundamental changes in Turkish society through progressive initiatives in education, culture and social activities.

After the defeat in First World War Turkey was forced to accept the terms of Treaty of Sevres, which were very harsh and no sovereign nation could practically accept. Turkey lost its majority of territory. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, a military commander par excellence organised a national movement to compel sultan's government to reject the treaty. He successfully conducted military campaigns until the Allied powers re-negotiated the Treaty in which Turkey got better place through the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha was the founder and the first President of the Republic of Turkey. He served the country as President from 1922 to 1938. Under his leadership Turkey adopted major reforms that transformed the social, political and economic conditions in the country. He was a great visionary and introduced reforms based on European pattern. The policies of modernisation and westernisation adopted by Kemal Pasha known as Kemalism.

He secularised the country by abolishing the Caliphate and sending sultan in exile. Turkey adopted Parliamentary system of government. The old religious law was replaced by the modern scientific civil court. Education was given top priority and adult education was also introduced. Women were given equal status and rights under the new law. The role of Turkish women in various occupations and professions along with rising to positions of leadership made Turkey unique among Muslim countries.

The various cultural reforms were introduced. The economic reforms resulted in development of industries, trade, commerce and banking. The development initiatives were taken to introduce or modernise, harbours, railways and roads. The city of Ankara was rebuilt. As a result of his sustained efforts, Turkey made great progress in the economic field which led to the prosperity of many Turks. Kemal's foreign policy was focused on the friendly relation with neighbouring countries. He did not involve his country in war after independence had been won.

Fascism was a political movement dominated from the members from the middle class. Their ideology was anti-communist, racism, anti-Intellectualism, extreme nationalism and hatred to democracy.

Mussolini founded the Fascist Party in 1921. The First World War led to thousands of soldiers and workers rendered unemployed, industrial development to its lowest level and high inflation in Italy. Parliamentary democracy was not functioning effectively. With the support of army, the industrialist, socialist and poor unemployed masses Mussolini was successful in getting the power by the end of 1922. He had become Il-Duce (the leader).

The domestic policies introduced by Mussolini were fairly impressive. He was successful in economic re-organisation in Italy. He introduced various labour reforms which made the workers happy. Industrial and agricultural production increased and the problem of national deficit, unemployment was solved to some extent. He gained the support of Pope and signed the Treaty of Lateran. He was able to give the Italians some of the lost national pride. He managed to capture Ethiopia (Abyssinia) which was a long-cherished dream of the Italians. He made the position and power of Italy strong by the agreement with Hitler.

In the beginning, the Italians were benefited from the reforms introduced by Mussolini and the country made progress in all sphere of life but his greed for power and his contempt for all democratic institutions, brought disaster to Italy in later phase.

That Treaty of Versailles was among the factors responsible for rise of Nazism in Germany. It had humiliated, robbed them of territory, imposed a huge war indemnity and restricted their armed forces. Germany was held responsible for the First World War. It was Hitler who promised Germans to regain whatever was lost due to Treaty of Versailles. His personality attracted masses in Germany and there were prepared to obey his commands.

He started the Nazi party and strengthened it in the Parliament. His own personal army created fear in the minds of those who opposed him. By 1933, he established himself as the Chancellor of the third Reich in Germany. He eliminated all opposition including Communist Party or opponents in his own party.

Hitler's domestic policies were authoritarian and totalitarian in nature. He controlled everything including Church and education. He revived German economy through development of industries. As he stopped paying the war indemnity, he could spend more money on Germany's development. He rebuilt the armed forces and ordered conscription.

His Foreign Policy violated the terms of Treaty of Versailles. Through an agreement with Italy and Japan, he formed Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Soviet Russia and Germany concluded a ten-year non-Aggression pact. He attacked on invaded Austria and Sudetenland in pretext of uniting all the

German speaking people in one country. Finally, Hitler invaded Poland on 1st September 1939, which was the beginning of the Second World War.

Russian Revolution of 1917
and Rise of Dictatorship

When Lenin died there was a tussle for power between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Stalin was a shrewd politician and his doctrine of “Socialism in a single country” appealed to the people. He managed to expel Trotsky from the party and finally exiled him in 1929. Stalin remained the leader of Russia from 1928 to 1953.

Stalin’s greatest contribution was in the economic spheres-namely the five- year plans. He wanted to make Russia self-sufficient and also eliminate capitalism. Due to the plans, industries developed and industrial production almost doubled. Technical schools were started. In the agricultural sphere, the proposed plan was collectivization. The plans helped him in economic reconstruction. Unemployment was reduced and workers had a better deal. All his other domestic policies were not well received. Education was made compulsory, but religious instruction was banned. He was ruthless dictator and did away with all opposition. He conducted purges within the party and minority nationality were strictly controlled. To give his government façade of legality, he introduced the constitution in 1936. Though the constitution promised much, in reality the citizens had no freedom or rights.

Stalin realised that if economic reforms were to succeed, he must develop good foreign relation. Russia became a member of the League of Nations. He first signed an agreement with Britain and France. But he did not agree with the Munich Pact, and so signed non-aggression pact with Germany. Unfortunately, Germany attacked Russia in 1943. The Russia was forced to come to an agreement with the Allies. Russia was not prepared for the war but managed to defeat the Germans at the Battle of Stalingrad. Together, with the Allies, Russia occupied Germany and agreed to divide Germany and Berlin into four zones. After these relations with the Allied were not to good and finally developed into the Cold War.

11.4 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the political causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917.
2. Explain the effects of the Russian Revolution of 1917.
3. Describe the events leading to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia.
4. Trace the causes of the October/November Revolution of 1917.
5. Assess the factors responsible for the success of Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.
6. Discuss the achievements and the failures of the provisional governments.
7. What factor led to the rise of Kemalism in Turkey?

8. Examine the Foreign Policy of Mustafa Kemal Pasha.
9. Describe the reforms that Mustafa Kemal introduced in Turkey.
10. Define Fascism. Describe the principles of Fascism.
11. Discuss the achievements of Mussolini.
12. Describe diplomatic achievements of Mussolini.
13. Explain the causes of the Rise of Fascism.
14. How did Mussolini take control of the country? Explain.
15. Bring out the salient features of Mussolini's Dictatorship.
16. Discuss the reason for the rise of Nazism in Germany. What was the policy of the party?
17. Describe the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. What was his domestic policy?
18. Examine the domestic and foreign policy that Hitler followed.
19. Give an account of the rise of Stalin as the dictator of Soviet Russia.
20. Examine Stalin's rise to power. What domestic reform did he introduce?
21. Discuss the Domestic and Foreign policy of Stalin.
22. Write short notes on the following:
 - i) Rasputin
 - ii) Russian withdrawal from World War I
 - iii) Lenin's role in Russian Revolution
 - iv) Nature of Tsarist Regime in Russia
 - v) Rise of political parties in Russia
 - vi) Causes of February/ March Revolution in Russia.
 - vii) Economic Reforms of Kemal Pasha.
 - viii) Secularisation of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal.
 - ix) Education Reform under Kemal Pasha.
 - x) Reasons for the Rise of Fascism in Italy.

- xi) Mussolini's domestic policy
- xii) Mussolini's foreign policy.
- xiii) Causes for the rise of Nazism in Germany
- xiv) Hitler's domestic policy
- xv) Hitler's Foreign policy
- xvi) Munich Pact
- xvii) Stalin's Domestic Policy
- xviii) Stalin's Foreign Policy
- xix) Stalin's collectivization of land
- xx) Stalin's Five-Year Plan

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WORLD WAR II

Unit Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 World War II– Introduction
- 12.2 Nature of The World War II
- 12.3 The Background of World War II
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 - 12.4.3 Failure of League of Nations-End of System of Collective Security
 - 12.4.4 Failure of Disarmament Efforts
 - 12.4.5 Policy of Appeasement
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 - 12.4.9 Spirit of Extreme Nationalism
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- 12.5 Course of The World War II
- 12.6 Peace Treaties After World War II
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 - 12.7.1 Unprecedented Loss of Life and Property
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 - 12.7.6 Rise of Two Super Powers The U.S.A. and The U.S.S.R.
 - 12.7.7 Polarisation of The World Into Two Blocs and Cold War
 - 12.7.8 Birth of New Nations
 - 12.7.9 New Shape of The British Commonwealth Of Nations
 - 12.7.10 Weakening of The Spirit Of Nationalism
 - 12.7.11 Emphasis on Totalitarianism
 - 12.7.12 Philosophy of Humanism
 - 12.7.13 Greater Importance to Middle East and Far East
 - 12.7.14 Establishment of The United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.)
 - 12.7.15 Development of Regional Organisations
- 12.8 Summary

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the learner will be able to:

- 1) Understand the nature of World War II.
- 2) Understand the background of the World War II.
- 3) Assess the causes of the World War II.
- 4) Narrate the course of the World War II.
- 5) Evaluate the peace treaties after World War II.
- 6) Analyse the consequences of World War II.

12.1 WORLD WAR II– INTRODUCTION

It was unfortunate that the world did not learn lesson from the World War I, as 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 more disastrous than the first. At the same time the Second World War differed in many respects from the first.

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 Ruhr 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.

12.2 NATURE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War was quite different from the previous wars. Such Scientific weapons were used in it, that they devastated all what they hit. Though the First World War also saw the use of scientific weapons but by now they had all the more been modernised, and the complexion of war had undergone change. It was totally contrast to First World War. It was presumed that the party would win ultimately which could employ the most devastating weapons of war. Hitler had stored such weapons in a large quantity and depending upon them he had started the war. His policy of weapons is called in history as Blitzkrieg or lightening war. The initial success in war for Hitler was due to his use of these scientific weapons. But gradually the Allies too adopted the same tactics and impeded the progress of Hitler.

Consequently, the hurling of the scientific weapons by the former, and the marvellous turn out of the weapons by them, succeeded in destroying the

best armies of Hitler, his big factories and bases. It was a war of bombardments.

It was a 'total war' – A war in which all the resources and activities of the country were 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 others factors brought the war home to every family. In a sense everybody was made to contribute to the war effort.

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 forests of Burma, on the islands of the Pacific in the far east.

The 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 cooperation 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 also 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 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 Power. Much more than political liberty was at stake, Civilisation was being threatened.

Check Your Progress:

Write the significant aspect of nature of World War II.

12.3 THE BACKGROUND OF WORLD WAR II

After peace of twenty years the flames of war once again engulfed the entire Europe on 1 September 1939, and the conflict became worldwide. The apprehension of war had begun after the Paris Peace Conference (1919) when the German delegates had to sign dictated and 'Humiliating Treaty' of Versailles. They considered the Treaty of Versailles a profane document and deemed their sacred duty to overthrow the restrictions imposed on them. The Germany with the population of 65 million was

defeated and crushed against France with a population of 40 million. At the time of Paris Peace Treaty, the German delegate Erzberger had said with great confidence, 'The nation with 60 million oppressed people could never perish'.

German problem remained most complicated and disturbing problem of Europe during the period between the two World Wars. The French had accepted the revenge from Germany in future but Germany was not treated in proper manner. The French policy of hefty reparation from Germany intensified Germany's indignation. France wanted to reduce Germany to a state of extinction whereas Britain wanted a prosperous Germany for maintaining balance in Europe. It developed her trade with Germany and wanted to use her as a shield against communism. The two contrast approaches of France and Britain gave an opportunity to Germany of unilaterally ending the conditions of The Treaty of Versailles. The U.S.A. had gradually adopted the policy of isolationism after the World War I. Italy was discontented with the Peace Treaty and joined the revisionists and her approach towards Britain underwent a great change.

Japan, discontented with the Paris Peace Treaties under the influence of militarism started implementing her expansionist policies. Japan attacked Manchuria, a province of China and captured the town of Mukden in September 1931. The League of Nations did not act decisively and Japan continued her victory march. She occupied the whole of Manchuria by February 1932 and renamed it Manchukuo, and set up a puppet government there. On the criticism of Japan by League of Nations for her aggression, she quit it. It was a great blow to the system of Collective Security.

Mussolini's nationalism was at its peak and he attacked Abyssinia with a motive to expand his authority in Africa. Italy sided with Allied Powers during the First World War but she was more discontented and started leaning towards Germany. Gradually the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis came in to existence and the whole World got divided in to two powerful camps. The Axis Powers on one side and democratic states on the other. Hitler was convinced of the weakness of the League of Nations and hence disregarded the Treaty of Versailles; militarism made a comeback. German troops entered Rhine land and Germany made the anti-comintern pact. There was the death of republicanism on Austria which was occupied by Germany and later merged with Germany on 10 April 1938.

Another important event was the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. 32 million Germans lived in Czechoslovakia and in one of the provinces, Sudetenland the German population was above 50%. This province on the border of Germany. Britain and France had assured to maintain its integrity, but to appease Hitler they consented the merger of Sudetenland with Germany. This created suspicion about collective security and the responsibility of France and Britain. Through her diplomatic efforts Germany won over the Baltic states to her side and signed a treaty with Russia. Britain wanted Germany to peacefully resolve the problem of Poland but Hitler preferred a stern policy towards her. He demanded from

Poland the port of Danzig and the Polish corridor to reach the sea. With this demand Hitler attacked Poland on morning of September 1, 1939. This was the beginning of World War II.

Check Your Progress:

Trace the events leading to World War II.

12.4 CAUSES OF WORLD WAR II

The crisis caused by the German demand for Danzig and Polish corridor was the immediate cause of World War II, But the ground for this war had been prepared since the end of World War I. The following were the causes of the devastating conflagration.

12.4.1 Harsh Terms and Conditions of the Treaty of Versailles:

The Treaty of Versailles contained the seeds of World War II. The World leaders, who met at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 were short-sighted and lacked clarity. They were complacent enough to believe that they have crushed Germany and she would not rise her head again. But the vindictive and humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles which were imposed on her, hurt the German ego, sowing the seeds of discontent which later erupted in the form of savage nationalism. The Treaty of Versailles deprived Germany of her territories and military, imposed a heavy burden of reparation on her, besides saddling her with the war guilt clause. The Treaty of Versailles was the work of parliamentarians and not diplomats. The weakness in the formulation of the treaty was important in paving way to war in 1939.

At the time of Treaty of Versailles, victors did not show any foresight. Over powered by the feelings of revenge the oppressed and insulted Germany. Therefore, as soon as the opportunity appeared Germany took up arms against the Allied powers to seek vengeance.

12.4.2 Rise of Dictators:

The main cause of the Second World War was, rise of dictators in Germany, Italy and Spain. The Paris Peace Conference created discontent not only among the Germany but also among the Italians. This resulted in the rise of dictatorship under Benito Mussolini in 1923 in Italy. In Germany after 1932, Adolf Hitler rose to power as the Nazi dictator. In Spain General Franco emerged as a dictator from the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939.

All these dictators embarked on the career of expansion by resorting to naked aggression. They were war managers who threatened world peace, ultimately provoking the European powers to declare war on them.

12.4.3 Failure of League of Nations - End of System of Collective Security:

The League of Nations failed in its primary objective namely, to preserve peace in the world. It had been devised as an instrument of collective security but proved to be inadequate for the task. It was successful only in arbitrating in cases where small states were involved. The big powers defied it and rendered it helpless. It failed to take action against Japan after her attack on Manchuria in 1931. Again, when Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1934, it called for economic sanctions against Italy which proved to be ineffective and futile. It was unable to curb Germany and Russia as well. The League in fact died before the outbreak of World War II.

12.4.4 Failure of Disarmament Efforts:

The failure of the member states to comply with Article 8 of the covenant of the League which enjoined upon them to reduce their national armaments to lowest point consistent with national safety, also contributed to Second World War. As the member states had no faith in the capacity of the League to protect them against any possible aggression, they thought it desirable to enter into mutual military pacts for their defence. Naturally, their attitude at the various conferences for disarmament was not conducive. Apart from Germany which was compulsorily disarmed under the Peace settlement, only Britain showed some willingness to restrict her arms. The other states on the other hand continued to pursue the policy of 'Guns before butter'. This naturally generated a lot of tension and ultimately dragged the world into the Second World War. By 1936 every European nation began spending maximum on its armament program. The first attempt towards disarmament was made in 1921 in the Washington Conference in which the major naval powers agreed to delimit the proportion of the tonnage of their warships. But after this in London Naval conference, only Britain, America and Japan could reach some sort of agreement. The German disarmament Conference held in 1932, tried to reduce the arms and to put a check on them, but nothing concrete came out of it.

12.4.5 Policy of Appeasement:

One of the most significant factors that led to World War II was the policy of Appeasement adopted by Britain and France towards Germany, Italy and Japan. The two countries felt that if the genuine grievances of the Germans and Italians were removed, they would feel satisfied and not disturb the peace of the world. However, their policy of Appeasement actually encouraged Hitler and empowered him to push the world into yet another war. The USA was not willing to give up her neutrality hence, she merely watched. The reasons for Britain's reluctance to take any action against the dictators were as follows:

- (i) Britain had an intense fear of communism and Communist Russia. As a result of this phobia, she was willing to assist any country opposed to Russia and Communism.

- (ii) Britain wanted to maintain the balance of power in international politics. Therefore, it short-sightedly expected Germany, the Soviet Union and Japan to check and fight each other and by the mutual conflicts to exhaust one another thereby permitting Britain to maintain her isolation.
- (iii) Another reason was the differences between Britain and France on the issue like collective security, reparations, disarmament and recovery of Germany. Britain had no wish to humiliate Germany unlike France. Therefore, she was now in the favour of relaxing the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
- (iv) The internal weakness of Britain was yet another reason. Her economic condition did not permit her the luxury of such an involvement in Europe again.
- (v) Last of all, the inability of the leaders in Britain to understand the character and nature of these dictators led them to a belief that the dictators would honour their words once they were permitted to annex territories they wished. They were sadly disillusioned in 1939.

Thus, this policy of appeasement was adopted towards Japan, Italy and Germany between 1932-1939. One can note the following important landmarks in the history of appeasement policy which led finally to war.

- (i) **Japanese conquest of Manchuria:** Japan conquered the whole of Manchuria by January 4, 1932, in a flagrant violation of the League Covenant. The Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. The Big powers in the League did not nothing to punish Japan for this breach. This encouraged Germany and Italy to satisfy their urges of expansion.
- (ii) **Re-armament of Germany:** Britain and France did not take any action against Germany on her decision to denounced the clause of the Treaty of Versailles related to disarmament, and rearm herself.
- (iii) **Italy Invasion of Ethiopia:** The League of Nations could do nothing beyond criticism when in May 1935, Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia.
- (iv) **Fortification of Rhineland:** Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno pact. Germany armies invaded Rhineland and occupied it on March 7, 1936. The action of Germany was taken very lightly by Britain and it viewed this as Germany's right to g into "Her own back garden".
- (v) **The Civil war in Spain:** General Franco, a Fascist was fully supported by Hitler and Mussolini in a civil war in Spain (1936) against the Republican Democratic Government which was inclined towards communism was overlooked by the Western powers, on the grounds that Franco was fighting communism.

(vi) Rape of Austria: On March 12, 1938 Germany annexed Austria, Even though, German troops came very close to the Italian border. Mussolini was helpless because he could not risk alienating a powerful neighbour.

(vii)Annexation of Sudetenland: Hitler demanded that all the territories of Czechoslovakia which were predominantly inhabited by the Germans should be given to Germany. The British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain accepted the proposal, persuaded French President to support it and force Czechoslovakia to part with her territory. On September 22, 1938 Hitler surprised the British Prime Minister by putting new sets of demand. Czechoslovakia rejected the demand and France and Britain assured it of military help.

12.4.6 The Munich Pact:

Mussolini with the consent of Hitler made a proposal for a meeting of the Big Four at Munich to which Czechoslovakia was invited. The proposed conference was held on September 29, 1938 and the Munich pact was signed on the following day which was hailed by Chamberlain as 'peace in our time'. As a result of the Munich settlement Germany was allowed to occupy four border provinces of Czechoslovakia within the next few days and the Czech government was forced to release all the Sudeten German prisoners.

As a result of this settlement Czechoslovakia was forced to cede 1/5th of her territory, which had the most powerful fortifications and centres of important industries. Soon she had to cede the whole of Teschen to Poland and its southern part-Lithuania to Hungary. The integrity of the defenseless remnant of Czechoslovakia was guaranteed by the Big four.

This settlement proved to be fateful because six months later Hitler occupied Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia and devoured its remaining part.

Thus, the policy of appeasement had demolished all the forms of security against Germany which had been devised after 1918. International relations deteriorated, during the years of appeasement into naked conflict to power between rival camps. This conflict led to the World War II.

12.4.7 Conflict of Ideologies:

The emergence of dictatorship released different totalitarian ideologies which were opposed to democratic principles. There were two camps in the world by 1936, formed by democratic states on the one hand like Great Britain, France the U.S.A and on the other hand totalitarian states like Italy, Germany, Japan and U.S.S.R. Their ideologies were so diametrically opposed to each other that co-existence between them was impossible.

12.4.8 Japanese Imperialism:

By the beginning of twentieth century, Japan emerged as a World Power. In the course of first world war, Japan was able to fulfil her territorial

ambition by making 21 demands on China. The Great Power did not curb Japan then later however at Washington Conference an unsuccessful attempt was made by them to curb Japanese program of naval expansion. In 1931, Japan grabbed Manchuria from China with impunity. Japan, then became a formal ally of Germany and Italy and there by created the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis in 1937. Japanese program of territorial expansion under the guise of the sphere of Asian Co-prosperity was bound to lead to a war.

12.4.9 Spirit of Extreme Nationalism:

As in World War I, the spirit of Extreme Nationalism was one of the important causes of the conflict. Because of industrial revolution, economic competition had been growing in the world. This economic nationalism was responsible for the war. The need for controlling this nationalism was felt since the end of World War First. With this objective Wilson made the League of Nations an indivisible part of the Paris Peace Conference. But after the war the spirit of internationalism failed to grow and various states continued to give top priority to their national self-interest. The influence of extreme nationalism was pre-eminent in Italy, Germany and Japan. Nationalism there aimed at making the nation strong and glorious and for this state considered it necessary to control all the economic resources and adopt aggressive political. Hitler made the concept of Master Race the basis of National greatness and kindled the desire to avenge the humiliation that the Treaty of Versailles had foisted on them. The economic depression played an important role in accentuating the spirit of nationalism.

Nationalism was emphasised 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 invasion of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland finally brought the world to another war.

12.4.10 The Discontent of the Minorities:

During the First World War the Allies had committed themselves to the principle of self-determination. But at the Paris Peace Conference it was not followed in true sense. According to principle of national self-determination for which the First World War was fought by the Allies, Austria should have been given right to unite with Germany. But According to the Treaty of Versailles union of Austria with Germany was forbidden and on the other hand thousands of Germans were put under foreign rule. For Example, The German people living in Danzig, the Saar and Sudeten districts of Czechoslovakia were separated from Germany. A

large number of Germans living in Austria. So, the German minorities in these areas were in ferment and demanded great autonomy with state. They also insisted that Germany should liberate those areas in which they were living. This served as a convenient pretext for Germany to annex Austria, Sudetenland and subsequently Poland which kindled the fires of Second World War.

12.4.11 The Immediate Cause of 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, 1939 German troops invaded Poland without any declaration of war. On 3 September, 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Thus, began the Second World War.

Check Your Progress:

Name any six causes responsible for World War II.

12.5 COURSE OF THE WORLD WAR II

For the sake of the convenience the events of the World War II can be put in to four phases.

- i) **Phase I:** It comprises the events from September 1, 1939 to June 21, 1941, when Germany attacked Poland, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, France, Britain and Greece.
- ii) **Phase II:** Between June 22, 1941 and December 06, 1941, the Axis powers attacked Africa and Germany attacked Russia.
- iii) **Phase III:** From December 07, 1941 to November 07, 1942, it includes Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and occupation of Netherlands, East Indies and Caucasus by armed forces of the Allied powers.
- iv) **Phase IV:** From November 08, 1942 to May 06, 1945. It includes American attack on French North Africa and the surrender of Germany as well as surrender of Japan between May 07, 1945 to August 14, 1945.

1) Attack on Poland and the First Phase of War:

On September 1, 1939 at 4.00 am when the whole of Europe was still asleep, Hitler's forces crossed into the boundary of Poland. Without a declaration of war, the German planes were found bombarding Poland. On September 2, 1939 Mussolini proposed a conference for peaceful

settlement of dispute. Britain and France offered to participate if the German troops were withdrawn from Poland. Hitler was not willing to withdraw German troops. On 3 September 1939, a joint Anglo-French ultimatum was given to Germany, stating that unless the German troops were withdrawn from Poland, a state of war existed between them and Germany. Poland could not get immediate help. Polish infantry and cavalry were no match for Hitler's army and within a fortnight most of western provinces of Poland were occupied by German troops. Warsaw was virtually surrounded. The Soviet Union attacked Poland on 17 September 1939 and occupied its eastern provinces. Ultimately Poland surrendered on 27th September. The next day Poland was partitioned between Germany and Soviet Union. Germany got the Polish speaking industrial areas of West Poland whereas Soviet Union got agrarian parts of Polish territory in the East of Poland. Soon thereafter Russia invaded and annexed Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and part of Romania.

2) Invasion of Denmark and Norway:

After the conquest of Poland there was lull in the war for six months which was broken when Hitler captured Denmark on April 9, 1940. Next Norway was attacked. King Haakon VII of Norway took refuge in England. On May 10, 1940, German bombs raided Luxemburg, Belgium and Holland.

3) The Fall of Netherland:

With the Nazi planes bombing sleeping cities and the help of fifth columnists Germans disguised as salesman, student and tourist, the conquest of Netherland was easy. The Queen escaped and sought refuge in Britain.

4) Luxemburg:

Luxemburg surrendered in a day as a Nazis struck the city on May 10, 1940. The grand Duchess of Charlotte fled to France and from there to North America.

5) The Surrender of Belgium:

The Nazi attack on Belgium on May 28, 1940 was sudden. King Leopold surrendered and became Hitler's prisoner. About 40000 English and French soldiers who went to help Belgium were trapped into the corner of Flanders near the French port of Dunkirk. The rescue of such large number of soldiers was indeed a miracle.

6) The Fall of France:

This was followed by the German invasion of France on June 5, 1940. The French armed forces were swept aside and Paris fell to the Nazis. On June 14, 1940 the Republican government Reynand resigned and Marshal Petain assumed charge and signed an armistice with Germany on June 25. The whole of Northern and Western France was occupied by Germany and Petain exercised a nominal control over a small part of France from

victory and so his government was known as the Vichy regime. The majority of the French people did not recognise the Vichy regime which was the tool of the Nazis. General Charles De Gaulle who was against the Vichy regime went into exile.

In the meantime, on June 11, Italy declared war on France and occupied Nice and other French districts adjacent to Italy.

7) Britain Courageous Stand:

With the fall of France, Britain was alone at war with the Axis for a full of year, from June 1940 to June 1941. The Britain Prime Minister Winston Churchill through his powerful speeches boosted the morale of his people. The British people made history in the battle of Britain which began on August 8, 1940, when they heroically resisted the ravaging bombing attacks of Hitler's Luftwaffe (Airforce). On September 17, 1940 Hitler finally withdrew.

On the other hand, Italy occupied Somaliland, Kenya and Sudan as well as attacked North Egypt and then Greece. Greece with the help of other states repulsed the Italian forces out of her territory. Now, Germany came to help Italy and occupied Greece in April 1941. Russia was also occupying Balkan region exploiting this situation Japan also wanted to create a greater East Asia in the Far East. Therefore, she signed an agreement with Italy and Germany in September 1941 and entered war on the side of the Axis power. Within two months Hungary, Romania and Slovakia also joined Axis power. In February 1941, German forces put British forces to route in Libya, attacked Yugoslavia on April 9, 1941 and conquered her to finish the British Empire. Germany attacked Iraq, Iran and Syria but here Germany had to give in before the British power. This closed the Eastern Road for Germany.

8) The German Invasion of Russia:

Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941. This made Russia turn to the Allies. On July 12, 1941, an Anglo-Russian alliance was formed for mutual aid in the war against Germany. Germany used tremendous power of her huge, mechanised and armoured forces and air force but failed to destroy the U.S.S.R. Germany drove Russian forces from Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Eastern Poland and brought them under her rule. The German forces reached very close to Leningrad but, Hitler failed to capture Moscow and destroy the Russian army. Germany made a mistake by attacking Moscow. Every Russian citizen participated in war against Germany. When the winter set in, it became difficult for Germany to advance further. Counter attacks by Russian Commander in Chief Marshall Zukov forced the German forces to retreat from the suburbs of Moscow. Thus, Germany failed to fulfil her main objective of capturing Moscow. However, she occupied 5 lakhs sq. miles of Russian territory.

9) Entry of the United States into War:

The Japanese bombed the American fleet in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii on December 7, 1941. On the following day, the U.S.A. declared war upon Japan soon thereafter the axis powers declared war on the U.S.A. In Japanese attack 19 naval ships including 8 warships were either sunk or damaged badly, 177 airplanes were lost, 2343 soldiers were killed and more than 2000 wounded. The U.S.A. had never before suffered such a heavy defeat. On the next day, that is on December 8, 1941, America and England declared war on Japan and made the war in true sense.

The U.S.A. mobilised her forces for war on a large scale. War industries with the most sophisticated techniques were organised in order to raise a combine force of 10 million men by the end of 1943. The Burke Wodsworth Act providing for compulsory military service to all male citizen between 21 to 35 years was passed. U.S.A. was thus fully embroiled in the war.

Japan moved from victory to victory after the Pearl Harbour. She captured island possession of the USA in the Pacific and her armies overran Hongkong, Formosa, Indonesia, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and reached the north- eastern borders of India.

10) The Collapse of the Axis Power:

The tide turned in favour of the Allies from 8th November, 1942, when the allied forces enter the French-North Africa broke the backbone of the axis power. There under the command of General Eisenhower. Similarly, the eight army under the command of General Montgomery won a historic battle against General Rommel (German tank Commander) at "Al Alamien" in north Africa. 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 failed from power and Italy surrendered unconditionally on September 3, 1942. But the German army in Italy offered tough resistance and Rome was only taken in June 1944. Before this Mussolini had been shot dead by Anti-Fascist.

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 Allies bombed Germany fiercely. The industrial centres, railways and canal system all were heavily damaged by this constant bombing. When the allies landed, Germans put up a stiff resistance but were pushed back everywhere. In August, 1944 Paris was liberated. Soon after the Germans were expelled from Belgium and Holland. The Allies penetrated through Germany's weak defence and moved across the German frontier. Meanwhile the Russian had opened their great offensive, through Poland and were fighting in Berlin. Hitler committed suicide and May 7, 1945; Germany surrendered Hitler's successor Admiral Doenitz signed the Peace Agreement.

Although the guns were silent in Europe, the war had not ended. Japan continued to fight. The British and Indian army fought Japan steadily in the Jungles of Burma, while the Americans attacked the Japanese bases in the South West Pacific. The battle was fierce and the American island by island, till they reached Okinawa. Both sides suffered heavy casualties in the battle of 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 option and they dropped the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945 respectively. The two cities were completely 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. The Japan signed the Surrender terms on the battleship Missouri on September 2, 1945.

Check Your Progress:

Discuss the defeat of Axis Powers during World War II.

12.6 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 was 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, Rumania 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 government.
- 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 defence treaty with the U.S.A. permitting her forces to remain in Japan.

Write a short note on Peace Treaties signed after the World War II.

12.7 CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

The Second World War lasted for nearly 6 years and came to an end in Europe with the unconditional surrender of Germany on 7th May 1945 and in Asia with that of gout of Japan on 14th August, 1945. In this war there was colossal loss of life and property. The Second World War led to various consequences which of great significance for the future history of mankind.

12.7.1 Unprecedented loss of life and property:

The war caused unparalleled destruction of life and property. It is estimated at least 17 million men died on the battle fields and 18 million non-combatants were killed as a result of bombing, starvation and disease. The cities in which the battles were actually fought lay in ruins. Property was destroyed in two ways, firstly, by enemy action and secondly, by scorched earth policy. The conservative estimates place the cost of war to U.S.A. to be 350 billion dollar and the other European countries at 1 trillion dollars.

No country escaped the effects of war in its economic spheres. The war caused acute scarcity of food stuffs, commodities, goods, petrol, matchboxes, salt, cement etc. which led to runaway inflation. People had to fore go even the basic necessities of life. The standard of life went down wiping out all the previous prosperity. Each and every country was faced with gigantic problem of recovery and reconstruction.

12.7.2 Morale degradation:

The war brought about the morale degradation of men as he killed his own species on such a large scale without any guilt conscious. The atrocities committed by the Nazi's of Germany, the Fascists of Italy and the militarist regime of Japan were unforgivable. The fault lay not only with the Axis Power but with the Allies as well. The dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, whatever the consideration that might have been behind the decision exposed the naked truth that the so-called civilised men were capable of sinking to the levels of barbarians.

12.7.3 Race for accumulation of nuclear weapons:

It was tragic fact that one of the greatest triumphs of modern science, fissioning of the atom had been achieved in Germany in 1939 on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War. Race thereupon had begun between the scientist of Germany on the one side and other of the Allied Countries on the other side. In the manufacture of an atom bomb on 16th July 1945 the American scientist successfully exploded the world's first atom bomb at Almagordo Air Base (New Mexico). On 6th August 1945 they dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima and three days later on

Nagasaki with disastrous result for the inhabitants of these Japanese cities. The invention of atom bomb had introduced an element of mistrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. After the end of the Second World War the U.S.A. and Soviet Union began to differ on international issues and the war time co-operation began to give way to mutual suspicion. A race for acquisition of nuclear arms began between the two countries and this added new dimensions to the balance of power in the world.

12.7.4 Destruction of the Axis Powers:

The Axis powers Germany, Italy and Japan were destroyed. Germany which was the main architect of the war was utterly humiliated and destroyed. The Allies imposed their terms of peace on Axis powers.

a) Potsdam Agreement with Germany:

The war in Europe ended with the signing of the armistice on May 7, 1945 by Germany's General Jodl. The U.S.A., Britain, France and the Soviet Union confirmed that Germany as it existed on 31st December 1937 should be divided into four zones whereby each of three U.S.A., UK and Soviet Union were allotted 40,000 sq. miles and France acquired 20,000 sq. miles. Berlin was also divided into four zones to be occupied by the forces of these four countries and administered by an Inter-Allied governing authority. An Allied control council consisting of four commanders in chief was set up to exercise supreme authority in Germany. Germany was to be disarmed, demilitarised and denazified. Germany was prohibited for the production of war materials. An international Military Tribunal was established by the big four. By 18 October, 1945, 24 German leaders were indicted with hatching a plot against humanity and world peace under the guidance of Hitler. The trials were held at Neuremberg and by the end of 1946, 12 persons were sentenced to death and 3 to life imprisonment and 4 to prison terms ranging from 10 to 20 years. The German Merchant Marines were surrendered to U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

According to Potsdam agreement Germany was militarily and economically crippled. Her west zone came under the influence of the USA, UK and France whereas the East zone was influenced by the Soviet Union. In 1948, delegates were chosen from America, British and French zones and from non- Russian sectors of Berlin to constitute the constituent Assembly and the Bonn Constitution 1949 was adopted. The Russian also framed a constitution for their own zone of Germany. In May 1952, the USA, Britain and other western countries entered into an agreement with west Germany by which the Federal Republic of Germany got autonomy in foreign and domestic affairs. West Germany was also put under the protection of NATO. The Eastern Zone of Germany under Soviet occupation was given independence and was called as German Democratic Republic which was Pro- Soviet regime. Thus, Germany was eventually partitioned.

b) Agreement with Italy:

The treaty with Italy Contained 90 articles and 17 annexes. Italy was to give the French small districts in the regions of Little St. Bernard, Mont Thabor, Mont Ceins, Tenda and Briga. Italy gave certain islands along with the Dalmatian Coast to Yugoslavia. She recognised the independence of Albania and Ethiopia. She was to submit to the demilitarisation of frontiers with France and Yugoslavia. Her army was reduced to 250000 troops. Her air force was reduced to 200 fighters and reconnaissance and transport and transport aircrafts to 150.

c) Japanese Peace Treaty (1951):

At San Francisco Conference held from September 4 to September 8, 1951 peace treaty with Japan was signed.

- i) According to this treaty Japan recognised the independence of Korea and she renounced all rights to Formosa, the Kurile islands, that part of Sakhalin which belonged to her since 1905, the Pacific territories governed by her under the Mandate system of the League of Nations, Spratly and Paracel Islands. Japan agreed to abide by the U.N. charter;
- ii) The Allied powers undertook to regulate their relations with Japan according to the UN charter;
- iii) All Allied occupation forces were to be withdrawn from Japan within three months of coming into force of the treaty;
- iv) Japan recognised all treaties concluded by the Allies for ending the World War II;
- v) She gave up all special rights in China,
- vi) She agreed to accord to all the signatory states, the most favoured nation treatment in trade and commerce.
- vii) Japan was given free choice to conclude peace treaty with Communist China or with Kuomintang. The Soviet Union and her satellite states did not sign the peace treaty at San Francisco. As permitted by the Japanese peace treaty, Japan and U.S.A. entered into a defence pact which was signed at San Francisco immediately after the peace treaty with Japan was signed there.

12.7.5 England and France as a Second-Rate Power:

England emerged from the war as a second-rate world power. If the United States had not come to the rescue of Britain, the latter would have been annihilated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The increasing dependence of Britain on the resources of the United States during the course of hostilities conclusively proved that Great Britain's position was vulnerable as well as untenable without American support. No wonder that Britain emerged as a second-rate power from the war. This was a plain

truth for Englishmen who are proud of the past glorious history of their country.

Unlike Britain, France had been occupied by the Germans during the war as a result of which she had to face great destruction. She was unable to cope with the economic and political crisis after the war ended. Her empire too was shattered and the subject people in Indo-China and Algeria clamoured for independence.

12.7.6 Rise of Two Super Powers the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.:

The U.S.A. had with her entry in 1941, tilted the scale of war in the favour of Allies. During the course of the war her industrialist made tremendous profits, increasing her prosperity, her prestige shot up in the world because she assumed the role of a creditor and aid giving power. Countries looked up to her for aid and loans. Her Dollar took the place of the pound which had dominated for long. The First World war had broken her isolation for a while but she had thereafter retreated into her isolationist shell. The Second World War once again shattered this isolation and enabled her to take interest in world affairs, making sure that a second retreat into the isolationist shell would be impossible now as she had financial, political and diplomatic stakes all over the world.

The U.S.S.R. was the other country to emerge as a super power in the post-World War II period. In the early stages of the war, the U.S.S.R. had fought on the side of the Axis and conquered Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and a part of Romania. However, there developed differences between Germany and Russia on the issue of division of spoils in the Balkans and so they parted company. Finally, when Hitler attacked Russia in 1941 the Anglo- American – Russian alliance came into being in 1941. The Political arena was now dominated by the big three namely the British Premiere Winston Churchill, the US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Premiere Joseph Stalin of USSR. Through clever negotiations Stalin was able to extract maximum concession from the Allies. At the end of the war Russian influence extended to practically whole of Eastern Europe making her a super power.

12.7.7 Polarisation of the World into two Blocs and Cold War:

The Second World War facilitated great opportunities to Communism. It spread rapidly under Soviet Union to Eastern Europe. About One-third of the world became red. The USA with the help of other democracy like Britain and France tried to combat this surge. The whole world came to be divided into two power blocs diametrically opposed to each other viz, the capitalist Bloc of the USA and her Allies and the Communist Bloc of Russia and her satellites. Countries like India, however did not joined the Blocs and stayed non-aligned leading to the formation of third Bloc, the Non-Aligned Bloc.

12.7.8 Birth of New Nations:

World War II gave an opportunity to many countries in Africa and Asia to get themselves free from imperialist powers. Many countries like India, Ceylon, Libya, Syria, Lebanon, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia secured complete independence after the World War II. In other countries, the nationalist movements got accelerated.

At the time of independence India was partitioned on the basis of religion and the followers of Islam formed the state of Pakistan.

12.7.9 New Shape of the British Commonwealth of Nations:

After the Second World War, many countries in Africa and Asia which were former British colonies attained freedom, wanted to be the member of the British commonwealth of Nations. At the request of India, the word British was removed and this organisation came to be known as Commonwealth of Nations. It also done away with the oath of allegiances to British crown by the member states. Thus, multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious character of the Commonwealth brought about a wide spectrum of diversity. It is not a military group but it is designed to promote international understanding and trade and cultural relations among the members.

12.7.10 Weakening of the Spirit of Nationalism:

During pre-war period there were differences based on clans, communities, tribes to maintain their respective separate existence among the world population. Differences based on language, religion, race and culture etc. lost significance in the scientific age. Reduction in differences led to various clans and communities coming together and organise themselves into larger groups in the interest of the nations. Then these nations began to organise themselves into various groups. Therefore, after World War II, the East European nations which followed the Communist ideology decided to form a bloc under the patronage of Soviet Union. Similarly, the Western European nations which stood for democracy decided to join into a group to avert communism.

12.7.11 Emphasis on Totalitarianism:

Although democracy was a winner in the Second World War, the War had revealed inefficacy and hollowness of the democratic countries. Britain and France failed to avoid economic crisis. Therefore, Totalitarianism began to replace democracy. National governments throughout the world felt insecure due to conflicting ideologies. Most of the nations witnessed the emergence of such political parties which were more concerned with ideology than with security of their state. It forced to national governments to put several restrictions on such political parties and have enough power to suppress their Anti-national activities. The countries like Britain were forced to adopt several measures against the communist party and freedom of ideas and true democracy were declining throughout the world.

12.7.12 Philosophy of Humanism:

After the Second World War, Humanism has prime place. The constant goal of all political activities is the freedom and welfare of mankind. The world realised the need for averting any future war of such magnitude which had caused annihilation. Discussion on human rights had continued even during the war and Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.) was a significant step in this direction.

12.7.13 Greater Importance to Middle East and Far East:

Post World War II, the Middle East and Far East in the constituent of Asia became of prime importance in international politics, the discovery of rich oil deposits made the middle East important as well as conflict zone in world politics. The emergence of India as an important democratic and non-aligned nation and the development of Communist China as a great power made the Far-East one of the most important regions in the World.

12.7.14 Establishment of the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.):

The World War II made the statesmen of the world to realize the need for an international organisation to safeguard peace and save mankind from any future war of such magnitude. After the World War I, the League of Nations was established but it had failed. Now they were determined to avoid the defects of the League of Nations and set up a new organisation for which efforts in this direction had already started while the war was still going on. During the Moscow conference held in October 1943, it was felt the need for establishing an international organisation for General Security was discussed and meetings, the outline of its organisation and constitution was prepared and was given a final shape in San Francisco Conference from April 25 to June 26, 1945. The Constitution of the U.N.O. was put into practice on October 24, 1945. The 51 states which signed the charter in San Francisco Conference were considered the founder member of the U.N.O. After the Second World war the formation of new states increased the member of countries of the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.). By 1997, the number of its members was 185. The U.N. General Assembly met for the first time in London on 10 January, 1946, the 26th anniversary of the formation of the League of Nations. The charter of the UN is committed to the maintenance of world peace and international co-operation.

12.7.15 Development of Regional Organisations:

The U.N.O. also became a platform of the Cold War between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Consequently, to ensure their future security both the power blocs facilitated the formation of Regional Organisation. The U.S.A. led countries organised themselves to restrict the onward march of Communism. On the other hand, U.S.S.R. created Communist government between herself and western nations to strengthen her security. Among the Security Organisations of the western countries prominent being North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.) and South- East Asia Treaty

Organisation (S.E.A.T.O) and the Baghdad pact. Among the Communist security organisation, the Warsaw Pact was the most prominent.

World War II

Check Your Progress:

Mention any ten consequences of World War II.

12.8 SUMMARY

At the close of the Paris Peace Conference the world countries expressed pious hopes that no war of such magnitude would take place in future. But they did not seem to have learned a lesson. In less than twenty-five 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 world war yet we should accept other factors responsible for it. The Treaty of Versailles had humiliated Germany and the German people to that extent that it wanted her revenge. Nationalism all over became aggressive and national minorities fought for their independence. Discontented with the Peace treaties, Italy joined her hands with Germany. Though the League of Nations tried to stop the race for armaments but 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. Japan together with Germany, prompted by militarism started implementing her expansionist policies. Japan attacked and captured Manchuria. When the League of Nations found her guilty of aggression, Japan withdrew from it, and gave great blow to the system of collective security.

Mussolini nationalism touched its high and he attacked Abyssinia. He wanted to expand his empire in Africa. At the same time Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis came into existence and divided the whole world into two powerful camps: The Axis powers that is Germany, Italy and Japan on one side and the Allied powers that is USA, Britain and France on other side. Russia which was initially with the Axis powers was forced to join Allied powers when Germany attacked her.

The Allies were finally successful but they paid a heavy price. The Second World War lasted almost six years. It was the most barbarous, fierce and devastating war as compared to any other war in the past. There was decline in the spirit of nationalism and it was replaced by reorganising the society on a new basis. The Commercial revolution and scientific progress led to new consciousness among the people based on importance of economic organisation of the society.

The use of atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki during Second World War placed the role of air force higher than army and navy in warfare. The scientist realised that the man had super human powers in the form of atomic energy which should be control.

The World War II led to the grouping world countries on the basis of two main ideologies viz. Communism and democracy. Although democracy had triumphed in the Second World War, there was emergence of

Totalitarianism in the European countries. The national governments had to put several restrictions on political parties which were more concerned with ideology than with the security of their own state.

The World War II sparked of the spirit of independence. The Freedom Movements in Asian Countries gathered momentum. The Second World War saw the rise of two new super powers, USA and USSR, Britain and France became second rate powers. Germany, Italy and Japan were economically destroyed. Japan was occupied by the SCAP to help with its economic recovery. Finally, the UNO was established in an attempt to maintain Peace and co-operation among all nations.

12.9 QUESTIONS

- Q.1. What were the causes and consequences of World War II?
- Q.2. Analyse the causes of World War II.
- Q.3. Discuss the results of World War II.
- Q.4. Write short notes on the following:
- a) Nature of World War II
 - b) Policy of Appeasement
 - c) Consequences of World War II
 - d) The problems of Sudeten Germans
 - e) Munich Settlement
- Q.5. Trace the origins of World War II.
- Q.6. Trace the events leading to the World War II. What were its immediate consequences?
- Q.7. Examine, in brief the causes and consequences of the World War II.
- Q.8. How did the World War II came about? Did it result directly from the Adolf Hitler's aggressive foreign policy?
- Q.9. Show to what extent the following were responsible for causing World War II.
- a) The rise of dictatorship in Europe.
 - b) The policy of Appeasement.

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