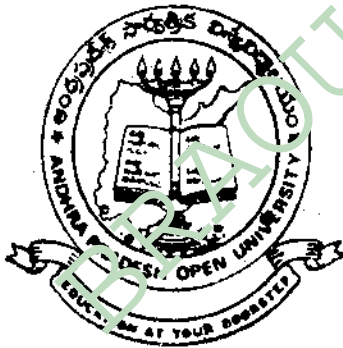


HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

(1815-1964)



**ANDHRA PRADESH OPEN UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD**

COURSE TEAM

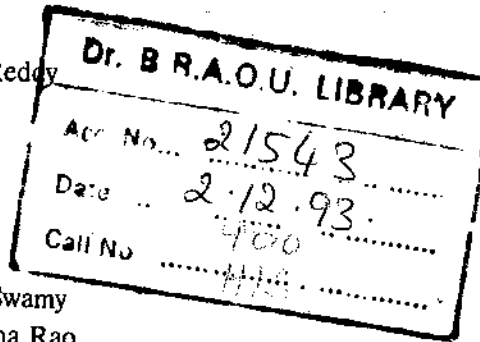
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Editor:

Sri A.V. Koti Reddy

Associate Editor:

Prof. K. Subrahmanyam

**Writers:**

Sri I. Venkata Swamy
Sri M. Narasimha Rao
Dr. K. Lalitha
Dr. V. Ramakrishna Reddy

Cover Design:

Chandra

**Andhra Pradesh Open University
Hyderabad-500 482.**

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PREFACE

History of Europe in the past five centuries should be studied to understand modern World History. Historical developments in Europe have influenced not only the political and economic developments elsewhere in the world, but also the religious and socio-cultural patterns of Asia, Africa and even America. While the Renaissance, geographical discoveries, Reformation and the growth of Nation states ushered in the Modern Age in Europe, the currents of thought generated by the French Revolution influenced the entire mankind. The concepts of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Nationalism which originated in the 18th century Revolutionary France, have become the watch-words of the political and social revolutions not only in Europe, but also in Asia, Africa and America in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The lessons included in this volume, present a critical account of the History of Europe starting with Post-Revolutionary Settlement effected by the Congress of Vienna, the liberal and democratic Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and the internal and external policies of Napoleon III, as president and Emperor. They cover the remarkable nationalist unifications, of Italy and Germany, the Industrial Revolution of world - wide significance, followed by the rise of Capitalism and Socialism, and the colonial and imperialistic ambitions of the big powers encouraged by Bismarckian political manouevres that resulted in international tension and rivalry. Further, the lessons discuss the way the two world wars have been fought, the attendant radical transformations in Russia, Italy, Germany and Japan, the efforts at peace-making leading to the formation of the league of Nations and the U.N.O, and finally the attempts at European integration. Thus this volume is concerned with the sweep of European History from the meeting of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the efforts made towards European integration in 1964. An introductory unit on the French Revolution and Napoleon is also included, as an understanding of the forces of the French Revolution and the policies and achievements of Napoleon is essential for a study of the History of Europe from 1815.

This volume deals with the topics in the History of Modern Europe which are included in the syllabus for the Third year of the B.A. Degree Course offered by the Andhra Pradesh Open University. These generally cover the 'core' area of the subject to be studied in the Third Year of the Three Year Degree Course in Arts.(B.A.). The syllabus for the sake of convenience is divided into blocks, each of which comprises number of units. Each block generally covers a specific area of the subject. The units are prepared by specialists in accordance with a format so designed as to enable the student to read and understand them without much difficulty.

The course material is now revised and brought into the self-instructional pattern. To enable the student to check his progress in the comprehension of the lesson, in each unit, questions under the heading, Check Your Progress, are given. Space is provided below those questions, to answer those questions. Students should write their answers in the space provided.

At the end of the unit, under the heading, Check Your Progress : Answers, the answers to those questions are given briefly. The important points in each unit are given at the end of each unit with the title Let us sum up. Assignments, which the students of A.P. Open University have to answer and the examination model paper for the entire syllabus are given at the end of the volume.

The university hopes that the course material now presented in a revised form will be more useful for the students to learn the subject better.

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BRAOU

BLOCK I : INTRODUCTION

In this introductory block a Unit on French Revolution and Napolean is included. It is not possible to understand European History from 1815 without a Knowledge of the developments in Europe during time of French Revolution and Napolean. Hence this unit is included.

BRAOU

UNIT-1 : FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEAN

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1.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to.

1. Analyse the significance, causes, course and results of the French Revolution
2. Explain the career of Napoleon Bonaparte, his rise to power, conquests and reforms and the causes for his down fall.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Though the syllabus for this course starts with 1815 it is felt that an introductory lesson on the French Revolution and Napoleon is necessary to enable the students to have a clear understanding of the historical developments in Europe from 1815. In view of that, this introductory unit is included.

1.2 FRENCH REVOLUTION

1.2.1 Significance

The French Revolution of 1789 was one of the great revolutions in World History. It brought about far reaching changes in Europe. In the words of William Doyle, the author of the French Revolution was the first modern revolution, the arche type one. After it, nothing in the European World remained the same, and we are all heirs to its influence.

1.2.2 Causes

A number of causes were responsible for the French Revolution. The following were some of the important.

1.2.2.1 Dictatorship of the bourbans

The roots of the revolution can be traced back to the period of Louis XIV (1643 - 1715). Louis XIV was a thorough going dictator. He said "I am the state". Though France gained importance in Europe during his time due to his success in wars, and due to the grandeur of his court, the extravagance of Louis XIV in waging wars or in Building palaces, resulted in a critical financial position for the government. The lack of freedom for the people also made them political slaves. During the time of Louis XV (1715 - 1774) also, dictatorship continued, resulting in increasing political discontentment among the people. In the time of Louis XVI (1774 - 1793) the political discontentment among the people increased. The belief of the Kings that they ruled the country by the will of God and not due to the consent of the people, made the position of the people in the country, miserable. The government of France was disorganised, inefficient, and arbitrary. There was no means by which the people could represent their grievances to the government. The parliament of France, which was known as the Estates General was not summoned for 175 years. Any person could be arrested and imprisoned without any reason or trial. Such dictatorial conditions paved the way for the revolution.

1.2.2.2 Conditions in the ancient regime

The period before the revolution, in France was known as the ancient regime. The inequality, anarchy and oppression in the ancient regime brought about the revolution. The society in the ancient regime was divided into three classes nobility the clergy and the commons. The first two classes were the most privileged, They were exempted from the payment of taxes. The third estate which consisted of the commoners, was the most frustrated. They were the most taxed people even though they had the least capacity to pay the taxes. Privileges, exemptions and concessions for the first two estates and heavy tax-burden, slavery and suffering for the third estate were the order of the ancient regime. Those conditions precipitated the revolution.

1.2.2.3 Teachings of the philosophers

The teachings of great writers like Montesquie, Voltaire and Rousseau, prepared the ground for the revolution.

1.2.2.3.1 Montesquie

Montesquie (1689-1755) did not preach revolution, but criticised the despotism in France. In his famous book, the *Sprit of Laws*, he said that liberty can be ensured by the seperation of the three branches of government, the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. Montesquie had great admiration for the government in England as it ensured personal liberty to the citizens.

1.2.2.3.2 Voltaire

Voltaire (1694-1778) was the junior contemporary of Montesquie and the greatest intellectual of the 18th century. Though he considered enlightened despotism as the best form of government, Voltaire by his bitter attacks on the arbitrary acts of the government, carried on a literary crusade against the despotism in France. The church and the state were the two chief targets of his most effective satirical and powerful writings.

1.2.2.3.3 Rousseau

Rousseau (1712-1778) While Montesquieu and Voltaire desired reforms for the sake of individual liberty, Rousseau advocated the total reorganisation of society, as he believed that any amount of patching of the evils in the society will not result in freedom for the individual. Rousseau's approach was different from that of Voltaire. As C.D.M Kettelby writes; "Rousseau began where voltaire left off; the latter harnessed the horses of reason, the former unchained the tigers of emotion". The social contract, one of the greatest political works of the 18th century, had much influence on the people. The book starts with the famous sentence "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains". The general theme of his political writings was that the people should revolt to secure their natural rights. The writings of less important writers like Diderot also influenced the French people. Diderot edited the Encyclopaedia of Arts & Sciences. Most of the contributors to the Encyclopaedia were critics of the church and the government. Writers known as physiocrats, of whom Quesnay and Turgot were well-known, criticised the economic conditions in France and advocated economic reforms. The ideas of the intellectual trio, Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau and of the less-known writers mentioned above became the seeds of the revolutions.

The ideas of the great writers did not directly create the revolution. It was the mistakes of the government its despotism and the evils in the society like irregularity, oppression of the majority which directly contributed to the revolution. But the teachings of the writers, by focussing attention on the despotic nature of the government and the evils in the society, and by arousing the emotions of the people on those evils, indirectly prepared the ground for the revolution.

1.2.2.4 Financial Crisis

The grave financial crisis faced by the government during the years of Louis XVI was one of the important causes for the French Revolution. The huge expenditure on wars and the maintenance of a grand court in the time Louis XIV, the debt inherited from the time of Louis XV, the involvement of France, in the American war of independence, the wasteful expenditure of the government in various fields, brought the government of France to the brink of bankruptcy. The annual deficit of the French government, a few years before the revolution was about 125 million livers. The national debt of France by 1786 amounted to 3 billion livers. (French currency) Louis XVI tried to improve the situation by appointing those who advocated economic reforms as his Finance Ministers. Turgot, Necker and Calogne were one after another entrusted with the task of managing the critical financial situation. But the crisis was too deep for any superficial remedies. Unable to get the finance, for running the government, Louis XVI in 1789 summoned the Estates general or the parliament of France, expecting that it would vote the required finances. But the summoning of the estates general after a lapse of 175 years turned out to be a step in the direction of the revolution. The rise of prices, famine of 1788 and the increase population of paris contributed to the revolution in between 1730 and 1789 the Prices in France rose about 60% where as the wages increased only by 22%. The resulting widespread poverty prepared the ground for the revolution. The famine of 1788 and severe winter of 1789 added to the misery of common man people from rural areas flocked to paris and other towns in such circumstances. It was that paris which played an important role in the revolution.

1.2.2.5 Influence of the American Revolution

The American war of independence (1776-83) which can be described as the American Revolution, inspired the French people to revolt against the despotism in their country.

France helped the American colonies morally and financially to fight against British imperialism. In retaliation for the loss of French colonies in India and Canada, during the seven years war (1756-83) France helped the American colonies against the British.

La Fayette and other French men who participated in the American war of independence when they came back to France, provided the inspiration to the Frenchmen to throw out the Bourbon despotism. One of the earliest leaders of the French Revolution was Lafayette who returned to France after taking part in the American revolution.

All the material needed for the outbreak of a revolution was thus present in France by 1789. As Denis Richards put it, "all the material for a great combustion was present. An out worn, inefficient, unfair and bankrupt system of government, a strong body of reforming opinion created by the philosophers; the successful example of the Americans, a weak king and an unpopular queen, widespread economic distress; and a desperate mob of exceptional size in Paris. It needed only a spark to set it all alight, to turn the smolderings of 1787-89 into a fire".

1.2.2.6 Summoning of the Estates General

In the early months of 1789, elections were held for the Estates General, and its first session commenced on May 5, 1789 consisting of 285 nobles, 308 clergy and 621 representatives of the Third Estate. Immediately a controversy arose with regard to the procedure of voting. The first two Estates argued that according to the established tradition, each Estate should have only one vote. The members of the Third Estate on the otherhand demanded that each individual should have a vote instead of each Estate having one vote. Since the controversy could not be resolved, members of the Third Estate, together with a few members of the first two estates, who were sympathetic to the demand of the Third Estate, met on June 20, 1789 at the Tennis court adjoining the building of the Estates General and took the famous **Tennis court oath**. In the oath they vowed not to disband the National Assembly into which they constituted themselves, till a constitution was framed for France. The defiance of the representatives of the Third Estate against the monarch was the first symptom of the revolution.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Summarise the political causes for the Revolution

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2. Who were the philosophers whose teachings were responsible for the Revolution? How did they contribute to the Revolution?

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3. What were the immediate causes for the Revolution?

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1.2.3 Course of the Revolution

1.2.3.1 Fall of Bastille (July 14, 1789)

The fall of Bastille on July 14, 1789 can be considered as the beginning of the French Revolution. The parisian mob who supported the National Assembly, attacked the Bastille Fort and released the prisoners inside it. The fall of Bastille, which was the symbol of the tyranny of the French monarchs, was hailed by contemporaries as an event of great magnitude. Subsequently, the day was declared a holiday and observed as the national day. The tricolour flag consisting of red white and blue parts was made the national flag instead of the white coloured banner of the Bourbons.

1.2.3.2 Abolition of Feudalism

In July 1789, in many places in France there were uprisings of the peasants against the feudal lords. They indulged in violence and destruction which were directed against the nobles. As a result of it many nobles left the country (they were known as emigrees) and feudalism or the domination of the nobles over the peasants came to an end. Later on August 4, 1789, feudalism was legally abolished, when in the National Assembly, one noble after another renounced their feudal rights and privileges. Slavery was abolished, feudal payments of the commons to the nobles became dead and all people became equal. It was an unprecedented social revolution.

1.2.3.3. Declaration of the Rights of Man

On August 26, 1789 the National Assembly made the historic proclamation of the rights of man. It was similar to the Bill of Rights of England. Liberty, equality and other natural rights were guaranteed to the French people. Religions freedom, freedom of the press, freedom from arbitrary arrest were also included in the Declaration of Rights. The Declaration which has been described as the gospel of modern times, containing 17 articles asserted that "men are free and equal and that the people are sovereign.

1.2.3.4 March of Women to Versailles

Rumours that the Queen, some nobles and even the King were plotting a counter revolution, made the people of Paris furious. The rising prices of bread and other essential commodities

also increased the resentment of the people against the King and the Queen. On October 5, 1789 a few thousand women marched from Paris to the royal palace at Versailles. Thousands of men also joined the march of the women. They forced the King, Queen and the other members of the royal family to leave the palace of Versailles to stay at Paris, in the midst of the people in the palace of Tuileries. Thus from Oct 6, 1789, the King was virtually a prisoner of the people. A few days later, the National Assembly also shifted to Paris.

1.2.3.5 Preparation of constitution

By 1791, the first constitution, prepared by the National Assembly, came into force. The constitution provided for constitutional monarchy, with the King having only limited power. The legislature was to be unicameral. The principle of separation of powers was followed and no link was established between the legislature and the executive. The judges were to be elected and the jury was introduced in criminal cases. A highly centralised state was transformed into a decentralised state. In the place of the provinces the departments were created which were subdivided into Arrondissements and cantons.

1.2.3.6 Nationalisation of the Church

The constitution of France declared that the clergy in the country would be elected and that they would receive their salaries from the government and not from the pope. The property of the church was declared as the property of the state. All this created division among the clergy with the pope opposing those measures. It also resulted in a long drawn conflict between the French nationalists and the pope.

1.2.3.7 King's Flight to Varennes

Louis XVI, who was deprived of all his powers by the constitution, decided to escape to Austria. His plan was to fight against the revolutionaries from a foreign land with foreign help. Louis XVI accompanied by Queen Mary Antoinette, disguised themselves and left the royal palace on the night of June 20, 1791 to escape from France. But at the little village of Varennes near the frontier, they were recognised and arrested. They were taken to Paris in the midst of disgrace and humiliation. One of the effects of the attempted flight of Louis XVI was the birth of a republican party in France. Till then even the most staunch revolutionaries did not think that monarchy could be dispensed with. But the attempted escape of the King turned some of the revolutionaries into republicans.

1.2.3.8 Rise of Political Clubs

Three important political clubs arose in France during the time of the revolution from 1791. The most influential among them was of the Jacobins. It had its headquarters in Paris and branches in many places in the country. Its greatest leader was Robespierre. He was a democrat and was opposed to the republican form of government. Another club, known as the Cordeliers club was more radical than that of the Jacobins. But its influence was confined to Paris. Danton, a great lawyer and powerful orator was its most important leader. The members of the third club were known as Girondists. They were so called because most of its leaders like Vergniaud, Isnard and Buzot came from the South Western region of France known as Gironde. The Girondists were highly emotional men and were led by a romantic lady, Madame Roland.

1.2.3.9 Revolutionary Wars

In the midst of the revolution France had to fight against the foreign nations, Austria and Prussia. The King of Austria, Francis II, who was the brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, was annoyed by the fate of Louis XVI, his brother-in-law. The nobles of France who had migrated to

Austria, also goaded the Austrian King to take a stand against the revolution in France. When Austria and Prussia became hostile to the revolution, the revolutionaries in France compelled Louis XVI to declare war against those two countries. The war which was declared on April 20, 1792 lasted for twenty three years, ending with the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 at Waterloo. This war had its impact on the revolution and gave it many turns and twists. It was responsible for the execution of the King, the creation of republic, in France and for the reign of terror. The war began disastrously for France with the enemy troops capturing Verdun and threatening to enter Paris. The panic which ensued the reverses for the French, resulted in mob fury. The Parisians suspecting the treachery of Louis XVI in the war, attacked his palace, as a result of which he was forced to seek refuge in the legislative Assembly. Then events moved swiftly. Monarchy was suspended and the legislative Assembly which was the creation of the 1791 constitution and whose full term of two years was only half completed, ordered the holding of fresh elections in France on the basis of universal suffrage for the creation of a national convention to draw up a new constitution for the country.

1.2.3.10 September Massacres

Swayed by the fear that the anti-revolutionaries in the country would triumph with the help of the invading foreigners, the revolutionaries in Paris mercilessly butchered more than a thousand men and women who were suspected to be opposed to the revolution. These massacres which took place between Sep 2, and Sep 6 of 1792 are known as the September massacres. They were organised by the commune of Paris under the leadership of Marat. These massacres had a chain reaction of violence and bloodshed leading to more violence and bloodshed. All this resulted in much damage to the reputation of the revolution.

1.2.3.11 Abolition of Monarchy and Execution of Louis XVI

The first act of the National convention which met on Sep 20, 1792 was the abolition of monarchy in France. On Sep 21, 1792 the convention unanimously voted for the abolition of monarchy in France. Thus the first republic was established in France. Then the convention voted for the execution of Louis XVI. There were differences between the Girondists and the Jacobins on this, the Girondists pleading for a less severe punishment for the King. Ultimately as the majority voted for the execution, Louis XVI was executed on Sunday, Jan 21, 1793.

1.2.3.12 Reign of Terror (1793-94)

To meet the crisis arising from internal and external threats to the revolution, the National convention established the committee of public safety, the commission of general security and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Committee of public safety consisting of 12 members was the executive which ruled France. The Committee became all powerful and omnipotent. The Commission of general security was established to supervise the activity for protecting the security of the nation from external and internal threats. The revolutionary Tribunal was intended to try and punish expeditiously, those charged with treason and other crimes against the nation. Of the three organisations created by the National convention, the committee of public safety was the most powerful and the other two worked under its direction. Robespierre was the most important member of the public safety committee under his leadership, the committee carried on a reign of terror from 1793 to 1794. About half million people were imprisoned and about 25000 were executed during the reign of terror. Among those guillotined by the orders of the public safety committee were Marie Antoinette, the Queen, Madam Roland, the liberty loving patriot, several Girondists who were the opponents of the Jacobin party to which Robespierre belonged and many others suspected to be the enemies of the revolution. The remark of Madam Roland at the time of her execution - "Or liberty what crimes have been committed in the name" explains the reaction of the common people against the atrocities committed in the name of the revolution by the extremists.

While the reign of terror was going on within the country, at the frontiers, the French soldiers, ably led by Carnot repulsed the invading armies of the coalition of European countries. The military victories on the borders emboldened the public safety committee to pursue its internal terroristic activities without any remorse or reluctance. Danton, who pleaded moderation and his associates were also sent to the guillotin by Robespierre. Finally in July 1794, the National convention became bold enough to overthrow Robespierre and the man who was responsible for the execution of thousands of people was himself executed.

1.2.3.13 Reforms of the Convention

Apart from taking steps to win the war against the external enemies and to put down the internal opposition to the revolution, the convention introduced a number of reforms of lasting value. The metric system of weights and measures which was later adopted by other countries was introduced. Much attention was paid to National Education, National Art Gallery, National Library and National Archives were established. Titles of all kinds were abolished and every body was addressed as 'citizen' or 'citizenship'. A new calendar starting with September 22, 1792, the day on which the French Republic came into existence, was introduced.

1.2.3.13.1 Religion

In the field of religion, in the beginning, the convention tried to bring religion under state control. But later after the death of Robespierre, the national convention adopted the policy that religion is a personal affair and that the state should not interfere in religious matters. Tolerance of all religions became the policy of the government.

1.2.3.13.2 The New Constitution

In 1795 the National Convention finalised a new constitution for France, which was known as the Constitution of the year three as 1795 happened to be the third year after the inauguration of the French Republic.

The new constitution abandoned the principle of universal adult suffrage and provided for suffrage based on property.

The new constitution provided for a bicameral legislature. One of them was to be known as the Council of Elders consisting of 250 members who were to be above 40 years of age. The other council was known as the council of 500. The most important provision of the constitution was the creation of the Directory as the executive branch of the government. It was to comprise of five members of above 40 years age. The first five Directors were Carnot, Letournier, Larl-Velliere, Lapcauc Rawbell and Barras.

The new constitution was ratified by all the people in the country except in Paris where there was violent opposition to it which was engineered by the wealthy people and monarchists. To protect the convention, Barras took the assistance of Napoleon Bonaparte who was then a young military officer of 25 years.

Between 1795 and 1799, during the period of the Directory, there was no peace and tranquility in the country. The Directors proved to be inefficient, and brigandage, Lawlessness and chaos were on the increase. The financial position of the government also was alarming. The situation was ripe for the emergence of a dictator and Napoleon emerged as the man of the hour in 1799 by overthrowing the Directory. Thus by 1799, the wheel of history had run a full cycle from Bourbon dictatorship to Napoleonic dictatorship. The story of the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to power will be narrated in the next few pages.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What is the significance of July 14, 1789?

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2. When did the march of women to Versailles take place?

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3. What were the effects of the King's attempt to escape from France?

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4. Who were the Girondists and Jacobins?

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5. Write briefly about the reign of terror.

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1.2.4 Results of the French Revolution

The French Revolution brought about many changes in all fields of life. It marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the world. As William Doyle pointed out the shadow of the Revolution fell across the whole of the nineteenth century and beyond.

1.2.4.1 Political

In the political field the French Revolution sounded the death knell of despotism in many European countries. To start with, in France itself the Bourbon dictatorship disappeared and a republic was established. Though later developments during the revolution, did not result in the establishment of democracy in the country, the declaration of the rights of man, the preparation of the constitution for the country and the importance given to liberty, sowed the seeds of democracy in France. The blow given by the French Revolution to royal dictatorship, inspired the people of neighbouring countries, in course of time to revolt against the autocracy of their Kings. The principle of sovereignty of the people and the will of the people giving place to the royal will was a consequence of the French Revolution.

1.2.4.1.2 Rise of Nationalism

It is said that "*nationalism was born out of the volcanic fires of the French Revolution*". The inspired manner in which the French people fought against Austria, Prussia and other countries which invaded France during the time of the revolution, kindled the patriotic feelings among the French people. The sentiment of national consciousness was strengthened by the forces of the French Revolution.

1.2.4.2 Economic

Liberty, equality and Fraternity were the ideals of the French Revolution. Though liberty and Fraternity were not achieved during the time of the revolution, equality to a great extent was realised. The disappearance of feudalism, abolition of titles and equal treatment to all people in courts of law, confiscation of the lands of the nobles and of the church paved the way for economic equality also. Abolition of slavery increased human dignity. Even considering that the equality achieved was narrow because equality of men and women was not established and suffrage was based on property.

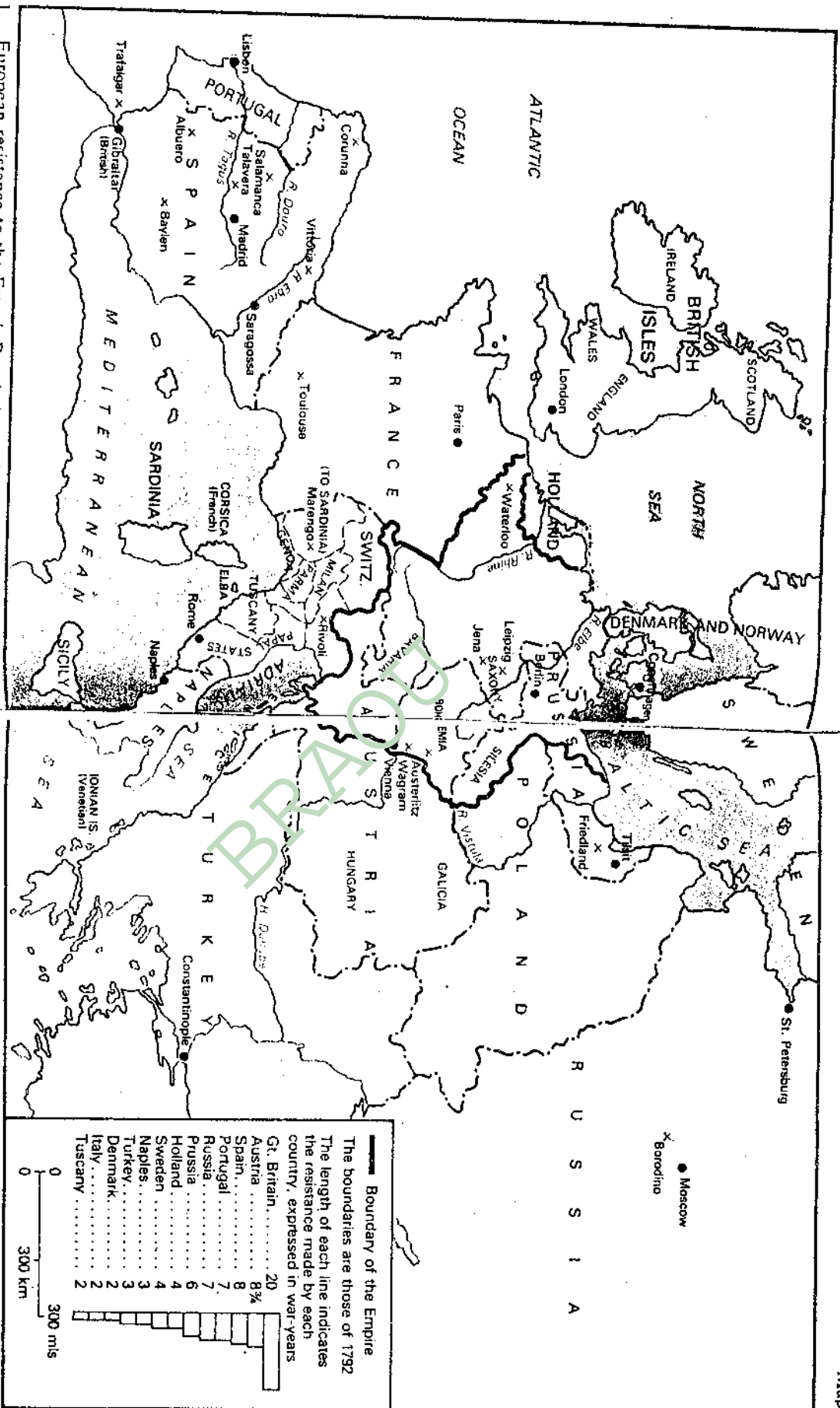
1.2.4.3 Church became Subordinate to the State

During the course of the revolution, the church and the state were at logger heads. But ultimately both sides realised the futility of interfering in areas which were beyond their jurisdiction and the conflict ended. The ending of the conflict also resulted in an era of religious tolerance.

1.2.4.4 Transformed the Outlook of Men

The French Revolution brought about a change in the outlook of men. Reason became far more important than faith and superstition due to the influence of the French Revolution.

Thus some of the visible fruits of the revolution were of a transient nature and the other were of a long lasting or permanent nature. The permanent benefits of the revolution included equity, fairer taxation, abolition of feudalism, administrative reforms, development of education, subordination of the church to the state and above all a major share to the middle class in the affairs of the government.



1. European resistance to the French Revolution and Napoleon

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - III

1. How did the French Revolution contribute to the growth of nationalism?

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2. Mention two economic effects of the Revolution.

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1.3 NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1815)

1.3.1 Career

Napoleon Bonaparte, who was both the child and destroyer of the revolution rose to power in France at a critical time when the Directory was not able to fulfill the aspirations of the French man. Napoleon who was the modern counter part of Alexander and Julius Caesar was born at Ajaccio in the island of Corsica, in 1769, His father Charles Bonaparte was a lawyer by profession and his mother Laetitia Ramoliso was a woman of remarkable will power and extraordinary energy. When a carrer in the army had bright prospects in France, Napoleon joined the army after studying in the military schools at Brienne and paris. During his student days Napoleon was keenly interested in History, Geography and Mathematics. After becoming a second lieutenant in the artillery branch at the age of 16, he came in to lime light in 1793 when he was able to recapture from the British, the French Mediteranean naval base at Toulan. His second opportunity for gaining prominence came in 1795 when Barras asked him to help him in defending National convention from the fury of the parisian mob. By controlling the mob fury, Napoleon won the admiration of the National convention. He was then appointed as the Commander of the French army to fight against Austria in Italy. Two days before Bonaparte was appointed the Commander of the French Forces in Italy, he married Josephine Beuharnis a widow who was six years older than him. Napoleon's success in the Italian campaigns was so startling that his name was soon on the lips of all French men. His campaigns in Italy between 1796 and 1797 can be described in the words "*He came, he saw, he conquered*".

1.3.2 The Coup D' Etat of 19th Brumaire (November 10, 1799)

Napoleon came to power by organising a coup d' etat, which is a french word meaning seizure of power by force. Bonaparte, Abbe Siyes, one of the members of the Directory and a few others conspired to over throw the government which was already discredited and unpopular. On 10th November 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte went with his troops to St. cloud, several miles away from paris where the council of elders and the council of 500 were meeting. Napoleon accompanied by 4 soldiers entered the hall were the legislators were meeting and made an incoherent speech for a few minutes. Soon he was shouted down and was even physically thrown

out. Thus it looked as though the attempted coup failed. But Lucien Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, who was the president of the council of 500, acted in a cool and calculated manner to help Napoleon. Lucien came out of the Assembly and told the troops waiting outside, that a few brigands with the intention of assassinating some legislators had entered the assembly hall and melodramatically appealed to the troops to enter the hall to save the legislators. When the troops entered the hall, the members of the council of 500 and the council of Elders escaped through the windows. Immediately, the legislators who were supporting the conspirators met and abolished the Directory. They also appointed Abbe Siyes, Ducos and Napoleon Bonaparte as the three consuls in the place of the Directory to discharge the functions of the government. Thus Napoleon seized civilian power through a conspiracy. But to the credit of Napoleon it must be said that the *cou d' e tat* was popular and there was no support to the members of the erstwhile Directory.

1.3.3 Reforms of Napoleon

1.3.3.1 Constitution 1799, the fourth since the revolution, was a handiwork of Napoleon. It was designed only to keep up the pretension of a democratic government. In reality Napoleon who was designated as the First Counsel (there were to be three consuls) was the dictator of France from 1799. As the First consul, Napoleon restored centralisation of administration which existed in the pre-revolutionary period. Each department was to be managed by a prefect, each arrondissement by a sub - prefect and a commune by a Mayor. The citizens lost the power of managing their own local affairs as the prefect - sub prefect and Mayor were the agents appointed by the central government. Napoleon's period of consulate from 1799 to 1804 is memorable for the various lasting reforms which he introduced. The first thing which he did was to put an end to lawlessness and monarchy in the country. By sending troops to places where there was no peace and order, he restored the authority of the government. The taxation system was reformed and the national income was increased. The Bank of France was established which exists even now.

1.3.3.2 Legion of Honour (1802)

Legion of Honour (1802) was introduced to honour those who rendered distinguished service to the state. It was opposed by some as undemocratic and against the principle of equality. However Napoleon continued it. Napoleon defended it as a kind of nobility of talent. The Legion of honour was conferred mostly on military men by Napoleon, although it was open to men who distinguished, themselves in politics, civil service, local government and arts.

1.3.3.3 Education

Napoleon was interested in education also. All schools in the country were brought under one national board of education and the university of France was established. An institution known as Lycee with the last two years of the High School and the first two years of the college was also created. A number of professional schools were also established. However Napoleon was not in favour of education for women.

1.3.3.4 Code Napoleon

The code Napoleon was the most important and enduring of the works of Napoleon. Napoleon himself said at St Helana, (where he was a prisoner) *'My real glory is not my having won forty battles. What will never be effaced, what will endure forever, is my civil code'*. The various laws of France were systematically codified in that code. The principle of equality was adhered to in it. The code Napoleon became a message of hope for many countries in Europe, and South America.

1.3.3.5 The Concordat (1801)

The agreement reached between Napoleon and the Pope was known as the concordat which was signed in 1801. The concordat was a triumph for the statesmanship of Napoleon. It pleased the Roman Catholics in the country and settled the religious discord which arose after the revolution. The Roman Catholic Religion was recognised as the religion of the majority of people. The pope agreed for the appointment of Bishops by the government. But they were to be invested by the Pope. The Pope accepted the loss of church property which was confiscated by the revolutionaries during the revolution. This pleased those who were the beneficiaries of the confiscation of church property.

1.3.4 Napoleon becomes Emperor (1804)

On 1802, Napoleon became consul for ten years and subsequently consul for life. The next step to be taken by him was to become the emperor. In 1804 the Senate approved a new constitution which made Napoleon, the emperor of France. It was approved by the French people with overwhelming majority in a plebiscite. In an grand coronation conducted at Paris, Napoleon was crowned as emperor by the Pope. Napoleon once said *"I found the crown of France lying on the ground and I picked it up with my sword."* That sums up the story of Napoleon's rise to the position of the emperor.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - IV

1. How did Napoleon Bonaparte come to power?

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2. What was the Legion of Honour?

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3. When was Napoleon crowned as emperor?

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1.3.5 Napoleon's Conquests

Napoleon displayed his outstanding qualities as a military leader even before he gained political power, in his Italian campaigns of 1796-97. Through his clever military strategy he defeated the huge armies of Austria and Sardinia and concluded the treaty of Campo-Formio in 1797 with Austria. This treaty which was favourable for France revealed the diplomatic skill of Napoleon. In 1798 he led a campaign in Egypt against Britain. But the British navy proved to be far superior to the French military strength and Napoleon cleverly went back to Paris. Though he did not succeed in Egypt the reports from that country to France were favourable to Napoleon. Hence the fame of Napoleon did not diminish despite his failure in Egypt.

After becoming the first consul, in the year 1800 Napoleon defeated the Austrian forces at Marengo and Hohenlinden. As a result of those victories, a major part of North Italy was gained by France. In 1802, to gain time, Napoleon concluded a peace treaty with Britain which was known as the treaty of Amiens.

In 1803 alarmed by the growing strength of Napoleon, Great Britain formed against France what is known as the third Coalition, consisting of Great Britain, Austria and Russia. Napoleon defeated the Austrian forces at Ulm, in South West Germany. But two days later (October 21, 1805) Nelson won a great naval victory at Trafalgar in the South western coast of Spain. The success of Nelson, though he died before the battle ended, saved Britain from a Napoleonic invasion on land where Napoleon was invincible. He defeated the combined forces of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). Then in 1806, the Prussian army was destroyed at Zena and Austerdat. There in 1807, the Russians were also defeated in the battle of Friedland and the Russians signed with Napoleon the treaty of Tilsit, by which Russia recognised the political changes made by Napoleon in Central and Western Europe and also promised to join Napoleon against Britain.

Between 1806 and 1808 Napoleon reared the map of Europe. All Europe except the British isles and the Balkan peninsula came under the direct control or indirect influence of France. No other conqueror was able to establish his mastery over such a large area of Europe. Napoleon was a military general and conqueror of exceptional ability. His military rival Wellington once said that Napoleon's presence in the field was worth a difference of 40000 men.

1.3.6 Continental System

To defeat England Napoleon planned a strategy which is known as the continental system. It was an economic warfare, Napoleon trying to throttle the '*nation of shop keepers*' by organising an economic blockade of England.

The continental system began with the issue of the Berlin decrees in 1806. All European countries which were under the control of Napoleon were forbidden from having any commerce with England. In retaliation England issued the orders in Council which contained a threat to the European countries that they would not be able to trade with any country in Europe, if they stopped their trade with England. To enforce the continental system Napoleon had to wage wars against Italy, Spain, Austria and Russia. The continental system embroiled Napoleon in too many wars and was one of the important causes for his downfall. The continental system caused some distress to England. But with their mastery over the seas they were able to effectively counter Napoleon's strategy. The dependence of many European countries on the finished goods of England also foiled the continental system.

1.3.7 Decline And Fall of Napoleon

The rise of national feeling in countries conquered by Napoleon was one of the important causes for his downfall. Two forces, liberalism and patriotism helped the rise of Napoleon. The

very same forces brought about his down fall also. In his early years he was looked upon by the people of Europe as the representative of the liberal forces released by the revolution. That helped him in the beginning. But later when he was considered as the enemy of those liberal forces, his downfall started. The nationalist reaction against Napoleon started in Spain. The Spaniards revolted against Napoleon, when his brother Joseph was made the king of Spain. Joseph was driven out of Madrid, the capital of Spain, by the patriotic Spaniards. Napoleon's armies could do nothing to put down the rise of national sentiment. The peninsular war which ensued between Spain and France proved a disaster to France and brought about the downfall of Napoleon. Taking advantage of Napoleon's difficulties, in Spain, England sent Arthur Wellesley to fight against Napoleon. The peninsular war or the war against Spain proved disastrous to Napoleon. Napoleon was right when he said that the 'Spanish Ulcer ruined' him. When Napoleon was fighting against Spain Austria declared war against France in 1809. Austria was again defeated by Napoleon. This was the fourth defeat for Austria at the hands of France. But it proved to be the last victorious campaign for Napoleon. The Fourth success of Napoleon against Austria resulted in a matrimonial alliance between Napoleon and Austria, with Napoleon marrying Marie Louise the princess of Austria.

1.3.7.2 Russian Campaign (1812)

One of the important causes for the fall of Napoleon was the Russian Campaign in 1812. As Russia got weary of the continental system, Czar Alexander I, opened up the Russian ports to British commerce. This angered Napoleon who wanted to Conquer Russia to force her into submission. A huge army of six lakh soldiers, the biggest army till then was raised by Napoleon to invade Russia. As the French troops marched into Russia, the Russians adopted the *scorched earth policy*. That is they began to leave the territory burning or destroying the resources there, and making it uninhabitable for the enemy. Napoleon's army entered Moscow but Alexander I refused to make peace.

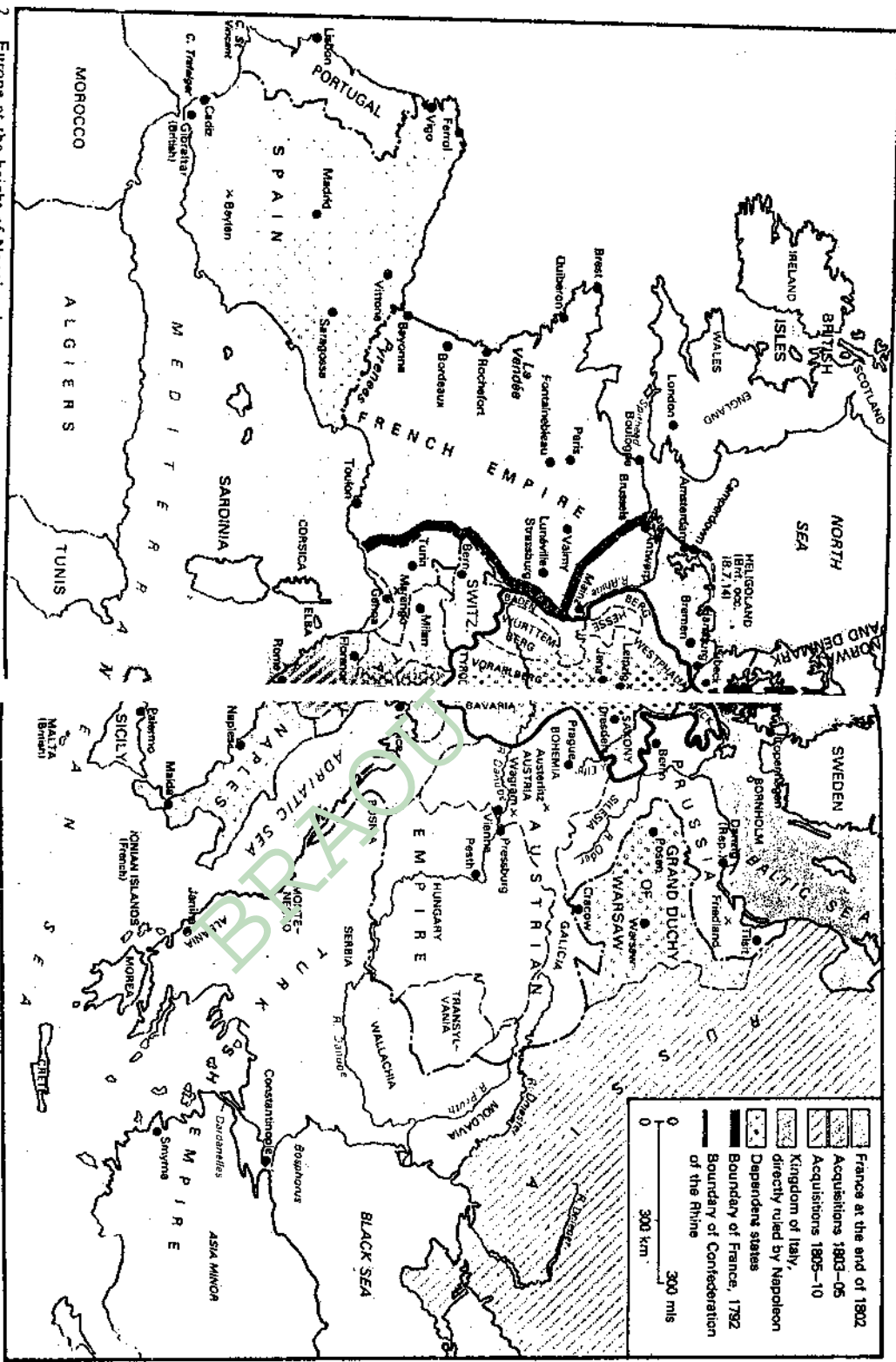
Napoleon had no other alternative except to retreat as Moscow was destroyed by fire. In the retreat the biting Russian winter killed thousands of Napoleon's soldiers. Out of the six lakh soldiers who started on the Russian campaign, only a few thousands survived.

1.3.7.3 Battle of Leipzig (1813)

In 1813, taking advantage of the failure of Napoleon Austria, Prussia and Russia joined together and declared war against France. At Leipzig in central Germany they decisively defeated the forces of Napoleon. The battle of Leipzig was a triumph for the Unity of the three nations. It is appropriately known as the battle of nations, as the national spirit was predominant in the minds of the soldiers of the three nations in that battle. From Leipzig the combined forces of the allies marched into France and occupied Paris in March 1814. Napoleon was taken as a prisoner and sent to Elba off the coast of Italy.

1.3.7.4 Battle of Waterloo (1815)

When the Allies were deliberating among themselves how they should redraw the map of Europe after the defeat of Napoleon, he escaped from Elba on March 1, 1815 and returned to Paris on the 20th of the same month. All along his march from Cannes to Paris, he was enthusiastically welcomed by the French people. The French army to whom Napoleon appealed for support, switched back their loyalty to Napoleon and thus Napoleon again became the emperor of France, with Louis XVII fleeing from France. But this time Napoleon was destined to continue as emperor only for 100 days. Though his return to power was only of a short lived nature the episode of his escape from Elba and his return to power is one of the romantic episodes in history. During his final imprisonment at St Helena, when someone asked Napoleon "*what was the happiest period of your life as emperor*", Napoleon's quick reply was "*The march from Cannes to Paris*". It was indeed a memorable march.



2. Europe at the height of Napoleon's power

When the Allies heard of the escape of Napoleon from Elba, they decided to get him back as prisoner by defeating him. The battle between Napoleon and the Allies took place at Waterloo in Belgium near Brussels. Napoleon was disastrously defeated in the battle of Waterloo which was his sixteenth and last, on June 18, 1815. The Prussian army under Blücher and the British force commanded by Wellington played an important role in the decisive defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. After his defeat, in 1815, Napoleon was imprisoned in the South Atlantic island of St Helena, where he died of cancer at the age of 52, after six years of humiliation in the island, on 5th May 1821. The *Memoirs* written by Napoleon at St Helena are a valuable source of information to posterity about Napoleon's life and achievements.

1.3.8 Conclusion

Napoleon made two contradictory statements about his connection with the Revolution. Once he said 'I am the Revolution' on another occasion he said that he had 'destroyed the revolution.' There is truth in both those statements, as in some respects he symbolised the Revolution and in some other respects destroyed the spirit of the revolution as in the case of liberty and democracy.

Napoleon's best claims to greatness lie in his glorious military achievements and long lasting reforms. However historians have differed in their perceptions of Napoleon. To some he was a continuator of the Revolution. But some others thought of him as a destroyer of the Revolution. Some have described him as the last of the enlightened despots while others consider him as the first of the modern dictators. But indeed there is unanimity among all historians that he was one of the greatest leaders known to history. France, Europe and the whole world was influenced by Napoleon. To France he gave durable institutions and the social benefits of the Revolution. Europe got liberalism and patriotism through his conquests and to the world he is an example of how a single person with extraordinary talents corrupted by a tremendous ambition to dominate vast areas in the world can be a danger to the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - V

1. What was the significance of the conquests of Napoleon?

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2. What was the objective of the continental system?

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3. Mention briefly three important causes for the downfall of Napoleon.

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1.4 LET US SUM UP

1. The French Revolution of 1789 is one of the greatest revolutions in history.
2. A number of causes like the dictatorship of the Bourbons, the conditions in the ancient regime, and the teachings of the philosophers were responsible for the revolution.
3. During the course of the Revolution, France became a republic, Louis XVI was executed, a constitution came into force, the country was involved in wars against other countries like Austria, and Prussia and there was lot of blood shed and violence during the course of the Revolution.
4. The French Revolution brought about many far reaching changes in all fields of life in France. Apart from the radical political changes, it brought about subordination of the church to the State, abolition of feudalism and slavery. The Revolution had its influence on other European countries also.
5. Napoleon who was an ordinary citizen of France rose to power and became the ruler of France through a coup d'etat in 1799. Later in 1804 he became emperor.
6. Napoleon's reforms like the code Napoleon and the administrative reforms, were more important than his conquests.
7. By his conquests Napoleon was able to bring almost the whole of Europe except England under his control.
8. Napoleon's conquests and reforms have won for him a permanent and great place in the history of the world.
9. Napoleon was in some respects a child of the Revolution. In some other respects he was a destroyer of the Revolution.

1.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1) The dictatorship of the Bourbons, the arbitrary and inefficient government, lack of political liberty to the people and the absence of the Estates General for 175 years were some of the important causes for the French Revolution.
- 2) The teachings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau and of Diderot and others who wrote for the Encyclopaedia and of the Physiocrats like Quessey and Turgot were indirectly responsible for the Revolution. Their writings focussed the attention of the people on the dictatorship of the government, the social and economic evils and also roused the emotions of the people against those evils. Thus their teachings paved the way for the revolution.
- 3) The influence of the American war of independence, financial difficulties of the government and the summoning of the Estates General were the immediate causes for the revolution.

- II. 1) July 14, 1789 is significant because on that day the fort of Bastille which symbolised the dictatorship of the Bourbons, was captured by the people. That day is considered as the beginning of the French Revolution and since then July 14 is observed as a national day in France.
- 2) The march of women to Versailles took place on October 5, 1789.
- 3) The King's abortive attempt to escape from France brought much humiliation to the royal family and was also responsible for the birth of a republican party in France.
- 4) The Girondists were a political group. They were so called because they mostly belonged to Gironde, the South Western region in France. Their leader was Madam Roland. The Jacobins were another political group who had their headquarters in Paris and many branches all over the country. Their leader was Robespierre.
- 5) Between 1793 and 1794 the public safety committee under the leadership of Robespierre in the name of defending the revolution ordered the imprisonment or execution of thousands of people. Many innocent people also became the victims of such orders. There was an atmosphere of terror in the country. Which was known as the reign of terror.
- III. 1) During the revolution period Austria, and Prussia declared war on France. The wars which were against the revolution were considered as anti-French wars. To defend the revolution and the country, the French people were mobilised and organised. Thus the French Revolution roused the national spirit of the French people.
- 2) The French Revolution had some important economic effects. The chief among them was the abolition of feudalism which was done by the National Assembly on August 4, 1789. With that there was no need for the common people to pay feudal dues to the nobles.
- Another important economic effect of the French revolution was that the property of the church was confiscated by the common people.
- IV. 1) Napoleon, Bonaparte came to power through a coup d'etat in 1799.
- 2) The Legion of Honour was a system of honouring distinguished French men with titles. This was introduced by Napoleon.
- 3) Napoleon was crowned as emperor in 1804.
- V. 1) The conquests of Napoleon resulted in the redrawing of the map of Europe. Almost the whole of Europe except England came under the control of Napoleon due to his conquests. His conquests indirectly helped the process of German and Italian unification movements and also generated national consciousness among many European countries.
- 2) The objective of the continental system was to make England submit to Napoleon through economic blockade of England.
- 3) Many factors were responsible for the downfall of Napoleon. The chief causes for his downfall were
1. The rise of national feelings among the people conquered by Napoleon.
 2. The Peninsular War.
 3. His Russian campaign of 1812.

1.6 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Explain the causes for the French Revolution.
 2. Explain the significance and results of the French Revolution
 3. Describe the reforms of Napoleon. What was their impact on France?
 - 4) Discuss the cause for the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. How did the teachings of the philosophers bring about the French Revolution.
 2. Estimate the work of the National Assembly.
 3. Write short notes on.
 - a) Code Napoleon
 - b) Concordat
 - c) Continental System

1.7 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Bhattacharya Arun | Modern Europe |
| 2. Doyle, William | The Oxford History of the French Revolution |
| 3. Fisher, H A L | Napoleon,
New Cambridge, Modern History |
| 4. Grant. A.J. | The story of Europe during the
last five centuries |
| 5. Harrison, John B. Ecd | A short History of Western Civilization
Vol II since 1600 sixteenth edn. |
| 6. Hayes, C.J.H. | Modern Europe up to 1870 |
| 7. Hazen C.D | Modern Europe upto 1945 |
| 8. Kettelby, C.D.M. | A History of Modern Times |
| 9. Rao, B.V. | History of Europe (1450-1815) |
| 10. Richards Denis | An Illustrated History of Modern
Europe 1789 - 1984. |

– K. SUBRAMANYAM

BLOCK II : POST REVOLUTIONARY EUROPE AND REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 & 1848

In this block there are three units which deal with the History of Europe between 1815 and 1848. Unit II deals with the congress of Vienna, the concept of Europe and the Holy Alliance. Unit III is on the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. The last Unit (Unit IV) in this block is on the second Republic and Napoleon's Internal and External Policies.

UNIT-2 : CONGRESS OF VIENNA CONCEPT OF EUROPE AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

Contents

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Extent of the Napoleonic Empire
- 2.3 Need to reorganise Europe
- 2.4 Metternich's role in the Congress
- 2.5 Countries which attended the congress
- 2.6 Initial difficulties - Poland question
- 2.7 Principles
- 2.8 Settlement provisions
- 2.9 Criticism of the settlement
- 2.10 Merits of the settlement
- 2.11 Concert of Europe
 - 2.11.1 Congress of Aix-la-chapelle, 1818
 - 2.11.2 Congress of Troppau, 1820
 - 2.11.3 Congress of Laiback, 1821
 - 2.11.4 Congress of Verona, 1822
 - 2.11.5 Failure of the concert
- 2.12 Metternich and his policy
- 2.13 Carlsbad Decrees, 1819
- 2.14 New settlement
 - 2.14.1 Spain
 - 2.14.2 Russia
 - 2.14.3 England and France
- 2.15 Verona Declaration by England 1822
- 2.16 Spanish American Revolt and its Success
 - 2.16.1 Monroe Doctrine
- 2.17 Holy Alliance
- 2.18 Let us Sum up
- 2.19 Check your progress - Answers
- 2.20 Exam. model questions
- 2.21 Books for Further Reading

2.0 OBJECTIVES

From a study of this unit you should be able to

1. Trace the circumstances leading to the meeting of the congress of Vienna
2. Estimate Metterrich's role in it
3. Analyse Provisions of the settlement of Vienna and
4. Explain the concept of Europe and the Holy Alliance

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Congress of Vienna was necessitated by the collapse of the Napoleonic empire due to Napoleon's defeat in 1815. The congress of Vienna is a landmark in world History. Though the settlement drawn by the congress was in many ways imperfect, it served the limited purpose of making political adjustments in Europe after Napoleon's defeat. The principles on which the Vienna settlement was based, and other information connected with the congress of Vienna are discussed in this Unit. The Congress of Vienna created the concept of Europe. It was a new experiment in the field of international relations. Another concept connected with international relations of that period has the Holy Alliance. Information regarding the congress as of the concept of Europe and the Holy Alliance is also given in this Unit.

2.2 EXTENT OF THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

Napoleon was not only a great military genius, but also a rare and remarkable conqueror and empire-builder. He ruled over a vast empire. This vast empire was built up on the basis of his marvellous victories. He became the Emperor of France in 1804. Between 1804 and 1807, he defeated the great powers of Europe viz., Austria, Prussia and Russia. It was only England that was not defeated by him. Several small states came under his control. His authority reached its zenith in 1807. He was hailed as the French Emperor and the King of Italy. His kith and kin were installed on several thrones in Europe. In short, he greatly unsettled or disturbed the political map of Europe.

Napoleon who disturbed the political peace and map of Europe, was in turn disturbed by a variety of factors:

1. The failure of the Continental system
2. The disastrous Russian invasion
3. The formation of coalition
4. The rise of new Europe, particularly Spain and Prussia

Napoleon had to face two forces into which Europe was divided at that time, the first being the conservatives. The rulers were conservatives. The second was that of the peoples of Europe under liberal influences. The two great battles of Leipzig in 1813 and Waterloo in 1815, totally discredited his military might. His political power collapsed like a house of cards.

2.3 NEED TO REORGANISE EUROPE

The collapse of political power of Napoleon was the occasion for redrawing the political map of Europe. We have noted in the earlier paragraphs how his marvellous victories and his all-consuming ambition disturbed the map of Europe. The victorious powers assembled at Vienna to restore Europe to the Pre-Napoleonic era.

2.4 METTERNICH'S ROLE IN THE CONGRESS

Metternich, the clever and crafty Chancellor of Austria played an important role in the Congress of Vienna. In fact, Vienna was chosen the venue of negotiations and settlement, as Austria organised coalitions against Napoleon which finally brought about his downfall. Besides, Austria suffered great losses during the rise of Napoleon's military dictatorship. For these reasons, Vienna was chosen as the venue in recognition of Austria's special role in the fall of Napoleon.

2.5 COUNTRIES WHICH ATTENDED THE CONGRESS

Austria, Prussia, Russia and England were represented at the Congress. The Austrian Chancellor, Metternich was the high-priest of the Congress. Prussia was represented by King Frederick William III, Russia by its Czar Alexander I, England by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, Austria by its Emperor, Francis I and his conservative Chancellor, Metternich, and France by its diplomatic foreign minister, Talleyrand. All these were men of outstanding statesmanship. But, they were interested in strengthening the dynastic rule of the Royal Houses of Europe, preventing France from rising again, and in maintaining the balance of power in Europe.

2.6 INITIAL DIFFICULTIES - POLAND QUESTION

The Congress developed teething troubles because of deep-rooted differences between the big powers. Though they were united in a common cause to defeat a great enemy like Napoleon, the conservative rulers of Europe had their differences governed by their own or respective national interests. This became the crux of the problem of the Polish question. Czar Alexander-I wanted to carve out Poland as a national state under Russian control. To achieve this object, he occupied the Polish territory which was under Austrian and Prussian occupation. As a measure of compensation, he offered some territory in Italy to Austria, and Saxony to Prussia. While Prussia was happy with the compensation, Austria was afraid that Russia would become too strong with a united Poland under its control. Hence, Austria opposed the occupation of Poland by Russia. England, which shared the anxiety of Austria, lent strong support to this move. A difficult situation threatening an outbreak of war between the big powers developed. But, this difficult situation was overcome by a clever compromise formula proposed by Talleyrand. Talleyrand's proposal enabled Russia to acquire a large chunk of Polish territory.

2.7 PRINCIPLES

The Vienna Settlement was said to be governed by the four principles of Restoration, Balance of power, Legitimacy and Compensation.

Metternich proposed the first principle of restoration. This meant the restoration of the pre-Napoleonic order in Europe. While achieving this, adequate care was to be taken to maintain the balance of power between the European Powers. This goes by the name, balance of power. Talleyrand proposed the third principle of legitimacy. He wanted the European powers not be loose sight of this in their anger and anxiety to break up the Napoleonic French empire. That the European powers which brought about the final fall of Napoleon should be compensated, was the fourth principle.

2.8 SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS

1. The old Bourbon dynasty in France, Spain and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, the Orange family in Holland, the House of Savoy in Sardinia and Piedmont and the Papal authority in central Italy were restored.

2. The united Netherlands was revived by uniting Catholic Belgium with Protestant Holland. This was done in order to hold back France from further advantages in Europe. The Congress felt the need for organising a strong state on the northern frontier.
3. Austria gained a great hold in Italy by acquiring Venetia and Lombardy and the central Italian States of Tuscany, Parma and Modena were ceded to the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria.
4. Russia and Prussia obtained Finland and Pomerania from Sweden respectively. Sweden was compensated by the addition of Norway which was separated from Denmark. Thus, Denmark was made to suffer for lining up with Napoleon during his era.
5. Britain obtained the French and Spanish commercial settlements, Cape colony in South Africa, Ceylon and other islands.
6. Prussia was the largest beneficiary from the Settlement of Vienna. She not only regained what she had lost to Napoleon, but gained in addition Swedish Pomerania, nearly half of Saxony, entire Westphalia, and a large chunk of the Rhineland. Thus, Prussia was built up as a bulwark against France. It was to the credit of Prussia that she consolidated herself as a growing industrial country which enabled her to play a prominent part in European political affairs in the 19th and 20th centuries.
7. The Holy Roman Empire as such was not revived. A confederation of German states under Austrian presidency was organised. The member states were to enjoy autonomy in internal matters.

Besides these territorial arrangements and political changes, the notable achievements of the Congress include efforts for the abolition of slave trade and certain changes in the dealings of European powers.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Who represented Prussia in the congress of Vienna?

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2. What were the important principles which formed the basis for the Vienna settlement?

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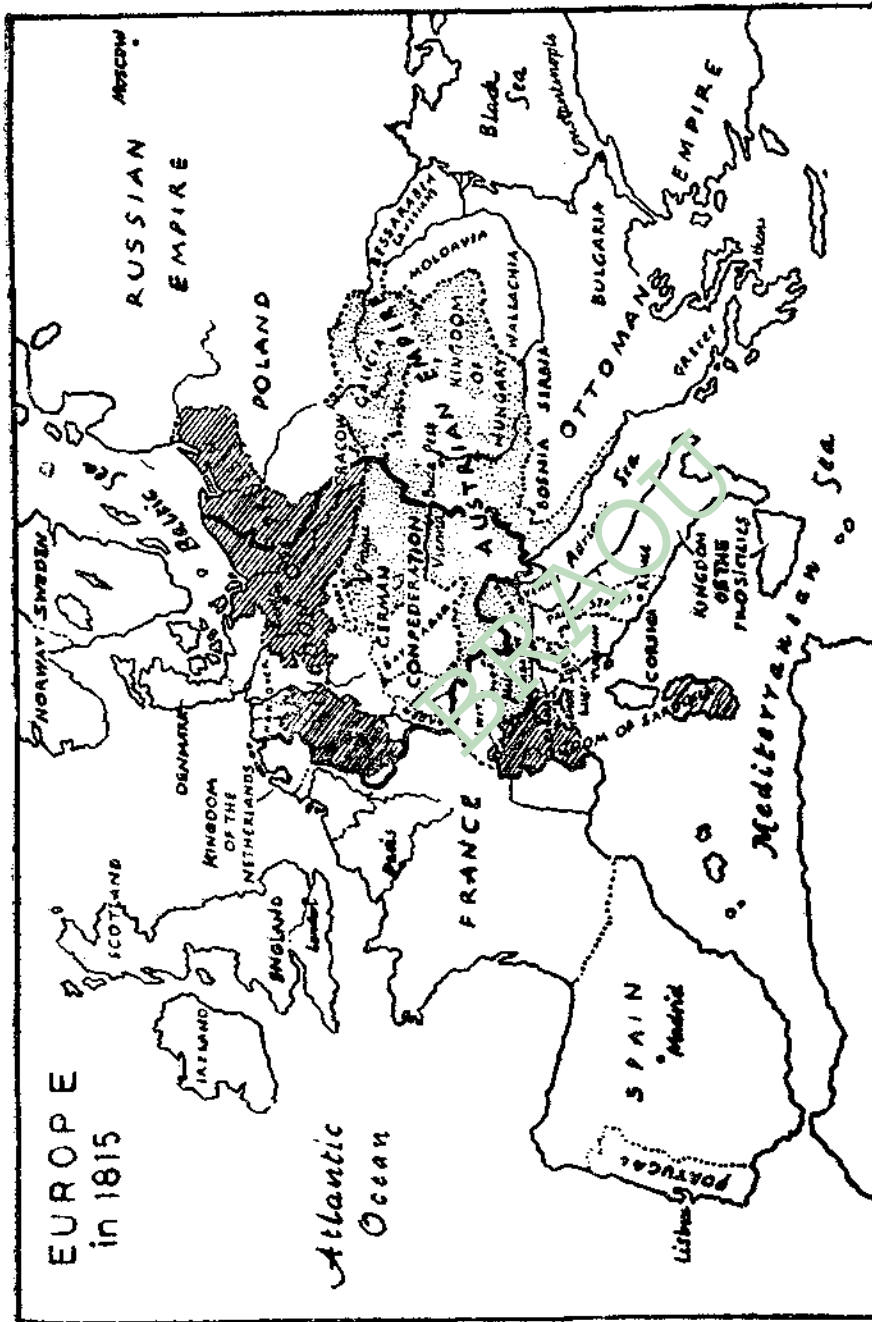
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2.9 CRITICISM OF THE SETTLEMENT

The Settlement was subjected to a volley of criticisms. In the very first instance, it was no Congress in the real sense of the term. All decisions were arrived at in secret consultation between the big powers. The lesser states were simply taken for a ride. They were made to

agree to these decisions which were neither healthy nor desirable. In fact, the principles said to be governing the Settlement were not only self-contradictory, but opposed to one another. The Congress totally ignored the sentiment of nationalism which was gaining strength day by day. A great historian like H.A.L. Fisher observes that the principles are not consistent, and nothing but rhetorical nonsense.

The territorial arrangements made in the Congress were done with a view to dividing the spoils between the conquerors. Finland, Norway and Belgium had a raw deal at the hands of the big powers. The Settlement was totally lop-sided. It stuck to the conservative ideas and as such, totally ignored the liberals. In particular, the religious



EUROPE IN 1815

sentiments and nationalist aspirations of Belgium were given a go-by by its unnatural union with Holland. The aspirations of Poland were ignored. The restoration of the Bourbons in Spain and Naples frustrated the hopes of the liberals. In short, the Settlement was one-sided in view, and totally conservative in character.

2.10 MERITS OF THE SETTLEMENT

However, it is not without its own merits. It is said that in a way, the Vienna Settlement forms a landmark in history. It was an attempt to give peace to Europe. It was an effort for stability, not revenge. It is true that the peace-makers at Vienna represented the old regime, and to a large extent, they were untouched by the new ideas. However, they represented the best of the old regime. It also involved a minimum of ideological passion, and a maximum of realism. Liberal and lenient policy towards France enabled her to pay off her war indemnity and free herself from allied occupation earlier than stipulated. This generous treatment of France averted any major war in Europe for nearly a century between 1815 and 1914. At the same time, it protected Europe against the dangers of Napoleonic military adventures. By strengthening the Kingdoms of Prussia and Sardinia, nationalism was facilitated to triumph, culminating in the unifications of Germany and Italy.

Above all, the Vienna Congress was quite a novel and interesting experiment in international meetings. It set the right tone for resolving political problems or issues across a conference table through peaceful means. Its importance lies in solving certain difficult issues and preservation of peace for quite some time.

2.11 CONCERT OF EUROPE

It was a means to oversee the working of and also to secure the permanence of the Vienna Settlement. The idea of the Concert of Europe was first suggested by the Austrian Chancellor, Kaunitz earlier. It was a system of diplomacy by conferences, a novel and interesting experiment of the 19th century.

England, Austria, Prussia and Russia entered into the Quadruple Alliance in November, 1815. The period of this Alliance came to be known as the era of Congresses.

It held four Congresses --

1. At Aix-la-chapelle in 1818;
2. At Troppau in 1820;
3. At Laibach in 1821. and
4. At Verona in 1822.

The details of these congress are given.

2.11.1 Congress of Aix-la-chappelle, 1818

The Concert of Europe held its first Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. Metternich described it as a prettier little Congress. This Congress admitted France into the Concert of Europe since it paid off the whole of her war indemnity. With her admission, the Quadruple Alliance was transformed into the Quintuple Alliance.

The following were its chief achievements :

- 1) Calling upon the King of Sweden to explain why he ignored the Vienna Settlement regarding Norway and Denmark.
- 2) Ordering the ruler of Monaco to improve his administration.

- 3) Dealing with the question of disputed succession to the Duchy of Baden.
- 4) However, deep differences continued between the powers. For instance, regarding the rebellious colonies of Spain (in Latin America), England was opposed to bring them back under the Spanish control. Thus, she was not prepared to accept the general principle of international control.

2.11.2 Congress of Troppau, 1820

It met in the wake of the outbreak of revolution in Naples, Spain, and Portugal, where the people had forced their kings to grant them liberal constitutions. The great powers, no doubt, condemned the revolutions, but they differed on the steps to be taken to meet the situation. It passed the famous Protocol of Troppau, justifying the interference of one state in the internal affairs of other states. England refused to be a party to this declaration, since it was against the big powers performing policing of Europe.

2.11.3 Congress of Laibach, 1821

The third Congress was held at Laibach in Yugoslavia in 1821. Austria was allowed to suppress the revolt in Naples by sending her troops there. She succeeded in suppressing the revolts in Naples and Piedmont as well.

2.11.4 Congress of Varona, 1822

The next Congress was held at Varona in Italy. The Greek war of independence and revolt in Spain came up before this Congress. With regard to the former, Austria and England were opposed to the Russian interference in the internal affairs of Turkey. France wanted to interfere in Spain, and it was supported by Russia, Prussia and Austria. England which was opposed to this line of interference, withdrew from the Congress. Her withdrawal ended the era of Congresses.

2.11.5 Failure of the Concert

Mutual jealousies of the great powers made the Concert a failure. It degenerated into an agency to preserve autocracy by suppressing democracy, nationalism and liberalism. However, the Concert of Europe as a concept or an idea (a political and diplomatic innovation) of personal conference among the leaders, was excellent.

2.12 METTERNICH AND HIS POLICY

Prince Metternich was born in 1773 in a noble family in Germany. He was educated at Strassburg University, and entered the diplomatic service of Austria when he was quite young. He had diplomatic assignments in Germany, Russia and France which enabled him to acquire first-hand and intimate knowledge of European affairs. At the age of 36, he was appointed Chancellor of Austria, which position he held for 40 long years. In fact, he so dominated the affairs of Europe between 1818 and 1848 that he was nicknamed as the Prime Minister of Europe.

He was opposed to all revolutionary ideas and forms of revolution. He described the French Revolution as both a disease and volcano. He played a significant role in bringing about the final fall of Napoleon. He was the high-priest of the Congress of Vienna. He was an arch-reactionary, and had distrusted democracy, liberalism and constitutionalism.

He was a diehard conservative. He was an architect of autocratic regimes in Europe. He declared that the people of Europe needed peace and not liberty. Austria became the centre of conservatism under his charge. He did not hesitate to suppress liberalism with brute force wherever it tried to emerge.

2.13.1 Carlsbad Decrees, 1819

The Carlsbad Decrees of 1819 stand as a great testimony to his reactionary regime. Censorship was imposed on the press. Universities were brought under state control. University teaching was placed under close and constant vigil of the government. Professors and students were threatened with expulsion if they showed any liberal and dangerous tendencies. Student associations were to be formed only with official permission. Foreign travel was prohibited. Special commissions were set up to trace conspiracies and punish the culprits. Police spies were engaged to discover even slight liberal opinions. Men were exiled or imprisoned on mere suspicion. These Carlsbad Decrees were strictly enforced.

2.14 NEW SETTLEMENT

2.14.1 Spain

The Bourbon king, Ferdinand restored to the kingdom of Spain in the wake of Vienna Settlement, cancelled the constitution, and restored to repressive measures. But, the liberals in Spain forced the king to become a constitutional monarch. However, it was only a short lived affair, since French forces with the instigation of Metternich suppressed the liberals, and the autocracy of Ferdinand was revived. The liberals in the neighbouring Portugal were also suppressed.

2.14.2 Russia

Czar Alexander I of Russia, though a liberal to start with, soon came under the spell of Metternich. This change in him was caused by the mutiny of the imperial guards at Petrograd. He declared his conversion to Metternich at the Congress of Troppau. To quote him *"so we are at one, Prince. You have correctly judged the state of affairs. I deplore the waste of time which we must try to repair. I am here without any fixed ideas, without any plan. Tell me what you desire, and what you wish me to do"*. He excelled even Metternich in his reactionary measures. His successor, Nicholas I was the number one enemy of liberalism.

2.14.3 England and France

In England and France, the situation was not very much different. The governments of the day lent support to the conservative order. The Tory Government in England was opposed to all revolutionary ideas. The radicals were treated with repressive enactments. Louis XVIII, a typical Bourbon was restored to the French throne. His policy was a half-way between conservatism and liberalism. The liberals were mercilessly massacred. Terror-stricken liberals did not dare to contest in the elections. Therefore, the Chamber of Deputies came under the control of conservatives. The murder of the king's nephew in 1820 by a liberal, led to the cruel suppression of the liberals.

The accession of Charles X to the French throne in 1824 resulted in the implementation of reactionary policies of Metternich in France. Thus, Spain, Russia, England and France followed the reactionary policies of Metternich between 1815 and 1830. Naturally, liberal and revolutionary ideas were completely suppressed. In other words, Europe was in the grip of conservatism, Metternich became the unquestioned leader.

2.15 VERONA DECLARATION BY ENGLAND

We had noted earlier in this lesson how the Concert of Europe was divided or split when the Greek war of independence and the revolt in Spain came up before the Congress of Verona in 1822. England questioned the right of the powers to interfere in the internal affairs of other

states. The United States of America for her own reasons, lent support to the British view point. This view point weakened the Concert of Europe. England further declared that the states concerned should enjoy the right to self-determination, and made it categorically clear that it was opposed to interference in the internal affairs of the states. After this Verona declaration, England withdrew from the Concert of Europe, and with its withdrawal ended the era of Congresses.

2.16 SPANISH AMERICAN REVOLT AND ITS SUCCESS

The period between 1808 - 1820 witnessed the revolt of the Spanish American colonies against Spain. This was also known as the Latin American Liberation movement. By 1820, these colonies declared themselves independent of Spain. For commercial reasons, England supported the Latin American Liberation movement.

2.16.1 Monroe Doctrine

James Monroe, the President of U.S.A. enunciated his famous doctrine in 1823. Its two principles of non-colonisation and non-intervention were a warning against possible intervention by the powers of Concert of Europe in the American continent. The triumph of Latin American Liberation movement and the emergence of Mexico, Columbia, Argentina and Chile as republics, were serious set-backs to the interventionist policy of Metternich. Brazil, a Portuguese colony copied the example, and revolted against Portugal, and declared herself independent in 1822.

2.17 HOLY ALLIANCE

It was the brain-child of Czar Alexander I of Russia. He was variously described as a visionary, a mystic, a man of many moods and unstable imagination. Perhaps, he was a bit of all these.

He entertained certain liberal views. His Holy Alliance was an attempt to make the Eastern European States observe the principles of Christianity like love, kindness and non-aggression in their dealings with one another, and with their people as well. Some described it as a coming together of the crowned Christian Kings of Europe. But unfortunately, the scheme remained still-born, since the Czar failed to provide it with a body politic or working machinery or order. Hence, it came to be treated with scant respect as a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense, and a high-sounding nothing. It was also regarded as a symbol of reaction, and a league of princes against liberalism. The liberals viewed both the Concert of Europe and the Holy Alliance as a diabolic conspiracy of the conservative regimes to stall the growth of liberal ideas.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which was the force which was not taken into consideration while drafting the Vienna Settlement?

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2. Which was the first and which was the last congress held by the concert of Europe?

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3. What were the principles mentioned in the Munroe Doctrine?

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4. Who proposed the creation of the Holy Alliance?

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2.18 LET US SUM UP

1. The Vienna settlement was based on the four principles of Restoration, balance of power, legitimacy and compensation.
2. The concert of Europe was a unique experiment in international relations to solve international problems.
3. Czar Alexander I of Russia started the Holy Alliance with a view to make the christian nations observe the christian principles in solving the problems between christian nations.
4. Non-colonisation and non-intervention in Latin-American states were the principles of Munroe doctrine.

2.19 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I
1. Czar Alexander I represented Russia in the congress Vienna.
 2. Restoration, Balance of power, legitimacy and compensation were the important principles which formed the basis of the Vienna Settlement.
- II
1. The force of nationalism was not taken into consideration while preparing the Vienna Settlement.
 2. Aix-la-chappelle was the first congress and Verona was the last congress.
 3. Non-colonisation and non-intervention.
 4. Czar Alexander I.

2.20 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Discuss the defects and merits of the Vienna Settlement.
2. Estimate the role of Metterrich in Europe after the defeat of Napoleon.
3. Write about the achievements and failure of concert of Europe.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Which were the major powers who participated in the congress of Vienna? What were the important objectives of the congress?
2. Write about the significance of the Munroe Doctrine.
3. Give a brief account of the Holy Alliance.

2.21 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Grant A.J. : *The story of Europe during last Five centuries.*
2. Grant and Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.*
3. Hayes, C.J.H. : *Modern Europe up to 1870.*
4. Hazen C.D. : *Europe since 1815.*
5. Kettelby C.D.M. : *History of Europe.*

— L. VENKATA SWAMY

UNIT-3 : THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848

Contents

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 July Revolution in France
- 3.3 Spread of the Revolution
 - 3.3.1 Belgium Netherlands
 - 3.3.2 Portugal
 - 3.3.3 Spain
- 3.4 Suppression of the Revolts
- 3.5 Liberalism between 1830 and 1848
- 3.6 Revolution of 1848 in France
- 3.7 Revolts in other countries
 - 3.7.1 Austria
 - 3.7.2 Hungary
 - 3.7.3 Bohemia
 - 3.7.4 Italy
 - 3.7.5 Germany
- 3.8 Impact of the Revolutions
- 3.9 Let us Sum up
- 3.10 Check your progress . Answers
- 3.11 Examination Model Questions
- 3.12 Books for Further Reading

3.0 OBJECTIVES

From a study of this unit you should be able to

1. Trace the circumstances leading to the 1830 and 1848 revolutions.
2. Analyse the nature of those revolutions
3. Explain the effects and the significance of the two revolutions.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The period between 1830 and 1848 is a very important period in European History. It was a period of two important revolutions. The first one took place in July 1830 in France and the second one took place in February 1848. The two revolutions were attempts to put an end to the reactionary policies of the rulers. Those revolutions had chain reactions in other European countries, where also popular revolts took place against the arbitrary regimes.

3.2 JULY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Charles X became the king of France in 1824. It was said about him that he had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. He was a man of prejudices and fixed convictions. He had blind

faith in the supremacy of the Catholic Church. In other words, he was a total conservative. His measures suppressing the liberals alienated him from the middle class. His decision to indemnify the emigres to the tune of a billion francs was widely resented by the people. The Chamber of Deputies also rejected the measure. He dissolved it and ordered fresh elections. But, the new House also vehemently criticised the king's proposal

Enraged by this, Charles X issued ordinances suspending the freedom of the press, dissolving the newly elected Chamber of Deputies and ordering fresh elections under restricted franchise. The ordinances were challenged by the people who built barricades in the streets. They were demolished by the government. But, the National Guards and the regular troops also joined the people who became the masters of Paris on 29th July, 1830. This came to be known as July Revolution.

Charles X abdicated and left for England with his family. Thiers, Guizot and Talleyrand offered the throne to Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans. Freedom of the press was restored, and franchise was extended. Louis Philippe's initial liberal reforms caused great concern to the countries under Metternich's influence. In France, it replaced the Bourbon dynasty by the Orleanists.

3.3 SPREAD OF THE REVOLUTION

3.3.1 Belgium Netherlands

The Congress of Vienna imposed an unnatural union between Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland. The Belgians had a number of grievances against Holland. These grievances widened the gulf between the two groups. It is said that some months before the July Revolution in France, the antagonism between the Belgians and their government was so violent that there was no need for outside influence to bring about trouble in Belgium. However, the July Revolution offered the necessary spark.

There was an armed revolt against Holland in Brussels. The revolt spread to the countryside also. Belgium was declared independent in 1830. England (for commercial reasons) and the liberal government of France recognised independent Belgium. Metternich, who was a great deal troubled by Italian and German problems, could not interfere. Czar Nicholas I of Russia was busy with the suppression of Polish revolt, and hence, had no time to interfere. The French threat to Prussia held her back from any interference. All these facilitated the success of the Belgian revolt and the triumph of nationalism in Belgium.

3.3.2 Portugal

The impact of these two revolutions was immense on Portugal. The king of Portugal, Michael was a die hard conservative. He imposed repressive measures with the support of his followers on the liberals. But, in 1831, the King's brother Pedro with the British support, assumed leadership of the liberals. His aim was to make Maria, the queen of Portugal. This led to a civil war lasting a couple of years. Michael was defeated in the civil war, and Pedro made Maria, the queen of Portugal. She was responsible for a democratic constitution and a series of reforms.

3.3.3 Spain

Ferdinand VII was imposed on the Spaniards as their king by the Congress of Vienna. The Spaniards rose in revolt in 1820, forcing their king to abolish Inquisition and grant a constitution. However, he continued his autocratic regime till he died in 1833. His death was a signal for succession disputes. Isabella II, the daughter of Ferdinand occupied the throne with the support of liberals against her uncle (the dead king's brother), the autocratic Charles. Since Isabella was a minor, her mother Christiana became the regent. She granted a liberal constitution to the people.

3.4 SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLTS

Western European countries witnessed successful revolutions bringing the liberals to the fore. England and France experienced quite a number of liberal reforms. Though the policy of Metternich received a set-back in Western Europe, it still held its sway over Eastern European countries. Austria, Prussia and Russia continued their support to the system of Metternich. These countries mercilessly suppressed the revolts in Germany and Italy in 1830. Prussia and Russia intensified their autocratic rule. Poland was the worst sufferer at the hands of Russia. To sum up, it can be said that the system of Metternich was still strong even though the liberals won some notable victories.

3.5 LIBERALISM BETWEEN 1830-1848

The period between 1830 and 1848 witnessed the rapid rise of liberalism which was widespread particularly in Central Europe. The reactionary regimes in Russia, Prussia and Austria failed to arrest this trend, despite their resorting to all sorts of autocratic measures.

Liberalism held great attraction and exercised tremendous influence on the middle class and the towns-folk, occupational and commercial classes, who recognised its importance and promoted its spreading. The cumulative effect of all these was that, Central Europe was ripe for large doses of liberalism. This was the situation obtaining around 1847 A.D.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Which was the immediate cause of the 1830 revolution?

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2. What were the forces which influenced the revolts in Europe between 1830 and 1848?

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3.6 REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

Louis Philippe was called the citizen king. The middle class remained supreme although his regime. All his populist measures were undermined by the reactionary policies of his Catholic Prime Minister, Guizot. Parliamentary and press freedoms were endangered. A series of meaningless and offensive measures rendered his regime reactionary and autocratic. Liberals, desirous of democratic measures, organised meetings in Paris. Louis Philippe banned the Monster Banquet fixed for 22nd February, 1848. This precipitated matters. The enraged workers and students defied the ban, and assembled, and raised slogans for reforms. The National Anthem, 'Marseillaise' was sung, and bonafires were lighted in the streets. National Guards who were sent to restore order, joined the ranks of the agitators.

The agitators shouted, "down with Guizot". The embarrassed king asked Guizot to resign, but the situation went from bad to worse, when the Guards posted at Guizot's house fired on the demonstrators killing 23, and injuring thirty of them. They built the barricades and displayed placards with the these words : "Louis Philippe massacres us as did Charles X. Let him go to join Charles X". Thoroughly discredited, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, and left for England as Mr. Smith. A republic was proclaimed, and a provisional government was set up with Lamartine as its head. The revolution was total. France became a republic for the second time.

3.7 REVOLTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

It was rightly remarked that if France caught cold, Europe sneezed. The February Revolution of France spread to other European countries. This Revolution greatly affected the political fortunes of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia.

3.7.1 Austria

In march, 1848, Vienna witnessed demonstrations by students and workers. They gathered in large numbers in front of the palace and residence of Metternich. The security guards sympathised with the agitators. An attack was mounted on Metternich's house, and it was destroyed. Metternich realising the seriousness of the situation, resigned and fled to England accompanied by his wife. The Austrian emperor was wise enough to form a ministry with the liberals. A new constitution was proclaimed. Social, religious and political rights of the people were recognised. Serfdom was abolished.

3.7.2 Hungary

The flight of Metternich was the occasion for revolt in Hungary under its leader, Kossuth. The Hungarians in revolt achieved several reforms. Ministers were made responsible to the legislature. Freedom of the press was granted. A National Guard was set up. Feudalism, serfdom and aristocratic privileges were abolished. In short, Hungary emerged as an independent state with its own flag within the Austrian Empire.

3.7.3 Bohemia

There was a revolt also in Bohemia. Prague its capital, was the scene of revolts. The liberals organised a separate legislature, ministry, and army of their own. The Austrian emperor agreed to all these arrangements.

3.7.4 Italy

The fall and flight of Metternich in Austria led to revolts in Milan, Venice, Parma and Modena in Italy. It was in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies that the revolt first started. King Ferdinand was forced to grant a liberal constitution. Charles Albert, the king of Piedmont and Sardinia, introduced democratic and constitutional monarchy.

3.7.5 Germany

In March, 1848, there was a revolt in Berlin. The king of Prussia, Frederick William IV, who was surprised and terrified, promised to summon Prussian parliament. But unfortunately, there were clashes in the streets of Berlin between the mob and the troops. A few hundred died in the fighting. The king was wise enough to appoint a ministry and summon a constitution-making body. This body set up a liberal and representative constitution. This measure had influenced other German states. The spirit of nationalism exercised good control over the events. Under

these conditions, the Frankfurt Parliament consisting of representatives from all over Germany met in 1848 to draft a new constitution for united Germany. Thus, Austrian control over Germany collapsed.

This liberal wave influenced Holland and Denmark as well. The revolts in these countries forced the kings to grant democratic constitutions.

3.8 IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION

Revolutions of 1830 in Western Europe and 1848 in Central Europe were successful against autocratic regimes, and greatly discredited the reactionary policies of Metternich. But, it must be remembered that these Revolutions influenced to a very large extent, the middle class and the townfolk only. The tradition-bound rural people were not greatly influenced by them. The feudal lords and higher officials of Church organisation were opposed to all these liberal movements. Social conflicts and tensions also developed between the middle class and the working class in the towns. Some demanded liberty, whereas others considered security more important than liberty.

These tensions and conflicts weakened the liberal movement. In June 1848, the movement was suppressed, and military rule imposed. In Italy, except in Sardinia, in all other states liberals were suppressed. Reactionary regimes were revised. In Austria, Hungary and Prussia, there was a vigorous revival of reactionary regimes. All liberal constitutions and reforms were abolished. But, all attempts were made to stall the revival of reactionary regimes in Austria and Prussia and also to set up republican states. These attempts were foiled. With the failure of these attempts, once again Europe passed under the old political set-up, Liberalism was thrown into the background.

However, it must be borne in mind that though the liberal movements failed, the impact of liberalism lingered on. Although liberal movements were suppressed, liberal ideas were at work, particularly among the middle class. For instance, abolished serfdom was not revived, and the old feudal order was also not revived. Representative legislatures, responsible ministers, elections, constitutional monarchy that rose in the wake of revolutions continued. Therefore, it would be correct to say that liberalism was thrown into the background, but it did not disappear. It was evident by 1860 that the liberals gained in numbers, strength and in their influence.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. In which year did the second Republic of France come into existence?

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2. Whom did the 1830 and 1848 revolutions influence most?

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3.9 LET US SUM UP

1. The July 1830 revolution of France replaced the Bourbon dynasty with the Orleans dynasty on the French throne, Louis Philippe became the king of France.
2. The 1830 revolution of France led to a series of revolts against autocracies in Austria, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain.
3. With the February revolution of 1848, France again became a republic.
4. The 1848 revolution led to a series of revolts in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Italy and Germany.
5. Due to the 1830 and 1848 revolutions, liberalism, democracy and nationalism became strong forces in Europe.

3.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I
1. The ordinances issued in 1830 curbing the freedom of people was the immediate cause for the 1830 revolutions.
 2. Liberalism, democracy and nationalism were the important features which influenced the revolts between 1830 and 1848 in Europe.
- II
1. 1848
 2. The 1830 and 1848 revolutions mostly influenced the upper middle class people.

3.11 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Explain the causes, results and the significance of the 1830 revolutions.
 2. Discuss the causes, results and the significance of the 1848 revolution.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Write a brief note on the impact of the 1830 and 1848 revolutions.
 2. What were the effects of the 1830 and 1848 revolutions.

3.12 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

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|------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Grant A.J. | : | <i>The story of Europe During last Five centuries</i> |
| 2. Grant and Temperley | : | <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries</i> |
| 3. Hayes J.H. | : | <i>Modern Europe up to 1870</i> |
| 4. Hazen C.D. | : | <i>Europe since 1815</i> |
| 5. Kettelby C.D.M. | : | <i>History of Europe</i> |

– I. VENKATA SWAMY

UNIT-4 : NAPOLEON III - SECOND REPUBLIC - INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES

Contents

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Formation of the Second Republic in 1848
- 4.3 Napoleon III (1803 - 1873)
 - 4.3.1 Early Career
 - 4.3.2 As President - Conflict with the National Assembly and its Dissolution
 - 4.3.3 The New Constitution, 1852
 - 4.3.4 Napoleon III as Emperor
 - 4.3.5 His Internal Policy
 - 4.3.6 Foreign Policy
 - 4.3.6.1 Establishment of Colonies
 - 4.3.6.2 Relations with Russia
 - 4.3.6.3 Relations with Italy
 - 4.3.6.4 Relations with Rumania
 - 4.3.6.5 Relations with Poland
 - 4.3.7 Beginning of the downfall of Napoleon
 - 4.3.7.1 Mexican adventure
 - 4.3.7.2 Intervention in Germany
 - 4.3.8 Estimate of Napoleon
- 4.4 Let us sum up
- 4.5 Check Your Progress : Answers
- 4.6 Model Examination Questions
- 4.7 Books for Further Reading

4.0 OBJECTIVES

From a study of this unit you should be able to

1. Trace the circumstances leading to the establishment of the II republic in France in 1848,
2. Analyse the circumstances leading to Louis Napoleon's rise to power and his emergence as emperor and
3. Napoleon III's internal and external policies.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit the establishment of the II Republic of France in 1848, the rise of Louis Napoleon to power, first as president of France and later as emperor are discussed. Louis Napoleon's internal and external policies are also discussed in this unit.

4.2 FORMATION OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC IN 1848

The February 1848 Revolution was largely the work of the Republicans and the Socialists. So, in the Provisional Government that was set up after Louis Philippe's abdication the Socialists secured a representation, and they began to put forward all sorts of revolutionary demands. Louis Blanc was the leader of the Socialists. Universal suffrage was introduced. Provision was made for all classes in the National army. National workshops were set up. But, the workshops failed to function on expected lines. However, the Socialists controlled the government for the first three months. Elections were held in May, 1848 on the basis of universal suffrage. A National Assembly was formed. A majority of the members of the Assembly were moderates. They felt that the National Workshops were a failure, and stopped payment to the workers. The Socialists rose in revolt in Paris. But the revolt was put down by General Cavaignac who was vested with temporary dictatorial powers. Socialist forces were thoroughly suppressed. Louis Blanc fled to England. Another Socialist leader Proudhon was imprisoned. Thus, the Socialist experiment ended. The National Assembly under the influence of the moderates produced the framework of the Republican Constitution.

They provided for a Legislative Assembly (only one chamber) of 750 members to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. The head of the executive was to be a President, who was to be elected directly by the people for a tenure of four years. He was not eligible for re election. The council of ministers was to be chosen by him. However, he did not enjoy the right to veto the decisions of the legislature.

4.3 NAPOLEON III (1808 TO 1873 A.D.)

The Presidential election took place under the new constitution in December, 1848. Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected President by an overwhelming majority of votes. For about two decades, he was the central figure not only in the history of France, but also in the history of Europe.

4.3.1 His Early Career

Louis Napoleon was the son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I, and the king of Holland. He was born in Paris in 1808. After the battle of Waterloo, he took refuge along with his mother in Switzerland. He made an unsuccessful attempt to return to France during the 1830 Revolution. He joined the secret organisation, 'Carbonari' in Italy, and took part in the revolt against the Pope in 1831, but was imprisoned. He was released on the intervention of his mother. He wrote two books - 1) *Napoleonic Ideas*, and 2) *Extinction of Pauperism* in which, he not only glorified the great Napoleon, but also propounded his own political views. The French, disgusted with the lack-lustre regime of Louis Philippe, dreamed of the great Napoleon as a great hero, and a man of destiny. So, the Napoleonic legend was revived. Louis Napoleon tried to take advantage of this situation by making two unsuccessful attempts to grab political power. He was imprisoned, but escaped in disguise, and fled to England. We have noted earlier how he was elected President under the new constitution in 1848. The French considered him as the successor of the great Napoleon.

4.3.2 Louis Napoleon as President - Conflict with the National Assembly and its dissolution

As President of the Republic from 1848 to 1852, he followed a policy to add to his personal popularity with the French. He praised the workers in the factories. He made the Assembly pass a law in 1850 providing for old age insurance. He tried to be neutral between the radicals, moderates, and the liberals. He tried to please the Catholics by sending a French military

expedition to Rome in 1849 to restore the Pope. The special privileges of the Catholic clergy were restored. However, this made him unpopular with the liberals.

The Assembly which was elected in 1849, was under the control of the moderates who were in the majority. It followed a reactionary policy, and thus finally helped him to emerge very strong. It prohibited public meetings and imposed censorship on the press. A law was passed in 1850 by which no one was allowed to vote who had not lived and paid taxes in one and the same district. This disfranchised nearly 3 million workers out of a total of 9 million. There were protests against this, particularly in Paris. He said that as the elected representative of the people, he was opposed to this measure proposed by the Assembly. The conflict between the President and the Assembly continued for more than one year. When the Assembly did not heed the President's warning to withdraw the measure, he dissolved the Assembly, and revived universal suffrage. People expressed their approval of his action through a plebiscite. This empowered him to suppress all opposition. The President was also empowered to prepare a new constitution.

4.3.3 The New Constitution: 1852

The President promulgated a new constitution. The term of the President was extended to ten years. He was to sanction all laws and decrees. The ministers were responsible to him alone. The legislature was to consist of two Houses, under the control of the President. He put his own effigy on national coins. He restored to the army the national buildings. He made a tour of the country and won the people over by his clever and convincing speeches. In November 1852, a plebiscite was held by which, the people approved the transformation of Presidency into a hereditary empire. On 2nd December 1852, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Napoleon III.

4.3.4 Napoleon III as Emperor

He was Emperor of France from 1852 to 1870. During these 18 years of his rule, he influenced not only France, but also Europe in a variety of ways.

4.3.5 His Internal Policy

He was clever enough to win over the support and admiration of several sections of France by a series of well-thought out measures. He tried to fulfil his promises made to the people. Anarchy was suppressed, and social order restored. Industry was encouraged. Means of communication were improved. The railway system of France was completed linking up the four corners of the country. Credit was provided for agriculture, industry and commerce. Two great central banks were established. He followed a liberal industrial policy. The control of the government over private business was gradually lessened. Facilities were provided for the introduction of machinery and organisation of industrial corporations. Savings banks were set up. Tariffs were gradually lowered.

He tried to impress upon the workers that he was one of them. Subsidies were given to their organisations. Provision was made for supplying cheap bread to workers. Holidays were declared for them. Insurance against accidents and old age was provided for. Labour Cooperatives for collective buying and selling were set up. Above all, the right of the workers to strike was recognised. He liked being dubbed '*the Emperor of the Workers*'.

The interests of the farmers were also safeguarded. Their right to private property was guaranteed. The government took keen interest in the vine yards and wheat fields of the peasants. The number of agricultural societies were increased. Breeding of horses was encouraged. Marshes were drained, and thus, more land was made available for cultivation.

The city of Paris was re-built with magnificent public buildings and it looked clean, spacious and splendid. Every attempt was made to make Paris the most beautiful city in the world. A

grand International Exhibition was held in Paris in 1855 to impress the people. He kept the Catholics in good humour by lending support to Catholicism. He increased the hold of the clergymen upon the universities and public schools in France. His wife gave a lot of charity to the Catholic Church.

All these measures led to the integration of political and social ideas of the several sections of French society. In short, these testify to his political sagacity and practical wisdom.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Who were the Socialist leaders of France during the early period of the II Republic?

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2. Give two reasons for the initial success of Napoleon III's Internal Policies.

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4.3.6 Foreign Policy

Napoleon III was primarily a peace lover. He was averse to the beat of the war drums and bloodshed. Actually, he followed a vigorous foreign policy to consolidate his position, or to gain glory for his regime. On occasions, he restored to war to divert the attention of his people from deepening domestic difficulties and disturbances.

4.3.6.1. Establishment of Colonies

He tried to establish a colonial empire beyond the Continent. The administration of the French commercial settlements in West Indies, Latin America, India and Senegal was brought under order. Algeria was annexed, and it became a prosperous French possession in course of time. He aided England against China and thus, many Chinese ports were opened for trade to the Europeans. He sent expeditions to Annam, Cochin, and China. He established a French protectorate in Cambodia.

4.3.6.2 Relations with Russia

There was no love lost between Napoleon III and the Russian Czar, Nicholas I. The Czar considered Napoleon an upstart. He did not like him assuming the title of Emperor. The French liberals resented the Russians, Russian autocracy, commercial barriers, and religious intolerance. In fact, the relations between the French and Russians were bitter.

Certain quarrels arose between the Catholics and Orthodox monks in Palestine. The Czar wanted Turkey to recognise the right of Russia to protect the Orthodox Church of the Turkish Empire. Napoleon III wanted the Sultan to resist Russian aggression, and also offered help

against any such aggression. Napoleon expected not only the support of the French liberals, but also of the liberals everywhere in Europe.

Russia declared war on Turkey in 1853. England and France lent support to Turkey in this war, called the Crimean War. Sardinia, for reasons of her own, joined hands with England and France. Austria was neutral in the War. Russia was defeated, and peace made by the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Napoleon III presided over the Congress of Paris. It not only satisfied his vanity, but also raised his prestige at home and abroad.

4.3.6.3 Relations with Italy

Count Cavour of Sardinia sought Napoleon III's help against Austria in the liberation of Italian territories from Austria. Napoleon III wanted to help Sardinia. However, since he felt that united Italy might become a serious rival to France in the Mediterranean, and he was likely to be criticised by the French Catholics, he delayed his decision. But, two events - one, the attempt on his life in 1853 by an Italian patriot, and the other, an unexpected meeting with Cavour at Plombiers, leading to the Plombiers Treaty - made him decide to help the Italians against Austria. He was promised Savoy and Nice as a reward for his help.

In the War, Sardinia drove the Austrians out of Lombardy with French help. But, all of a sudden, Napoleon III without even consulting Sardinia, entered into a treaty with Austria out of fear and for his own reasons. He was resented by both the French liberals and Italian patriots. But, by 1860, Savoy and Nice were ceded to France, and France agreed to Lombardy, Parma, Modena and Tuscany joining the kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont.

4.3.6.4 Relations with Rumania

Moldavia and Wallachia which were under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, were given autonomy in their affairs by Turkey in 1856. In 1858, Napoleon III secured for them the right to have their own princes and parliaments. He made the big powers agree to the union of these two into Rumania. Thus, he helped the cause of Rumanian unification.

4.3.6.5 Relations with Poland

The Poles, in their efforts to liberate themselves from Russian control, sought Napoleon III's help. The French liberals and Catholics wanted their Emperor to extend help to the fighting Poles. But, he did not go to the rescue of the Poles, for fear of Austria and Prussia helping Russia. He felt that such a situation would be suicidal to France. The result was that the Poles were mercilessly suppressed by the Russians. The French Catholics and liberals resented the inaction of their Emperor. Thus, he lost their support and sympathy.

4.3.7 Beginning of the downfall of Napoleon III

There was a steady decline in his political fortunes after 1866. People were getting fed up with his policies. His internal measures came under heavy fire. Some of his liberal measures and concessions to save himself from the worsening situation were of no avail. He, therefore, tried to divert the attention of his people by a misadventure in Mexico.

4.3.7.1 Mexican Adventure

Though Mexico became independent way back in 1823, she failed to have a stable government. There was a civil war between the poor native peasants and the Spanish American landlords. Benito Juarez a revolutionary among the fighting peasants, became the President of Mexico in 1861. He introduced revolutionary changes. He suspended payment of foreign debts. The creditors appealed to their governments in Europe for help. The United States of America was

in the thick of Civil War at that time. Therefore, Napoleon III occupied Mexico with 30,000 soldiers. He set up Maximilian brother of the Austrian Emperor on the Mexican throne, and a French army was stationed there to support his regime. Napoleon III complimented himself on this clever move.

But, the Mexicans resented foreign rule. In the meanwhile, the United States of America, emerging from the Civil War, applied Monroe Doctrine and ordered France to quit Mexico. Napoleon III who was weary of the project, withdrew the French army and expected Maximilian to retire. Maximilian refused. He decided to fight. However, he was forced to surrender in 1867, and shot dead. Thus, the Mexican adventure proved to be a misadventure and an utter failure. His prestige suffered a serious set-back.

4.3.7.2 Intervention in Germany

Prussia rose rapidly under the leadership of Bismarck. She defeated Austria, and organised the North German Federation. Napoleon III was neutral in the Austro-Prussian War, but this in no way benefited him. His position in France was becoming very shaky as he was under heavy and widespread criticism from almost all sections. Under these trying conditions, he thought that he could save himself by going to war with Prussia. In France, there was a lot of anti-Prussian feeling. The patriots of France hated Prussia because they thought that it was a source of danger to their country. The liberals detested Prussia as a reactionary state. The Catholics disliked it as an intolerant Protestant state. But, Napoleon III was not for going to war with Prussia, for fear of its military might. In fact, he had no stomach for war, but to retain himself in power, war with Prussia was the only way to unite the diametrically opposite sections in France. Also, he had no friend on the Continent. For some reason or the other, he offended the Russians, the Austrians, and the Italians.

Above all, Bismarck realised that war with France was not only necessary, but inevitable for final German unification. At that time, the events in Spain provided the needed fire for war between France and Prussia. The Spaniards revolted against their queen, Isabella II and chose Leopold, a Hohenzollern as their king. When France objected to this, Leopold withdrew from the scene. But, Napoleon III over-reacted, and instructed the French envoy to obtain a guarantee from the Prussian king that no Hohenzollern would be set up on the throne of Spain in future. There took place a meeting between the French envoy and the Prussian king at Ems. Bismarck obtained the Ems telegram regarding the interview. He shortened the telegram in such a way that to the French, it appeared that their envoy had been insulted, and to the Prussians that their king had been insulted.

The French were celebrating their National Day. The Ems Telegram enraged the French people who demanded war against Prussia. France entered the War with all enthusiasm, but no adequate preparation was made, whereas Prussia entered the War after making very elaborate preparation, as it was determined to crush France. Therefore, when the War broke out, France was easily defeated by Prussia in several battles. By August 1870, the French position was so bad that the Emperor had to take the field. He was warned against any temporary withdrawal of French forces by his queen. He had no other go, but to continue the War. He was utterly defeated in the battle of Sedan fought on 1st and 2nd September, 1870. He surrendered along with 80,000 soldiers. The utter defeat and surrender of Napoleon III sealed the fate of the Second Napoleonic Empire. The Republicans under Gambetta abolished monarchy, and set up the Third French Republic. The queen along with her son fled to England.

4.3.8 Estimate of Napoleon III

Napoleon III was blamed for the disaster of France. There appears to be some truth in this charge. His measures to meet the demands of several sections of the French, and thus

continue in power, was only a partial and temporary success. In a way, his policy was one of self-interest. However, his failures should not obscure the material gains that France enjoyed during his regime.

Even in his foreign policy, he was inconsistent and unreliable. He was a dreamer and an intriguer, rather than a practical statesman. He stood for international peace. His favourite dream was a general Congress of great powers of Europe which would settle every question in dispute by peaceful agreement. He was a mixture of the idealist and the conspirator. These qualities led to the failure of his foreign policy, and the disastrous end of his empire.

He was ambitious as his great uncle, Napoleon I, without any one of his remarkable qualities. In fact, he never displayed qualities of determination and iron will. Victor Hugo dubbed him *'Napoleon the Little'*.

4.4 LET US SUM UP

1. The Second Republic was established in France in 1848.
2. Napoleon III became president of France in 1848. In 1852 he became emperor and ruled France till 1870.
3. Napoleon's internal politics aimed at existing the support of all sections of people in France.
4. Napoleon III followed a vigorous foreign policy to consolidate his position and to gain glory for his regime.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What were the main objectives of Napoleon III's foreign policy?

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2. Why was there a decline in the political fortunes of Napoleon III after 1866?

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4.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Louis Blanc, Proudhon.
2. Napoleon III's internal policies were initially successful because
 - (i) He tried or pretend that he was pleasing all sections of population in the country.
 - (ii) He was able to restore conditions of peace and order in the country.

- II. 1. Napoleon was a man of peace but he followed a vigorous foreign policy mainly with the following objectives.
- to strengthen his position in France
 - to get glory for France and to
 - divert the attention of the French people from their domestic difficulties.
2. The internal policies of Napoleon III did not have the expected beneficial results and so the people were getting frustrated. Further his Mexican misadventure also brought about the decline of his popularity after 1866.

4.6 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
- Critically explain the domestic policies of Napoleon III.
 - Critically analyse the foreign policy of Napoleon III.
 - Estimate the achievements and failures of Napoleon III.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
- Give a brief account of the socialist experiment in France after the 1848.
 - Explain the provisions of the 1852 constitution.
 - Give an account of the Mexican misadventure.

4.7 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Grant A.J. centuries | : | <i>The story of Europe during last five centuries</i> |
| 2. Grant and Temporley | : | <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.</i> |
| 3. Hayes J.H. | : | <i>Modern Europe up to 1870</i> |
| 4. Hazen C.D. | : | <i>Europe since 1815</i> |
| 5. Kettelby C.D.M. | : | <i>History of Europe</i> |

– I. VENKATA SWAMY

BLOCK III : NATIONALISM IN ITALY AND GERMANY

In this block the Unification movements in Italy and Germany are discussed. There are two separate units, one dealing with Italian Unification and the other dealing with German Unification. Unit 7, which is the last Unit in this block, is on the domestic and foreign policies of the German empire between 1871 and 1914.

UNIT-5 : UNIFICATION OF ITALY

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- 5.2 Liberal Forces in the 19th Century and their three demands
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- 5.7 Significance of Italian unification
- 5.8 Let us sum up
- 5.9 Check your progress : Answers
- 5.10 Examination Model Questions
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5.0 OBJECTIVES

From a study of this unit you should be able to

1. Describe the condition of Italy before her Unification
2. Estimate the role of Mazzini, Garibaldi and cavour in the unification of Italy

5.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the major political developments in Europe during the 19th century was the unification of Italy. The growth of nationalist feeling in the 19th century was one of the major factors which contributed to Italian Unification, United Italy was the out come of the efforts of three great Italians, Mazzini, cavour and Garibaldi. In this Unit, an account of the developments which contributed to Italian unification, is given

5.2 LIBERAL FORCES IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND THEIR THREE DEMANDS

Italy was treated or referred to as a mere geographical expression by Metternich. However, by 1870, Italy became united as a result of the efforts of the Italian patriots, foreign help, and force of circumstances.

Europe was greatly influenced by nationalism and liberalism in the 19th century. These forces in turn led to revolutionary movements. We have noted in the previous unit how these liberal movements were suppressed during the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. However, liberalism as such, did not suffer. On the contrary, the middle class and the intellectuals under the spell of liberalism, ardently aspired for the rise of nationalist states, and the establishment of constitutional and democratic governments. The industrial revolution and the consequent far-reaching changes in the standard of living and the way of life of people, further strengthened and quickened the forces of nationalism, liberalism, democracy and constitutionalism.

5.2.1 Liberal Success in Italy

It was in Italy that these forces greatly influenced the ensuing events. These forces were so strong that they overcame the failure of 1848 Revolutions, and the liberals succeeded in establishing a liberal nationalist monarchy by 1870. This development is described as the unification of Italy.

5.3 DIVISIONS OF ITALY BEFORE UNIFICATION

Italy, though a geographical division in Europe, was never politically united. Therefore, great powers of Europe such as Spain, France, and Austria not only made efforts, but even waged wars for acquisition of Italian territory. However, the French Revolution and the Italian expeditions of Napoleon, generated nationalist spirit or sentiment among the several Italian states. In fact Napoleon was hailed as the saviour of Italy.

But, the Vienna Settlement, ignoring this sentiment, divided Italy into a number of political divisions. The following were the broad divisions of Italy before unification.

1. The two important states of Lombardy and Venetia in Northern Italy were under Austrian control. They were administered directly by Austrian representatives.
2. Tuscany, Parma and Modena in Central Italy were under Austrian Hapsburgs. Austria exercised indirect control over them. Hence, the governments were not only conservative, but also tyrannical.
3. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in Southern Italy was under Ferdinand II, a Bourbon. He was a typical Bourbon. He was conservative, cruel and tyrannical. He imprisoned thousands of liberals who opposed his regime. He caused destruction to several cities, said to be citadels of liberalism. He was nicknamed 'King Bomba' for bombing the cities of the liberals.
4. Romagna, Umbria and St. Peter's Patrimony in Central Italy were under Papal control. The Papal regime was both conservative and reactionary.
5. In the north-west of Italy, the small nationalist Kingdom consisted of Savoy, Piedmont, Sardinia and Genoa. It was said to be an oasis for the liberals who considered Italy a desert, for the growth of liberalism.

5.4 EARLIER MOVEMENTS

The liberals desired establishment of a united Italian State. But, all these attempts at unification were foiled by the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, who held his firm reactionary sway over Italy and Europe. It was unfortunate that the rulers of Italian states including the Pope were opposed to Italian unification for fear of losing their authority. These rulers suppressed freedom of the press, and even, assembly, and enforced their tyranny.

Consequently, Italian nationalists and liberals resorted to the formation of secret organisations. Carbonari was the most important of these. It fanned itself into all parts of Italy through its several branches. This had chalked out a definite programme, and adopted a revolutionary flag. They rose in revolt against the reactionary regimes. But, they failed. In the 1830 Revolutions, the Carbonari played its role.

Another significant movement called the Risorgimento also aimed at the establishment of a nationalist state in Italy. It was a social and literary movement. Poets, writers, play-wrights aroused the sentiment of nationalism for the creation of united Italy through this movement.

5.5 UNITY FORCES

Those who ardently desired Italian unification fell into three groups :

1. The Republicans
2. The Gioberti group or Papal Party, and
3. Royal Sardinian Party

5.5.1 The Republicans

5.5.1.1 Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872)

Joseph Mazzini, a radical liberal was the leader of the Republicans. He was the son of a doctor and Professor of Anatomy in Genoa. From his childhood, he was influenced by the nationalist movement in Italy. He studied the writings of the master minds of Europe such as Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, and Hugo. Even when young, he was impressed by the misery of his country. He was dressed always in black, fancying himself in mourning for his country. He had a literary bent of mind, but he gave it up for the sake of his country. He called this, his first sacrifice.

He joined the Carbonari, for this revolutionary organisation appealed to him greatly. He was arrested and imprisoned for his close association with this organisation.

5.5.1.1.1 Young Italy

He founded in 1831 a new organisation called "Young Italy". This became the centre of nationalist agitation. Its motto was 'God and the People'. He believed that the youngmen of Italy could achieve unification of Italy, if they had faith in their mission. He reminded the Italians that they had no citizenship, no country and no national flag. The slogans of 'Young Italy' were God, people and Italy. Its methods included education, literary propaganda, and revolts. Its methods included education, literary propaganda, and revolts. The object of Young Italy was to create among the Italians a spirit of self-sacrifice. He considered the liberation and unification of Italy as a religion. He was totally dedicated to it, and prepared to live and die for it. He was a fearless leader. He believed that Austria should be driven out of Italy, and the sooner that was done, the better. He was not in favour of any foreign help to drive the Austrians out of Italy. To quote him, "The only thing wanting to twenty million Italians desirous of emancipating themselves is not power, but faith"

The greatest contribution of Mazzini was to make the liberation and unification of Italy considered an impossible dream, a practical ideal. Italy united, free, democratic and republican, was the goal of his life. As he was constantly stirring up revolts, he was forced to live much of his life in exile. The people of Italy did not approve of his republican ideas. They were for traditional monarchy. Above all, the middle class resented the revolutionary trends of the republicans. Thus, the republicans failed to achieve their goal. However, he had been hailed as the prophet of Italian unification movement.

5.5.2 Garibaldi (1807-1882)

Garibaldi was an ardent disciple of Joseph Mazzini. He was born in 1807 at Nice. He was a simple, courteous man, who had a great love for Italy. He believed in Italy as the saints believed in God. He had an extraordinary capacity to arouse affection and devotion wherever he went. He was an honest, strikingly simple, and fearless man. He was working in the Sardinian navy. He was greatly attracted by the 'Young Italy' of Mazzini. He admired and adored Mazzini. Most of his life was spent for the creation of united Italy.

Adventurous Garibaldi rose in revolt in 1834 in Genoa, and attempted to capture the battleship and the arsenal. He was sentenced to death, but escaped to South America, where he lived a wild and roving life. He took part in local wars. He looked upon battles as a pleasure and the hardship of camp life as a pastime. He had acquired experience in guerilla warfare, which was to be of great use to him later on.

In exile, he organised a volunteer force. In 1848, with 3000 'Red Shirts'-his volunteer forces-he entered Sardinia, and fought against Austria and the Pope. When he failed in this attempt, he fled to New York. He set up a small business, and made some fortune. He returned to Italy in 1854 during the Italian unification movement, and rendered great service to the cause of Italian unification.

5.5.3 Gioberti group or the Papal party

Gioberti was a religious leader of Piedmont who lent support to the cause of Italian unification. But, he was opposed to republican ideas. He proposed the setting-up of a liberal federation of all Italian States under the Pope of Rome. This proposal found favour with the rich, and the Catholic leaders. In fact, Pope Pius responded favourably to this proposal in the beginning. For the success of this plan, a lot depended on the Pope, but being conservative, sought Austrian intervention to save his position. The Italians who resented foreign interference, discredited the Gioberti group and its proposal.

5.5.4 Royal Sardinia party

The majority of the Italians supported the native Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia. Sardinia was rich and prosperous. The rich and the middle classes were both nationalist in spirit, and liberal in outlook. King Charles Albert of the House of Savoy of Sardinia, introduced liberal and democratic constitution, and this won the support of the nationalist and liberal forces. In 1848, he fought against the Austrians to free Italy from foreign domination. He abdicated, after his defeat by Austria, in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

5.5.4.1 Victor Emmanuel II

The new king, Victor Emmanuel II was a liberal. He continued the liberal constitution introduced by his father. His people hailed him as 'Honest King'. He was a wise and practical ruler.

5.5.4.2 Count Cavour (1810-1861)

Count Cavour played a splendid and prominent role in Italian unification. He stood solidly behind his King, Victor Emmanuel II. He was a tower of strength and immense help to the king. He was a practical statesman.

He was born in 1810 in a noble family of Piedmont. As a youngman, he had travelled widely in England, France and Switzerland. He was influenced by the English writers and cultivated a liberal outlook. He was a keen student of advanced Western methods in agriculture and industry. He was fascinated by parliamentary government. The mission of his life was to Westernise Piedmont, and finally, the whole of Italy. He was convinced that railways, factories, banks, mills and business enterprises as working in France and Britain, were the surest and rapid road to economic prosperity in Italy.

In 1850, he was appointed minister of Agriculture and Commerce of Piedmont. By making a series of commercial treaties with France, England and Belgium, he linked Piedmont to the free trade countries of Western Europe. He made Piedmont financially sound by raising capital through internal loans for immediate needs. A part of it was spent on the construction of rail-roads. He improved the roads, docks and ports of Piedmont. These measures extended commerce, and strengthened the finances of Piedmont.

As a young Engineer in the army, Cavour acquired the outlook and aptitude of a technician. He introduced several reforms to strengthen the army and navy of Piedmont. After the Crimean War in 1856, he intensified the programme of economic development. Levies on exports and imports were reduced. Tax burden was evenly distributed on all sections of the people.

In matters political, he was a liberal and an admirer of the British parliamentary system. As the editor of *Risorgimento*, he supported Italian unification under Sardinian leadership. He was a constitutional monarchist. As a minister, and Prime Minister, of Victor Emmanuel II, he rendered memorable service to Italy. He was a democrat in theory and practice, and called himself the son of liberty and freedom. He said that he would feel strong during the deliberations of parliament sessions.

He was a practical statesman. He felt unlike Mazzini, that Italian unification was possible with foreign help only. In short, by the time he died in 1861, he had created by diplomatic alliances and wars, a new Kingdom of Italy with Piedmont, as its core, though, Venetia and Rome were still out of it. He was considered as one of the architects of nationalist states of the 19th century. Further, his greatness and unique place lies in leading and uniting all liberal and patriotic forces for Italian unification under the Sardinian flag, at a time when the Italian states were busy in suppressing liberty and freedom, and imposing reactionary regimes on their people.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Which was the country which had political mastery over many parts of Italy, before Italian Unification

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2. Who were the chief architects of Italian Unification and independence?

5.6 STAGES OF UNIFICATION

Unification of Italy was achieved in four stages.

5.6.1 First Stage : Lombardy

Sardinia assumed leadership of Italian unification movement. But, it was a small country with only 50 lakhs population. Cavour realised that defeating, and driving away Austria from Italy was possible with foreign help only. Therefore, he sought foreign help by exercising his diplomatic skill.

He made Sardinia support France and England in the Crimean War against Russia. He expected Austria to support Russia. It was for this reason he said that, modern Italy would emerge out of the mud of Sebastopol. Austrian neutrality in the War disappointed him. But, the Crimean War gave him an opportunity to get close to Napoleon III, the whimsical French Emperor. He visited Paris in 1856 during the making of the Treaty of Paris. Thus, he raised the status of Piedmont. It was a master stroke of his policy.

Cavour provoked Austria to declare War on Sardinia. French and Sardinian forces entered Lombardy, and Austria was defeated in the battles of Magenta and Solferino. Now, Lombardy passed under Sardinian control, ending Austrian authority. Napoleon III was agitated over these developments, and felt that united Italy would come in the way of French imperial and political interests. These fears made him meet the Austrian Emperor, and enter into a secret treaty with him at Villa-franca, without even consulting Cavour. Thus, Napoleon III withdrew from the War without fully fulfilling his promises made in the Plombiers Treaty. Cavour was greatly disappointed, and considered Napoleon III's action as betrayal of their cause. After a violent interview with his king, Victor Emmanuel II, he resigned his post as Prime Minister.

However, it should be noted that at the end of the first stage of Italian unification, Sardinia occupied Lombardy, and thus, it doubled its territory and population.

5.6.2 Second stage

The occupation of Lombardy roused Central Italian states to patriotism and unification. The defeat of Austria in Lombardy ended traditional foreign help that was flowing into Tuscany, Parma and Modena. The rulers of these states fled in the wake of popular revolts against them. Consequently, revolutionary governments were set up in them. They held plebiscites which revealed the aspiration of the people for unification. The situation in Italy was a lot favourable to the national cause. Florence, the capital of Tuscany, was the scene of great popular meetings which clamoured for "War, independence and Victor Emmanuel II". The king of Piedmont was asked to undertake the military dictatorship of Tuscany. Even the people in the Papal state had driven out the Papal troops, and their popular cry was for union with Italy and Victor Emmanuel II. In fact an effort was made to bring in the Kingdom of Naples too, though it failed.

In the meanwhile, there were similar uprisings in Bologna and Romagna under Papal control. These people also sought union with Sardinia. Representatives were sent to rule these states in the name of Victor Emmanuel II. Napoleon III was, at first, opposed to these arrangements.

But, Cavour, who returned to his post as Prime Minister in the national interest, succeeded in getting Napoleon III to agree to the union of these states with Sardinia. In the bargain, Savoy and Nice were ceded to France.

5.6.3 Third stage

This stage witnessed the union of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies with Sardinia. It is said that if Cavour was the leader of the first two stages of unification, Garibaldi was the immortal hero of the third stage.

The people of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies suffered a lot under the autocratic tyranny of Ferdinand. His son Francis II succeeded him in 1859. But unfortunately, there was no improvement in the administration under the new-king. The people under the influence and inspiration of the recent changes in Northern and Central Italian states, rose in revolt against their ruler. The situation here demanded cautious and skilful handling. The mass of the people were uneducated and illiterate. A large number of secret societies were also at work. There was a section of the people that was full of enthusiasm for Italy. However, it was not certain whether the people were willing to merge their independence in the Kingdom of Piedmont or not. There was a strong party that desired some form of autonomy. It was believed that the king, Francis II, was planning reforms for his people to satisfy their sentiments.

But, before he had done that, Garibaldi landed in Sicily. We have noted earlier that he was a great hero, and known for his courage and devotion to the cause of Italian unity. Garibaldi mobilized his famous Red Shirts in Genoa, and was planning to go to Sicily to help the people who rose in revolt against their ruler. But, since Sardinia and Sicily were at peace, international convention made it obligatory for Sardinia not to allow Garibaldi's forces to pass through its territory against Sicily. Cavour played a double game in this he publicly announced that he would arrest Garibaldi, but secretly encouraged him to proceed against Sicily.

Garibaldi possessed reckless courage, and that stood him in good stead. He entered Sicily in May, 1860. He advanced on Palermo, and won a wonderful victory outside Palermo, and later on, captured the city itself. The rebels accorded him a tumultuous welcome. It did not take long for him to occupy Sicily. The nationalists of Naples appealed to Garibaldi for help. Garibaldi landed at the extreme south of Italy, and marched on Naples. There was no resistance. King Francis sought shelter in the fortress of Gaeta. Garibaldi entered Naples in September, 1860 and he was welcomed by the people as a Second Christ. The triumph of Garibaldi was amazing.

Garibaldi was a republican and so, if Sicily and Naples became a republic under Garibaldi, it would pose a problem to Italian unity. In the meanwhile, there were revolts against the Pope in Marches and Umbria. On the pretext of preventing the Papal troops from suppressing with violence, the popular movements in Umbria, the Sardinian army entered the Papal states, and defeated the Papal army. Victor Emmanuel's forces pushed on into Naples, after imprisoning King Francis. The Papal states except Rome, were merged with Sardinia, setting aside the Pope's objection. Cavour who reached Naples, received an unprecedented popular welcome along with Garibaldi. So, setting aside his personal preference, Garibaldi handed over Sicily and Naples to the administration of Victor Emmanuel II to enable him to create a single Italian state.

Plebiscites were held in Naples, Sicily and the Papal states, and by overwhelming majorities, the people voted for immediate annexation to the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel II. The first Italian Parliament met in Turin in Feb., 1861. In March, a new constitutional decree

was promulgated. Victor Emmanuel II assumed for himself and his successors, the title of king of Italy. The whole of Italy except Venetia and Rome, became the Kingdom of Italy under Sardinian leadership. Cavour died soon after, but it cannot be denied that, he was the real creator of Italy as a nation. A liberal government was established in this newly united kingdom.

5.6.4 Fourth and final stage

The fourth and final stage deals with the details of Venetia and Rome becoming integral parts of the Kingdom of Italy. This happened during the unification of Germany.

5.6.4.1 Venetia - 1866

Italy entered into an all alliance with Prussia in 1866 with a view to secure Venetia from Austria. In the Austro-Prussian War or the Seven



UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Weeks' War, Austria was utterly defeated in the battle of Sadowa by Prussia. Bismarck merely asked Austria to give Venetia to Italy, and the same was done.

5.6.4.2 Rome

The unification of Italy was completed in 1870 during the Franco - Prussian War. Napoleon III was forced to withdraw from Rome the French troops stationed there since 1849, guarding the Pope. Victor Emmanuel II made use of this opportunity, with Bismarck's consent, he captured Rome with his 60,000 soldiers. Thus, the city of Rome, the centre of Papal power for centuries, became the national capital of the Italian State. This fulfilled the dream of Mazzini.

It is observed that Mazzini's moral fervour, Cavour's diplomacy, Garibaldi's heroism and the fact and goodness of Victor Emmanuel II, rendered Italian unification a reality. In the words of the English poet and novelist, George Meredith, the three, Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi were her brain, her soul and her sword that blew breath or life into the frame of Italy.

5.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF ITALIAN UNIFICATION

Italian unification sounded the death-knell to Metternich's reactionary policies. It was a great triumph for nationalism and liberalism. United Italy played an important role in European political affairs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which wars helped the Unification of Italy?

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2. Which city became the capital of United and Independent Italy?

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5.8 LET US SUM UP

1. Italy was a mere geographical expression before the 19th century, that is the country was neither politically united nor independent.
2. Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi were the chief architects of Italian unification and independence.

3. The Crimean War, Austro - Prussian War and Franco - Prussian War helped the Unification of Italy.

5.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I
1. Austria
 2. Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi
- II
1. Crimean War, Austro - Prussian War, Franco - Prussian War
 2. Rome

5.10 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Estimate the place of Mazzini in the unification of Italy.
 2. Describe the services rendered by Cavour to the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont.
 3. Bring out the part played by Cavour in the Unification of Italy.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Estimate the life and achievements of Garibaldi.
 2. Describe the second stage of Italian unification.
 3. Bring out the importance of the Danish War of 1864.

5.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Grant A.J. : *The story of Europe during last five centuries*
2. Grant and Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.*
3. Hayes J.H. : *Modern Europe up to 1870*
4. Hazen C.D. : *Europe since 1815*
5. Kettleby C.D.M. : *History of Europe*

– I. VENKATA SWAMY

UNIT-6 : UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

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6.0 OBJECTIVES

Form a study of this unit

1. You should be able to analyse the political conditions in Germany during the 16th and 17th centuries,
2. Analyse the factors which helped the process of German Unification and independence and,
3. Estimate the role of Bismark in the German Unification movement.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

German Unification was one of the most important political developemnts of the 19th century. Germany which was divided into a number of independent states by the beginning of the 19th century, became united under the leadership of prussia. Bismark as the chancellor of prussia played the leading role in the German Unification movement. United Germany became a strong political power and Played the central role in European politics till the II world war.

6.2 GERMANY OF 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

If Italy was referred to as a mere geographical expression, Germany was considered as a divinely ordained confusion even at the beginning of the 19th century.

Germany was never a national state like France, Spain and England. It consisted of as many as 350 states, big, small and tiny huddled together. That way it was a peculiar political set-up altogether different from other European states. In fact, it is more appropriate to call it Germanys rather than Germany, politically speaking.

Though Martin Luther's preachings sprouted a feeling of nationalism, they failed to become a bud, and much less, blossom into a flower. The two religious groups - Catholic and Protestant - undermined unity among the Germans. The Thirty Years War affected the economy of Germany. The middle class became insolvent in trade and commerce. The condition of the peasants was miserable. These depressing conditions enabled the princes to confiscate church property, and emerge as tyrants. The declining authority of the Holy Roman Emperor added a new dimension to these developments. The steady decline of the Holy Roman Empire strengthened the emerging German states, Prussia being the most important in Germany.

Of all the German states, Austria under the Hapsburgs was both extensive in territory and powerful in authority. By convention, it was the Austrian king who became the Holy Roman Emperor as well. Austria enjoyed a prominent position in Germany during the 17th and 18th centuries. Its authority was challenged by the rapidly rising Prussian state. Thus, there was endless enmity between Austria and Prussia for German leadership.

6.3 RISE OF MODERN PRUSSIA

6.3.1 Brandenburg

Brandenburg with Berlin as its capital, was the beginning of the Prussian state. In 1415, the Holy Roman Emperor made it an Electorate and appointed a Hohenzollern as its Elector. During the 16th century the enterprising Hohenzollerns adopted Lutheranism, confiscated church property and led the Protestant states in Germany. In the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), this kingdom succeeded in limiting the authority of the Hapsburgs.

6.3.2 Frederick William, the great elector (1640-1688)

Frederick William, the Great Elector, enhanced the international prestige of the Hohenzollerns. He built a firm financial base for his state. His son, Frederick William II, received the title 'King' from the Emperor for his help to the latter in the Spanish Succession War. He consolidated Prussia into a well-ordered and prosperous state. His son and successor, the famous Frederick the Great, made Prussia the leading German State.

Napoleon Bonaparte conquered several German states, amalgamated smaller states with them, and reorganised Germany with 37 states into the Confederation of the Rhine. Thus, Austrian control over these was ended. Napoleon introduced uniform administration, and made several popular reforms. These measures generated the spirit of nationalism. Napoleon thus could be hailed as the forerunner of German unification.

The dismemberment of the Napoleonic empire and the consequent Congress of Vienna, set up a German Confederation under Austrian leadership. Metternich tried to suppress nationalist, liberal and revolutionary forces by his Carlsbad Decrees.

6.3.3 Zollverein, 1818

Prussia organised a Customs Union, called the Zollverein. For the first time, Germany became a fiscal and commercial unit. Zollverein united the German states, in bonds of mutual economic interest. It united them under the leadership of Prussia, and it accustomed them to the exclusion of Austria from the German body. In 1830, there were several nationalist revolts in Germany also. But, they failed. Frederick William IV summoned the nationalist parliament at Frankfurt in 1848, in the wake of the liberal revolts of that year. He wanted the parliament to draft a constitution for Germany. The Frankfurt parliament offered the throne of Germany to Frederick William IV. But, he rejected the same for fear of coming into conflict with Austria. Austria foiled the attempts of the king of Prussia by forcing him to surrender by the Convention of Olmutz. The Prussian king agreed to dissolve the union of German states under his control. Reactionary Austria emerged strong. Frustrated Germans watched the success of Italian unification with great care and interest. Austria was defeated in Italy (by Sardinia with French help) and this weakened the Austrian hold on Germany. Now, it became very clear that German unification was possible under Prussian leadership only. They also felt that the exclusion of Austria from German Confederation was inevitable and a must.

6.4 PRUSSIA EMERGES AS THE LEADER

The growing weakness of Austria rendered Prussia, the leader of Germany. All liberals, patriots and even conservatives ardently aspired for German unification. The much-needed leadership was offered by William I, who became the king of Prussia in 1861.

6.4.1 William I : (1861-1888)

William I believed in the destiny and mission of Prussia. He was a Prussian to the core. He was an able king. He was a conservative and a staunch believer in the Divine Right Theory of Kings. He was very keen on enhancing the prestige of the Hohenzollerns. Above all, he was a militarist to his very finger tips. He was a sound judge of men, and made right choice of men on whom he could rely. He was convinced that if Germany was to be liberated, that could be done only if Prussia possessed a strong and big army.

To quote him, "whoever wishes to rule Germany, must conquer it, and that cannot be done by phrases". It was this conviction that made him appoint Roon as the Minister of War, and Moltke as the Chief of the General Staff. He not only introduced compulsory military training, but also implemented it.

He proposed to increase the strength of the army in a substantial way. The Prussian Landtag or Legislature voted the supplies in 1861 for one year. But in 1862, it rejected the same so as to pressurise the King to grant some liberal reforms. King William insisted on the army reforms. But, the liberals who were in majority in Landtag, stood for constitutional reforms. It appeared that a deadlock was inevitable. In the circumstances, the Landtag was dissolved, and in the elections held, the Progressive Party won with overwhelming majority of seats. They insisted that constitutional monarchy should be established as it was done in England and Italy. The King and his conservative Ministers on one side, and the Progressive liberals on the other, were ready for a trial of strength. This caused a political crisis in Prussia. The King was in a great fix, and did not know what to do. In order to resolve the political crisis, the King appointed Bismarck, the Minister President of Prussia in 1862, on the advice of Roon. Bismarck assured the agitated King in the following words: "I will rather perish with the King than forsake Your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government".

6.4.2 Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898)

Bismarck was one of the most fascinating personalities in the history of modern Europe. He was born on 1st April, 1815 in a village near Berlin in a feudal family. His father was a junker, and he got his good physique from him. His mother was the daughter of a distinguished civil servant, and the grand-daughter of a professor. He inherited brawn and brain from his father and mother respectively. He was educated at Berlin and Göttingen Universities. He was dismissed from government service for indiscipline and irresponsibility. In 1847, he married the daughter of a feudal lord. Under her influence, he became a convinced and committed conservative.

He was trained for a diplomatic career. He travelled widely in France and England. He became a member of the Provincial Diet of Pomerania in 1845. He entered the Imperial Diet of Berlin in 1847. In 1849, he was elected a member of the Lower Chamber of Prussia. In 1851, he was appointed the envoy of Prussia in the Federal Diet at Frankfurt, where he remained for 8 years. His stay at Frankfurt profoundly influenced his views on politics. During his stay there, he tried to befriend and win over the rulers of the minor states of Germany. He also tried to strengthen the economic ties of Prussia with them. He distrusted Austria, and also disliked it intensely.

In 1859, he went to Russia as Prussian ambassador, and stayed there for 3 years. He not only won over Russia to the side of Prussia, but also won the personal admiration of the Czar. In 1862, he was Prussian ambassador in France. Though he stayed in Paris for a few months only, he acquired an insight into the weak spots of Napoleon III.

It was in 1862, he was appointed on Roon's advice, Minister-President of Prussia at a time when the legislature was posing a serious challenge to the King's authority. But, the King initially was not impressed with him. He referred to him as a thoroughbred reactionary. He was nicknamed as a Napoleon Worshipper. However, it was this unimpressive man who performed the Herculean task of German unification. Bismarck tried for an agreement with the legislature, but when that failed, he proclaimed his policy. To quote him: "It is not by speechifying and majorities that the great questions of the day are to be decided—that was the mistake in 1848 and 1849, but by Blood and Iron". He agreed with his King that the reorganisation of Prussian army was absolutely essential for the unification of Germany. He was very keen on ignoring the Prussian Landtag if it refused to vote the supplies for the reorganisation of the army. He set aside the constitutional methods when they stood in his way for the realisation of his aim. No wonder he administered Prussia in an autocratic way for four years. He levied taxes without introducing the budget, and went ahead with the reorganisation and strengthening of the army. The Progressives subjected him to scathing criticism. But, he did not bother a bit for them since he strongly felt that the end justified the means. He condemned the Progressives as mere wobblers, and not capable of solid action. He very correctly assessed the mood of the people

when he said that traditionally Prussia was opposed to revolution, and the people of Prussia ardently desired German unification, and as such, they would not oppose any measure in that direction.

It was also his firm belief that for achieving German unification under Prussian leadership, ousting of Austria from Germany was absolutely necessary. He had to wage three wars to achieve German unification.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. What was the important effect of the Zollverein?

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2. Which country was considered by Bismarck as the chief obstacle for German Unification?

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6.5 UNIFICATION WARS

6.5.1 War with Denmark - 1864

Bismarck was confident that Prussia could easily defeat Austria. But, what he needed was a cause to go to war with Austria. The Schleswig-Holstein question was exploited by Bismarck to serve his ends.

Schleswig-Holstein were two German Duchies under the king of Denmark. Majority of the people in the Duchies were Germans. There was a dispute in 1848 between Denmark and Germany over the possession of these Duchies. King Frederick VII of Denmark tried to annex Schleswig. But, it rose in revolt against the King. Prussia justified the revolt. But, France and England objected to Prussian interference as these Duchies were ceded to Denmark in the Congress of Vienna. A compromise was reached by the Treaty of London in 1852. Denmark was forbidden from incorporating the Duchies.

But, in 1863 the new Danish King, Christian IX defied the London Treaty, and incorporated the Duchies with Denmark. The German race resented the Danish King's action. Austria and Prussia decided to make the best use of the opportunity in the cause of German unification. Bismarck wanted to include them in Prussia. He also wanted to try the newly organised armies of Prussia, and a war with Denmark could have given him such an opportunity. He entered into an agreement with Austria to take joint action against Denmark, so that ultimately, there might be a possibility for a quarrel with Austria on the question of the division of the spoils of the war.

With these objectives in view, an ultimatum was given to the King of Denmark on his refusal to respond. Both Austria and Prussia declared war against Denmark, and defeated it. By the Treaty of Vienna of 1864, the King of Denmark surrendered the Duchies.

Having got the Duchies, there arose the question of division. It was agreed by the Convention of Gastein (1865) that, pending final settlement, Austria was to occupy and administer Holstein, and Prussia was to occupy and administer Schleswig. The question of the Duchies was not to be brought before the German Diet. It was pointed out that the Convention of Gastein was a great diplomatic victory for Bismarck.

6.5.2 Austro-Prussian War, 1866

Bismarck took all precautions to isolate Austria, before he started war with her. The English public opinion was favourable to Prussia. The Prussian free trade policy was advantageous to England. On the other hand, Austrian restrictions on trade and commerce were disagreeable to England. Therefore, there was no problem from England for Prussia. Russia was quite angry with Austria, since she did not extend the help she expected of her in the Crimean War. Bismarck promised to render help to Russia in suppressing the Polish revolt. No wonder then, that Russia was well disposed towards Prussia. But, France hated Prussia, more than Austria. The establishment of united Germany in the Rhine under Prussian leadership was viewed with disfavour by France. Even then, Bismarck did not expect any threat from France as he knew that Napoleon III was a coward at heart. However, he offered him some reward for his neutrality in the event of an Austro - Prussian War. Italy, in order to liberate Venetia under Austrian control, was on the side of Prussia.

Thus isolating Austria, Bismarck hatched a plan to declare war against Austria. He conspired and stirred uprising in Holstein under Austrian control. Austria lodged a complaint against Prussia to the German Diet at Frankfurt. But Prussian forces occupied Holstein under the pretext that Austria violated the Gastein Convention. Prussia proposed a plan for a new German Confederation, putting an end to Austrian membership in the German Confederation. This was done to provoke Austria. Austria appealed to the Diet for mobilisation of the German forces to reject the Prussian proposal, and also to prevent the Prussian intervention in Holstein. The German states, afraid of the loss of their identity, and reduction of their powers, fell in line with Austria. But, Bismarck by a clever design, projected this as a measure of collective attack or invasion on Prussia, and impressed the European powers that he was fighting for survival.

6.5.2.1 Battle of Sadowa.

With Prussia and Italy on one side, and Austria and lesser German states on the other, the War started. This is called the Austro-Prussian War or the Seven Weeks' War. Austria had to fight on two fronts-one with the Prussians, and the other with the Italians. The seasoned Prussian army easily defeated the lesser German states, and Austria was defeated in July, 1866 at Sadowa. Shattered Austria sued for peace. The Treaty of Prague was made.

6.5.2.2 Terms of the Treaty of Prague

1. Austria ceded Holstein to Prussia, and Venetia to Italy.
2. It agreed to the dissolution of the German Confederation, and the formation of a new German Confederation under Prussian leadership.
3. Austria was not to be a member in the proposed German Confederation.

Bismarck incorporated several lesser German states - Schleswig, Holstein, Kingdom of Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel principalities and Frankfurt city - into the Prussian state. These additions enriched Prussia by 50 lakh new people, and 27 thousand square mile territory. By 1867, the North German Confederation was formed, consisting of 20 states to the North of the river Main. Austria which enjoyed the presidency of the German Confederation was totally excluded in this new set-up. The King of Prussia became its President. The President would handle the foreign affairs of this Confederation.

However, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Hesse in Southern Germany continued as independent states. They were not willing to join Prussia, for fear of loss of their importance. Bismarck was clever enough to follow a friendly policy towards these, and made defence treaties with them. After this War with Austria, Bismarck befriended the liberals, and proposed several liberal reforms. Thus, he succeeded in winning the support of the liberals for his policies.

6.5.3 The Franco - Prussian War, 1870

The unification of Germany was not complete even after the defeat of Austria. The Southern states of Germany were still to be united. Between 1867 and 1870, Bismarck won over them by a policy of conciliation and help. He gave them money, and got their armies trained by Prussian military officers. Efforts were made to impress upon them that Prussia was their friend, and they had nothing to fear from her.

Bismarck was convinced that "a war with France lay in the logic of History". He made military preparations, and both Moltke and Roon waited for the day when the war would start with France. War with France was inevitable for German unification. Bismarck felt that the war with France would promote patriotism and spirit of nationalism in the Southern German States, which would facilitate their union with the Prussian kingdom at a later stage.

Bismarck's policy towards France was to isolate her, and strike her. He succeeded in isolating France diplomatically. Italy was annoyed with Napoleon III since he betrayed her in 1859. Italy obtained Venetia because of Prussian help. The unification of Italy would not be complete without her getting the city of Rome. It would be possible only when the French troops were withdrawn from Rome under military pressure from Prussia.

Bismarck secured the neutrality of Russia also. Russia was sore with France since it defeated her in the Crimean War. Moreover, Bismarck offered a clever bait to Russia, that he could repudiate the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, when he attacked France. He had also won over Austria by offering her very favourable terms in 1866. For instance, he did not allow the victorious Prussian forces to enter the city of Vienna, and did not demand a huge war indemnity from her. Thus, he could count on Austrian neutrality in the event of war with France.

Bismarck wanted a war with France to complete the unification of Germany, and Napoleon III needed a war with Prussia to save himself from the mounting unpopularity of his regime in his own country.

At that time, the political developments in Spain supplied the needed spark for war between France and Prussia. The Spaniards revolted against their Queen Isabella II, and chose Leopold, a Hohenzollern, as their King. France objected to this, and so, Leopold withdrew from the scene. But, Napoleon III over reacted, and directed the French envoy to obtain a guarantee from the Prussian King, that no Hohenzollern would be set up on the throne of Spain in future. There took place a meeting between the French envoy and the Prussian King at Elms. The Prussian king sent a telegram containing an account of his interview with the French Ambassador. But, Bismarck abridged the telegram in such a way that it appeared to the French that their Ambassador was insulted, and it appeared to the Prussians that their King was insulted. Bismarck sent it to France such that it reached there on the day when the French were celebrating the July Revolution. The enraged French people demanded war against Prussia. Thus, Bismarck succeeded in making Napoleon III walk into the trap he so cleverly laid. France appeared as the aggressor to the European powers.

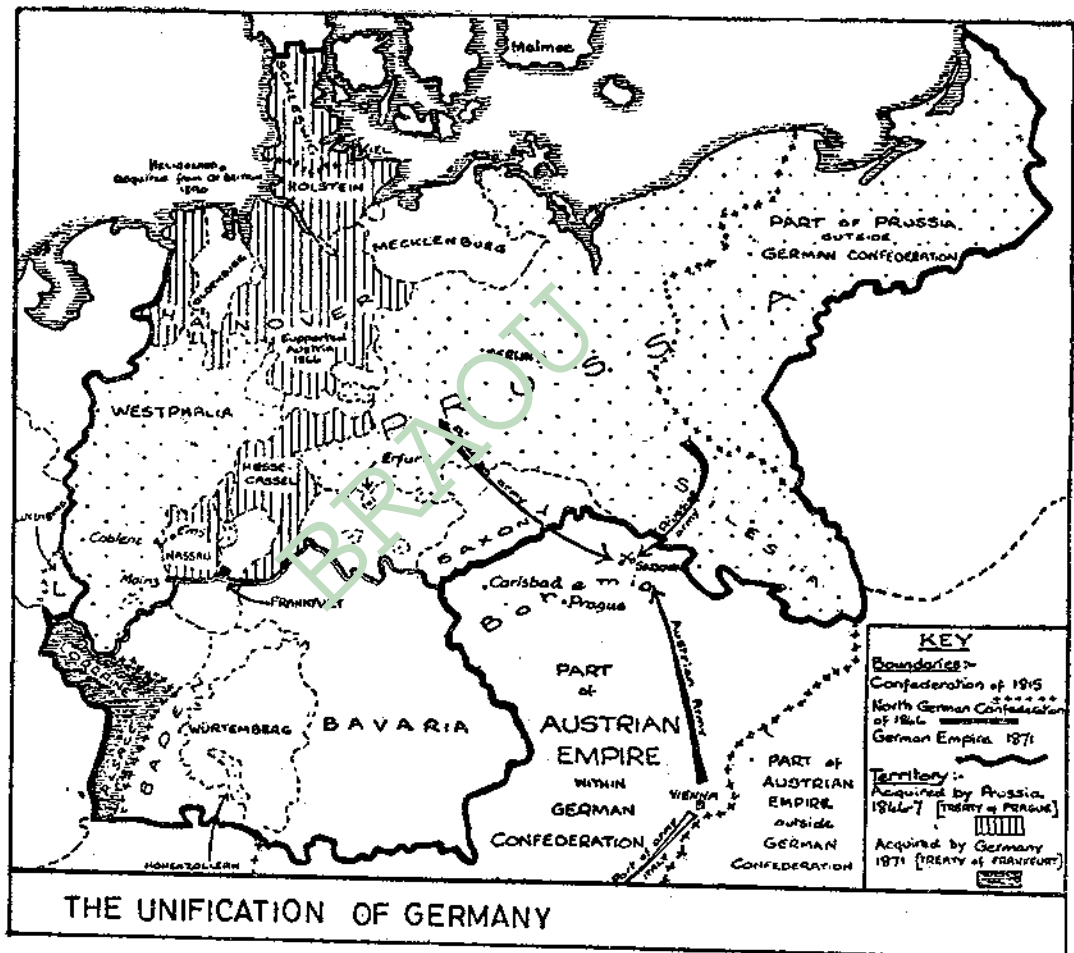
France entered the War with all enthusiasm, without making adequate preparations, whereas Prussia impressed the European powers that it was not interested in the War, but actually made elaborate preparations for the same. Prussia also received support not only from the North German Confederation, but also from the four South German states.

6.5.3.1 Battle of Sedan

France was defeated by Prussia in several battles. The most important battle of the War was the battle of Sedan, in which Napoleon III was defeated, and made to surrender. Although a republic was set up in France, Bismarck insisted on entering Paris. The French resisted the move, and so, a siege of Paris by the Prussians started. Though there was stiff resistance, ultimately Paris had to surrender.

6.5.3.2 Treaty of Frankfurt

The War was ended by the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871 by which, France ceded Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. She was also to pay a huge war indemnity. German forces would be in occupation of Northern France till the war indemnity was paid off.



A ceremony was held in the famous Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in 1871, where the King of Prussia was declared the Emperor of Germany. Well, it was unprecedented, and in a way, even incredible that France which defeated, divided and insulted Germany a couple of centuries ago, its famous Hall of Mirrors at Versailles was to be the scene of inauguration of German Empire. The Southern German states also joined the German Empire. It was in this way, that the unification of Germany was completed under the leadership of Bismarck, who made Prussia the pivotal force of unification.

6.6 IMPORTANCE OF UNIFIED GERMANY

Unification of Germany demonstrated the strength of Prussia, and the weakness of Austria. Germany which was considered a divinely ordained confusion, divided, exploited, and the centre of foreign interference, and political dismemberment and economic ruin, now emerged as an outstanding European state.

This united Germany, in a short time, became responsible for the first global war.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which treaty was concluded after the Austro Prussian war?

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2. Why did Bismarck desire and work for a war between France and Prussia?

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6.7 LET US SUM UP

1. Germany was divided into many small states before the 19th century. Austria had the predominant position among the German states in the 16th and 17th centuries.
2. German unification was a process of other German states merging with Prussia.
3. Bismarck, who worked as chancellor for the Prussian kings, William I and William II was the chief architect of united Germany.
4. Three wars,
 1. War with Denmark, 1864
 2. Austro-Prussian war, 1866 and
 3. The Franco-Prussian war, 1870, brought about the political Unification of Germany.

6.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The Zollverein united the German states
2. Austria
- II. 1. Treaty of Prague
2. For getting Alsace and Lorraine from France and also for enhancing the prestige and power of Prussia, Bismarck desired and worked for a war with France.

6.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. Explain the policies and personality of William I.
 2. Estimate the role of Bismarck in German Unification.
 3. Write in brief about the Franco-Prussian war.
- II. Answer the following questions in 15 lines each.
 1. Give an account of the results of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866
 2. Write about the Zollverein
 3. Explain the Schleswig-Holstein problem.

6.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Grant & Temperley, : *Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*
2. Hazen, C.D. : *Modern Europe*
3. Hayes, C.J.H. : *Modern Europe up to 1870*
4. Leonard W. Lowie & Robert Woelfson : *Years of Nationalism European History 1815-1890*
5. Taylor, A.J.P. : *Bismarck : The man and the States-man*

– I. VENKATA SWAMY

UNIT-7 : DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871-1914.

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7.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you

1. to critically analyse and estimate the internal and external policies of Bismarck
2. to critically estimate the role of Bismarck in Germany
3. to analyse the factors responsible for the growth of German empire between 1871 and 1914.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Between 1871 and 1914, many important political military and economic changes took place in Germany. The internal and external policies of Bismarck, who was the internal authority in Germany from 1871 to 1898, strengthened Germany and made her a powerful force in Europe. The German empire which was the out come of Bismarck's policies dominated Europe.

7.2 GERMAN EMPIRE UNDER PRUSSIAN DOMINATION

Prussia had made the German Empire. The empire so made was a confederation of 25 states, of which Prussia was the largest and the most powerful. Each state was a sovereign state. The Prussian King was the German Emperor. The rulers of other states were not deprived of their positions. Each state had a government of its own, exercising control over many local matters, such as education and public health.

The Imperial Legislature consisted of two chambers - 1) The Bundesrath and 2) the Reichstag. The Bundesrath (Federal Council) consisted of delegates appointed by States' rulers. It was more important than Reichstag, since no law could be enacted for the Empire as a whole without its consent. Prussia sent a majority of members to it, and hence, she exercised control over it. Prussia was also empowered to veto any proposal relating to the army and navy. She could also reject any proposed amendment to the Imperial Constitution.

The Reichstag (Imperial Parliament) had only limited powers. The members were elected by the people. For imposing new taxes, its consent was necessary, but no such consent was necessary for continuing existing taxes. However, the assent of both the chambers was required for passing new laws.

The Prussian King and its government occupied commanding position in the government and administration of the empire. the Hohenzollern King of Prussia headed the empire with the title of German Emperor. He appointed or dismissed, at will, the Chancellor of the Empire. The Chancellor under the Emperor directed the Imperial policy. All other Ministers were subordinates to him. The Prussian military system had to be the Empire's military system. Very large powers were retained by the emperor, and the legislature found it difficult to control his policy even to a small extent. He was able to declare war and make treaties. The armed forces were under his control. The troops were required to show allegiance to the Emperor, and not to the state rulers.

During its whole existence, the German Empire (1870-1918) was governed by two men. 1) Bismarck, the imperial Chancellor (1871-1890) and 2) William II, the Emperor (1888-1918).

7.3 WILLIAM I AND BISMARCK

For almost twenty years after 1871, William I was emperor, and Bismarck was Chancellor of the Empire. Throughout this period, Bismarck was the chief figure in the domestic policies of his own country, and the international policies of Europe. In the first year of his Chancellorship, a large majority of the Reichstag and of course, the Bundesrath supported the measures he advocated for consolidating the empire.

7.4 BISMARCK'S (1871-1890) POLICIES AS CHANCELLOR

7.4.1 Internal Policies

7.4.1.1 Legal Reforms

The legal system of Germany was transformed. Instead of different systems of laws in different states, a uniform code of law for the entire German empire was adopted. A uniform coinage replaced the different currency systems of the various states. An Imperial Railway Bureau was set up in 1873 which did much to unify the various state railways. They were linked up with the military, postal and telegraphic organisations of the empire. A Banking Act of 1875 transferred the control of banking from State Governments to the **Bundesrath**. The establishment of the Imperial Bank (**Reichs bank**) in 1876 rapidly improved the financial operations of the Central Govt. These measures contributed to the stability and prestige of the Empire.

7.4.1.2 Military Reforms

Germany was the foremost military power in Europe. Its successive triumphs in war over Austria and France proved it to be the best organised, the best equipped and the most effective. Bismarck had used it with striking success to create the Hohenzollern German Empire. He relied on this for the preservation of the empire and its international leadership. Accordingly, compulsory military service which was in force in 1862 in Prussia, was extended to the whole empire in 1871. The peace strength of the German Army was fixed at 40,000. By 1914, Germany emerged as the most powerful military state without an equal or rival in Europe. Army career was looked upon with respect and admiration. Even in administrative affairs, military matters assumed considerable importance. Industrialisation also added to the strength and effectiveness of the army.

7.4.1.3 Dealings with Political Parties

It was perhaps true that Bismarck enjoyed the support of the political parties such as National Liberal Party and the Free Conservatives. But, the Progressives were opposed to him. In fact, they were a thorn in his side. They were not satisfied with the German constitution of 1871, and demanded drastic changes in it on the lines of the British Parliamentary system. They were also opposed to his policy of Blood and Iron. They teased him by their lengthy speeches in the legislature. A few Socialists who were the followers of Karl Marx or of Ferdinand Lassalle were opposed to him. The deputies from Hanover, called the Guells, led by Ludwig Windthorst were also opposed to him. They demanded autonomy for their state. A few Danes from Schleswig opposed him, demanding restoration of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. The anti-Polish policy of Bismarck was resented by a few Poles from Posen and West Prussia. There was constant and consistent opposition to Bismarck by 15 deputies from Alsace-Lorraine. They protested against the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine into the German Empire. The centralising tendencies of Bismarck were disliked by certain other groups who championed the rights of the states. It is obvious from the above that the Bismarckian regime was resented, criticised and opposed by a number of political parties.

7.4.1.4 Conflict with the Church (Kultur Kampf)

The Catholics viewed the German Empire with disfavour. They were opposed to the Prussian Protestant leadership in the Empire. The Catholics, Jesuits and other religious orders carried on vigorous propaganda. Now, with the rise of the German empire, they found that their activities were curtailed, and their position endangered. They organised themselves into a political party, called the Center. They secured a large number of seats in **Reichstag**. Bismarck hated them since they always acted in the interest of the Church, and not of the Empire.

In 1870, there was a split among the Catholics. The Pope issued the Dogma of Papal Infallibility in that year. He required all Catholics to accept it. Most of them accepted it, but a number of professors and teachers (intellectuals) in German Universities refused, and they formed a separate religious group, known as the Old Catholics. These were removed from all church positions. They were also excommunicated. Roman Catholic students were forbidden from attending their lectures. These old Catholics were forbidden from conducting services. These persecuted old Catholics appealed to the government for protection.

This gave a big handle to Bismarck to carry out vigorous measures against the Catholic Church. The struggle between the German Empire and the Roman Catholic Church was called the *Kulturkampf* (battle for civilisation). Bismarck forbade them to teach. He ordered the Jesuits to leave the country. He recalled the German envoy from the Vatican in 1872. He placed the schools run by Roman Catholics under instructions of laymen. He introduced the practice of civil marriages.

In the month of May 1873 and 75, anti-Catholic laws, styled as May Laws or Falk Laws were passed. These laws had forbidden the Roman Catholic priests from excommunicating people. Candidates for priesthood were ordered to study for three years at a German University, and pass an examination in general knowledge. Appointments of Roman Catholic clergy were subjected to its control. Roman Catholic colleges were subjected to state instruction, and finally, all religious orders were dissolved.

The Pope declared the May Laws invalid. The Catholic priests defied them, but they were punished with loss of citizenship, imprisonment or exile. These penalties were very severely enforced, so much so that in a single year, six Catholic bishops were jailed, and Catholic worship was stopped in as many as 1300 Parishes.

German Catholics fought back with unexpected unanimity and increasing effectiveness. They sought the help of the public against persecution by the state. But soon, Bismarck was obliged to end the struggle because, he found another enemy of the Empire growing up, and they were the Socialists. Bismarck needed the help of the Center. Fortunately, Leo XIII became the Pope who showed conciliatory attitude. He came to terms with the new Pope and sent a German envoy to the Vatican. By 1876, Bismarck dropped the May Laws. The religious orders, except the Jesuits, were permitted to return. Bismarck retained only the laws relating to civil marriages, and the state inspection of schools. He confessed that his *Kulturkampf* had been a failure.

7.4.1.5 Conflict with the Socialists

Socialist propaganda began to spread among the working classes in the country, in the wake of Industrial Revolution in Germany. The Socialists secured nine seats in the *Reichstag* in 1874 elections. The Social Democratic Party was founded in 1875. The Socialists increased their strength to 12 in 1877 elections. Bismarck regarded the Socialist principles as the enemy of the state, the family and civilisation. He therefore, decided to strike against them. The unsuccessful attempt made on the life of the Emperor, William I in 1878, provided him with the excuse he needed. He held the Socialists responsible for the murderous attempt. A new legislature was elected in which he had a number of his supporters. Therefore, he could pass a law by which circulation of socialist books, pamphlets and newspapers was forbidden. The police were given the power to break up the meetings of the Socialists and also suppress their publications. The Socialist offenders were tried and punished not by the ordinary force of the Palace. The laws against the Socialists were passed first for four years, and they were re-enacted later on. In fact, these laws were still in force when Bismarck was dropped from power in 1890. But, the more they were oppressed, the more stronger they became. They were considered as martyrs, and hence, their popularity was on the increase. Their representation in the *Reichstag* went on increasing with every election.

7.4.1.6 Economic Policies

7.4.1.6.1 State Socialism

Bismarck adopted two methods to limit the impact of the Socialists - one, repression and the other, State Socialism. His repressive measures were already discussed in the foregoing paragraph. He was a pioneer among European statesmen to benefit and better the lot of the workers. He wanted to remove their grievances, and thereby weaken the Socialist propaganda. Secondly, he wanted strong recruits for the army, and he felt rightly that, this would be possible only if government paid attention to the condition of the workers. In 1883, a bill insured the workers against sickness. In 1884, the employers were forced to insure their employees against accidents. In 1887, laws were passed limiting the labour of women and children, fixing the minimum number of working hours for the employees in various industries and government. Sunday was declared a holiday. In 1889, provision was made for the insurance of workers against invalidity and old age. The premium was to be paid partly by the state, partly by the employer, and partly by the employee. It has rightly been observed that, this socialist legislation went a long way in making Germany one of the leading industrial countries of the world.

7.4.1.6.2 Economic Nationalism

A very important change in the national policy which Bismarck brought about with the support of Conservatives and Centrists during 1880s was a change from economic liberalism to economic nationalism. In fact, it was a change that did not originate with Bismarck or, with any particular person. Indeed it was a natural outcome of the demands of German industry and agriculture. Further, it was a national outcome of the popular reaction to rising Socialism. It also represented growing political nationalism of 1860s and 1870s in Germany. It also pointed to the increasing importance of the Conservative and Centrist parties, which were more inclined to paternalism rather than to Laissez-faire or free trade policy. This change induced Bismarck to favour a three-fold policy. Firstly, it being an essentially free trade country, Germany became a leader in tariff protection. Secondly, from being a purely European power, Germany became a world power with extensive overseas possessions. And thirdly, from being outwardly unconcerned with relations between capital and labour, Germany became the chief power or the pioneer of governmental intervention.

7.4.1.6.3 Tariff Policy

Bismarck was probably the first important European statesman of the 19th century to set aside free trade policy, and adopted a policy of protection. In order to achieve this, he gave up his alliance with National Liberals, and joined the Center Party. By an Act of 1879, a wall of high tariffs was created against foreign imports to protect German farm products and domestic manufacturers. High duties were levied on tobacco and sugar to remove the complaint of the agrarian classes that the Act of 1879 was more favourable to the urban industries. The purpose of this protectionist policy was to protect the infant German industries against the competition of the older and more developed industries of Great Britain. It would also enable Germany to increase her taxable wealth. This measure also got enough income for the federal government from customs duties, and thus relieved it of the necessity to tax the states. Thus, a great impetus was given to the industrial development of the country. Tariffs also strengthened the government, and united the Empire.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. What measures did Bismarck adopt to contain the influence of socialists in Germany?

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2. Mention two factors which enabled Germany to become as mighty a military power.

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7.5 EXTERNAL POLICY

7.5.1 Imperialism

In the beginning, Bismarck was opposed to the policy of acquiring colonies and developing the German navy. That was for the fact that, he wanted neither competition nor confrontation with England. He felt that there could be no war between the two countries, as long as Germany remained a land rat, and Great Britain a water rat. In fact, that was one of the reasons why, he did not accept the French offer in 1871 to take some French colony instead of Alsace and Lorraine. To quote him "My Map of Africa lies in Europe. Here lies Russia, and here lies France, and we are in the middle. That is my map of Africa".

He had to change his policy because of :

- 1) The merchants of Hamburg and others wanted new markets for surplus goods, and a source of supply for raw materials.
- 2) The missionaries wanted colonies to convert people to Christianity.
- 3) The patriots demanded colonies to add to the glory of their country and
- 4) To settle the surplus population of Germany which was migrating to the United States of America.

Merchants and missionaries were the pioneers in planting German colonies. German commercial Companies of Hamburg and others got some concessions, and established their trading companies in South-West Africa, Togoland, Cameroon, East Africa, Marshall island, a part of New Guinea and the islands named Bismarck archipelago. By 1884-85, protectorates were established over these commercial outposts. Before he retired in 1890, he converted the protectorates into Crown colonies. These colonies were administered by the German officials, and policed by German troops.

7.5.2 Aims of Foreign Policy

By 1870, Germany emerged as a united country. Bismarck wanted to maintain the *status quo* in Europe. His foreign policy aimed at isolating France diplomatically, so that she may not wage a war of *revanche* (revenge). To achieve this, he maintained friendly relations with Austria,

Russia, Italy and England. To quote him, "The foreign policy of the German Empire since 1870, has been the maintenance of peace and the prevention of anti-German coalitions, and the pivot of this policy is Russia".

However, his policy towards France was not hostile. He tried to establish as friendly a relation as possible between Berlin and Paris. He encouraged her to occupy Tunis and Morocco. He hoped that this would satisfy France as a sort of compensation for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. But, he knew full well that France would not be satisfied with this.

7.5.3 The Three Emperors' League

In 1872, Bismarck set up the Three Emperors' League, bringing together Austria, Russia and Germany. It was not a treaty or alliance, but indicated cordial relations between the three powers, emphasising their common interest. It was also an attempt on his part, to make Austria forget her humiliation at Sadowa. No doubt, the formation of the League was a great achievement of Bismarck. But, it was no easy task to keep it going. In 1875, Russia made it clear to Germany, that the latter could not count on her support, in the event of a German attack on France. Therefore, Bismarck sought friendly relations with Austria.

7.5.4 Austro-German Alliance

After the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Three Emperors' League broke down completely, because relations between Russia and Germany got strained. The Russians considered the Congress of Berlin as a conspiracy against the Russian people. Bismarck realising the seriousness of the situations, befriended Austria, and signed the famous Austro-German Alliance in 1879. This secret alliance brought them together in their opposition to Russia. This alliance was renewed again and again, and was very much in force, when World War I broke out.

But, Bismarck was never a man of one line of argument. He therefore, revived in 1881 Dreikaiserbund or the Three Emperors' League. The new League had little in common with the League of 1872. However, Bismarck considered this League as a triumph for conservatism. But, the Russians and the Austrians viewed it as a move only in foreign policy. Its only general principle was a pact of neutrality if one of the three emperors was involved in a war with a fourth power. It was a victory for Russians, perhaps for Bismarck also.

7.5.5 Balkan Policy

The League of the Three Emperors like the Holy Alliance before it, was a fair-weather system. It was designed to, prevent an Austro-Russian conflict in the Balkans. But actually, it worked only as long as there was no conflict. It gave Europe an impressive semblance of stability between 1881 and 1885. However the League broke down during the Bulgarian crisis, when the interests of Austria and Russia clashed. On the occasion of the crisis, Bismarck declared "In Bulgaria, I am a Russian".

In 1887, Bismarck made Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. This treaty stipulated that Russia should not render any help to France. As a reward, Germany would stand by Russia against Austria in the Balkans. It has rightly been pointed out that the Reinsurance Treaty prevented an Austro-Russian War, and a Franco-Russian coalition.

7.5.6 Triple Alliance

In 1882, Bismarck entered into Triple Alliance with Italy and Austria. To justify the alliance, Bismarck had to invent Italy as a great power. When France established her protectorate over Tunis in 1881, Italy decided to join the Austro-German Alliance. Germany and Austria agreed to aid Italy if she were attacked by France, and Italy promised to help Germany, if Germany was attacked by France. This enabled Bismarck to avoid the danger of Italy joining France.

This treaty was to last for 5 years and certain changes were made in it in 1887. This was renewed many a time after 1887, and the Triple Alliance existed even in 1914, although by that time Italy had practically gone to the opposite camp. The Triple Alliance was essentially defensive in character, and was primarily intended to preserve the peace of Europe.

7.5.7 Relations with England and Russia

Bismarck maintained friendly relations with England. The chief principle of his foreign policy was "to endeavour to avoid losing England's good will". He rightly pointed out that there was no reason for a war between "a land rat and a water rat". He appointed his son Herbert as German Ambassador in London and offered twice to enter into an alliance with England, but the offer was not accepted. In order to avoid any conflict with England, Bismarck discouraged the growth of the German navy and German colonies.

Bismarck was an exceptionally skilful fisherman in troubled waters. Anglo-Prussian and Anglo-French rivalry often gave him weeks of excellent and profitable sport. He wanted Anglo-French rivalry to continue, and not to end in Entente Cordiale. He was determined to maintain the balance of power. He knew pretty well that an alliance between England, France and Russia was bound to create a serious rival for the Triple Alliance.

In 1888, Bismarck declared: "We Germans fear God, and nothing else in the world". But, it was not true, as he was haunted by the spectre of coalitions, although he himself formed them. He humiliated a high-spirited nation like France, and in order to check her from taking her revenge, he transformed Europe into an armed camp. It is true that he succeeded for some time in isolating France, but he neither conciliated her, nor disarmed her. He built a combination of powers against her, forcing her to look for allies. The Franco-Russian alliance of 1894 was the natural outcome of that policy. The German-Austro-Russian triangle created by Bismarck, was full of contradiction. Relations between Austria and Russia could never be cordial since their interest clashed in the Balkans. In 1890, Bismarck was forced to publish the Austro-German Treaty of 1879 which pledged Germany to help Austria against Russia. Then, Russia felt that she had been tricked by Bismarck, and so, even before Bismarck resigned in 1890, Russia began to move towards France. It is said that even a genius like Bismarck, could make black look like white for some time, but not for ever. The foundations of the Triple Alliance were weak, as there was no place in it for England. Naturally, she started looking for her own allies.

Critics rightly point out that, Bismarck had secured Russian neutrality in case of Austrian attack on Germany, Austrian neutrality in case of Russian attack, Italian support against French attack, and Austro-Italian assistance against a combined Russian and French attack. But, the system became very complicated that only Bismarck could work it out. He alone could throw five balls in the air, and manage them skilfully. No wonder, the system created by him collapsed after his disappearance from the scene. That was the tragedy of his foreign policy.

7.5.8 Criticism of Bismarck's Foreign Policy

The critics point out that Bismarck was responsible for World War I. His alliance resulted in counter-alliances, ultimately dividing Europe into two armed camps. His policy of Blood and Iron led to a race for armaments among the European powers, thus promoting militarism, causing World War I. He claimed himself to be the apostle of stability, and presented his system as a League of peace. He made foreign alliances in order to take his allies prisoners. He controlled his allies, and did not cooperate with them. In international affairs, as in domestic policy, he disliked equals, and sought satellites. In short, this system was a one-sided affair, and a tyranny.

Bismarck was supreme from 1871 to 1888 in the affairs of German state. His relations with William I were cordial. But, the political fortunes of the Iron Chancellor were on steady decline with the accession of William II in 1888. The new Emperor was self-willed, and so resented

playing second fiddle to Bismarck. To quote him, "I discovered that my ministers regarded themselves as Bismarck's". Bismarck tried to project his son Herbert as his successor, which was resented by both the people and the Emperor.

During 1888 and 1889, Bismarck was away from Berlin, and thus lost touch with the personalities, ministers and the forces of policies there. Criticism against him was growing, and there was demand for a change. Events moved fast souring the relations between the new Emperor and the Iron Chancellor, when the former resented the latter's journeys to St. Petersburg, Vienna, London, Athens and Constantinople.

Bismarck had made many enemies during his long tenure. Most German sections had some grouse or the other against him. Even the army generals intrigued against him. In short, his opponents enjoyed his conflict with the young Emperor. The Emperor made it abundantly clear, his intention of being the sole master of his empire. To quote him, "There is only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no one beside me".

Bismarck was pressed again and again to resign, and finally, he submitted his resignation in March, 1890. William II accepted with profound regret the request of the Iron Chancellor to be relieved of his duties. He referred to his imperishable services, and conferred upon him the title of Duke of Lauenburg and Col-General with the rank of Field-Marshal in the army. He died at the ripe old age of 83 in 1898.

The punch summed up the matter thus : "the pilot who had steered the ship through so many storms, was dropped".

7.6 ESTIMATE OF BISMARCK

He was a massive man of stiff military bearing. He had a quick and sensitive brain. He possessed remarkable personal charm, incisive intelligence, and indomitable will-power.

As a statesman, Bismarck was one of the greatest figures in German history. He wielded personal power in Europe without precedent or parallel in the 19th century. The Prussian race was typified in him, at its highest and strongest. In private life, he was a man of warm affection; his wife and children being always to him objects of tenderest devotion.

He was a great patriot. His supreme aim and remarkable achievement was, making Prussia the pivot of the German Empire. He was both realistic and materialistic. His ambition was to control the Continent, and to establish a Napoleonic Empire in Europe. He made Germany, the Master of Europe.

Bismarck ranks among the greatest heroes of German history, and the outstanding statesmen of the modern world. He was essentially a man of action. In short, he was an epitome of action.

In the history of 19th century diplomacy, he was the foremost. No one except Count Cavour could equal him in the realm of diplomacy. His outstanding achievement was to have imposed his personality on half a century of history.

In short, he was the greatest man of the 19th century. He exercised tremendous influence on the history of the world. To the Prussians, he gave an empire and colonies; to the Germans, an ensign which came to be as much respected as that of England or France. He shifted the political capital of Europe from Vienna or Paris to Berlin. He was the architect of the German Empire, the most remarkable phenomenon of modern times.

7.7 WILLIAM II - 1888-1918

William II became the emperor of Germany in 1888. He was all in all in Germany after forcing Bismarck to resign in 1890. He was an young man of 29, when he came to the throne in

1888. He was known for his energy and limitless ambition. He was determined to make Germany one of the greatest powers of the world. His policy was either "World power, or downfall". He was a curious blend of industry, piety and patriotism on the one hand, and flattery, barbarity and impulsiveness on the other.

7.7.1 Proclamations

In June 1888, William II issued proclamations to the army, navy and people. Regarding the army he proclaimed that, God placed him at the head of the army. To quote him, "We belong to one another". In his address to the navy, he assured it that he was for its growth. His proclamation to the people was an assurance to them that he was determined to keep peace. He proclaimed that Germany was in no need of fresh military glory, nor does she require new conquests.

7.8 AFTER BISMARCK

After forcing the Iron Chancellor to resign in 1890, William II became his own Chancellor for all practical purposes. However, a reference may be made to the four Chancellors of his reign after 1890.

7.8.1 Caprivi, 1890-94

Caprivi was a Prussian Army Officer who served with some distinction in the wars of 1866 and 1870-71. It was on Bismarck's recommendation that he became the Chancellor. He admitted his political inexperience. But, William II gave him the assurance in these words, "I will assume responsibility for the affairs". The Emperor wrote to the Austrian Emperor about Caprivi that "he was not a great land owner like his predecessor, and so he was despised by the Prussian aristocracy. He was therefore inclined towards businessmen at home, and maintain friendly relations with England. The German tariff system with England was put on the basis of reciprocity. It was during his tenure as Chancellor that, Heligoland was exchanged for Zanzibar in a treaty with England. He was unpopular with the Conservatives who demanded his dismissal, and William II obliged them in 1894.

7.8.2 Hohenlohe, 1894-1900

Hohenlohe was 75 years old, when he became the Chancellor in 1894. He was an aristocrat from South Germany, and had a record of distinguished service in his youth. But now at 75, he was not much more than a distinguished figurehead. The actual conduct of the state affairs was in the hands of the Emperor and Bulow, the Foreign Secretary at that time. Germany concentrated during this period on the extension of German dominion, and trade overseas. The Emperor himself declared in 1895 that, "the German Empire had become the World Empire".

In 1897, two German Christian Missionaries were murdered in China. Taking advantage of this, German troops landed in China, and wrested economic concessions for German merchants and bankers in China, and the lease for 90 years of about 200 square miles of Chinese territory. In 1899, Germany purchased from Spain the Caroline islands in the Pacific. In 1899-1900, by an agreement with England and the United States of America, Germany acquired the major part of Samoa. The Emperor made a great show of his visits to the Sultan at Constantinople, and enabled a railway across Asiatic Turkey, from the Bosphorus to Baghdad. Turkish army was reorganised and drilled by German officers, and Turkish war-materials were purchased in Germany. In 1900, Germany participated in the Boxer Rising in China. German settlements were established in Brazil. German investments and trade in South Africa began to increase.

Germany took a series of steps which resulted in her becoming a great naval power, next only to England in importance. She followed a systematic policy of navalism. The Emperor outlined the policy in these words : "Germany's future lies upon the water", and "the Ocean is essential to Germany's greatness". The Emperor's enthusiasm, the patriotic German Naval League's propaganda, and above all, the organising ability of Admiral Alfred Von Tirpitz, rendered Germany an imposing naval power. Tirpitz continued to guide the destinies of German Navy upto 1916.

7.8.3 Bulow, 1900-1909

Bulow was a versatile and polished Prussian landlord. He had a suavity in handling Prussian reactionaries, which Hohenlohe and Caprivi lacked. He was fundamentally more sympathetic to them. He promoted cordial relations between the Imperial government and the Prussian Conservatives. He succeeded in bringing about a sort of a parliamentary coalition between the Industrial National Liberals and the Agrarian Conservatives. His drastic measures against the Poles, delighted the extreme German Nationalists.

Bulow's foreign policy was determined mainly by imperialistically-minded businessmen. It was directed towards enlarging Germany's place in the Sun-territorial and economic. It was during his tenure as Chancellor, that the British efforts to enter into an alliance with Germany failed. This led to the formation of the the Entente Cordiale between England and France. Germany evinced interest in the Moroccan and Bosnian crises. German goods started penetrating into every nook and corner of the world. Thus, Germany followed a world policy.

His imperialistic policies were widely criticised. His taxation schemes were attacked by the patriotic Conservatives. The militarist group led by the Crown Prince, brought about his resignation for the Chancellor's "lack of forcefulness", as they put it.

7.8.4 Bethmann - Hollweg

Bethmann-Hollweg succeeded Bulow as Chancellor. He belonged to a wealthy family of Prussian landlords. He was a distinguished member of the Prussian Civil Service. He continued Bulow's domestic and foreign policies. He sought the co-operation of a coalition of the Democrats and Centrists. He was the German Chancellor when World War I broke out. A great, strong and united Germany entered the war under his stewardship.

7.9 GERMANY'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The reign of William II was marked by rapid industrialisation of Germany. The number of Germans engaged in manufacturing industry and trade and commerce, increased from 20 million to 35 million. Production of iron increased from 5 million to 15 million tons, and coal from 70 million to 200 million tons. Germany's share in the world's shipping increased from 6 per cent to 11 per cent, and the annual value of its export trade from 800 million dollars to 2,500 million dollars. Germany also registered remarkable growth of population.

7.10 GROWTH OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Of the five major political parties, the Social Democrats registered considerable increase of their strength. In the 1912 general election, the Social Democrats polled the largest number of votes, i.e., four and a quarter million votes. However, the growing strength of the Social Democrats did not signify any imminent revolution. Many of them were trade unionists, who desired recognition of organised labour by the state. Even the radicals among them regarded the party as an agency for reforming imperial institutions, and introducing real democracy into Germany. This helps to explain why the majority of the leaders and members of the party were more prone to talk of reform rather than indulge in revolution.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What were the chief aims of Bismarck's foreign policy?

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2. Which German political party emerged as a strong force in the beginning of the 20th century in Germany?

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7.11 LET US SUM UP

1. William I (1871-88) and William II (1888-1913) the emperors of Germany and Bismarck the chancellor were the makers of the German empire.
2. Bismarck introduced a number of internal reforms to strengthen the government and to develop the economy of Germany.
3. The chief aim of Bismarck's imperialist foreign policy was to make Germany the most powerful country in Europe. In 1872 he started the Three Emperors League (Austria, Russia and Germany) and in 1882 entered in to the Triple Alliance with Italy and Austria to achieve his ambitions in the international sphere.

7.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
 1. Bismarck adopted repressive measures and also introduced state socialism to contain the influence of the socialists in Germany.
 2. Modernisation of the army, its effective organisation and discipline and extension of compulsory military service made Germany a mighty military power.
- II.
 1. The chief aims of Bismarck's foreign policy were
 - a) to make Germany the supreme political power in Europe
 - b) to maintain status quo in Europe
 - c) to isolate France.
 2. Social Democrats.

7.13 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Critically analyse the internal policies of Bismarck.
 2. Critically analyse the foreign policy of Bismarck.
 3. Give a critical estimate of Bismarck as the Chancellor of Germany.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Critically discuss the economic policies of Bismarck.
 2. Explain how Bismarck was able to face the challenges from his political opponents.
 3. Discuss the significance of the three Emperor's league and the Triple alliance.
 4. Analyse Bismarck's policy towards England.

7.14 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Hayes, C.J.H. : *Contemporary Europe since 1870*
2. Hazon, C.D. : *Europe since 1815*
3. Grant and Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*
4. Leonard W. Conic and Robert Wolfrom : *Years of Nationalism European History 1815-1890*

— I. VENKATA SWAMY

BRAOU

BLOCK IV : THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

This block has unit on the Industrial Revolution. The causes nature effects and significance of the Industrial Revolution are explained in this unit.

BRAOU

UNIT-8 : THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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8.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you

1. Analyse the causes for the Industrial Revolution
2. Analyse the effects of the Industrial Revolution
3. Estimate the nature and significance of the Industrial Revolution

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The Industrial Revolution refers to the tremendous economic changes of the late 18th century which radically transformed the methods of Production, transportation and communications in Europe. The Industrial Revolution had far reaching effect not only in the economic sphere but also on the social structures, Government, and many other areas of human activity.

8.2 EXPLANATION OF THE TERM INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The word 'revolution' means a cycle of phenomena of time i.e., a period of time in which events happen in a certain order, and that order constantly repeats itself. It also means a great upheaval - a profound or complete change in any aspect like the outlook, social habits or circumstances or a radical change in the form and function of government. In earlier times the term 'Revolution' was used to denote the former meaning i.e., cyclical alterations only in the forms of government. The use of the term in this sense had been noted towards the end of middle ages i.e., around 1450 A.D. But later on, it was used to denote a 'complete change' of the old and heralding a new order, and mostly it was in the government of a country. The Bloodless Revolution of 1688 in England. The American Revolution and the French Revolution in 1789 can be quoted as examples for the radical changes they brought in the political sphere.

Likewise, Britain experienced a complete change in the process of production of certain goods necessary to mankind during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The domestic way of production of goods involving human and animal labour was replaced by the production of goods by the application of machinery, and gradually, by heavy machinery. That led to the setting-up of factories or foundries which carried on the production on a large scale. These changes necessitated the changes in the various other fields, and the phase of European history involving the whole process of change in England was described as 'Industrial Revolution'.

The French Socialist, Blanc was the first one to use the term 'Industrial Revolution' in the year 1837. Arnold Toynbee, the famous British Historian, gave a wider circulation to the term through his memorable work on 'Industrial Revolution'. Thereafter, the term has been used more commonly and widely by the historians, while describing this period of change in the pages of European History.

8.2.1 'Evolution' but not Revolution

But, Hayes differs with those historians in describing it as 'Industrial Revolution'. According to him, it is apt to describe the phase of industrialisation in England or Europe as 'evolution'. He opines that 'Revolution' denotes a sharp sudden upheaval. The results should immediately

be seen or felt, as in the case of political revolutions like the Bloodless or Glorious Revolution in England in the seventeenth century, or the American Revolution and French Revolution in the eighteenth century. The Industrial Revolution was not as sudden, and the effects were not immediately felt. The process of change could not be confined to a particular year or century, as in the case of political revolution. He contends that it could be traced back to at least 15th century, and still at is continuing and spreading. He categorically remarks that the development or change that had spread over a long span of time i.e., nearly five centuries, can hardly be a revolution. He further says that if at all the term 'Industrial Revolution' is to be applied, it is to be applied to the period between 1830 and 1870 in England, and the continent of Europe after 1870. It was during that period England changed from predominantly agricultural and commercial pursuits to those of mechanised industry.

The opinion of Hayes is justifiable. The change in the process of production of various goods was neither sudden nor to be confined to a particular year or period, as in the case of political revolutions. For example, we can specify the years 1688 and 1789 to Glorious Revolution and French Revolution respectively. Though the inventions and the period of inventions can be traced in general from 1700 A.D. It spread over to eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is still continuing.

8.3 ORIGINS IN ENGLAND

England became the pioneer of the European countries to experience the process of change in production and reaping its fruits, and was looked upon as the 'Workshop of the world'. It was due to many favourable conditions or pre-requisites that were present in England towards setting up of flourishing industries. The other countries experienced the change later.

8.3.1 Favourable conditions in England

England was blessed with modest climate which suited very much to cotton industry. There was no scarcity of water power. There was no dearth of raw material in England. Coal and iron were available in abundance, and side by side. The coal fields were larger and closer to important harbours than in any other European countries, like France or Germany, and so, it was convenient for transport by water.

"On the basis of iron, coal, and textiles" Fisher compliments, 'Britain built up a type of civilization which has been copied all round the world'".

8.3.1.1 Capital

Raising capital was not a problem in England as the wealth was available in abundance, and again, it was due to many reasons. Britain was known for its commercial pursuits with other countries from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and gained huge profits. Not only from trade and commerce, but also from the capitalist type of agriculture, good profits were earned. In the words of Fisher, the non conformists were also largely responsible in amassing wealth in the country. They considered labour as a sacrament, and making wealth as a sign of their services acceptable to the 'Lord'!

But, mere availability of wealth is of no use, unless it is invested in the right way. The part played by the Bank of England in speeding up the use of capital is in no way to be underestimated. The rise of London money market, joint-stock banks, and joint-stock corporation made the finance simple and easy. In the words of Fisher, it was the sound system of bank credit that made the mechanism of finance in England more effective. It enabled England to enjoy the economic consequences of steam engine and spinning jenny to the maximum.

8.3.1.2 Labour

Workers also were available from different sources in large numbers in England to be employed in the newly set up factories or industries for carrying out the production on a large scale. British population was also growing. The old and unprofitable system of agriculture was replaced by improved methods of cultivation i.e., by scientific rotation of crops. This increased the food supply, and consequently the population. It was further facilitated by the immigration of some continental European Labour into England in the eighteenth century. The gradual destruction of old peasant farming, due to enclosure movement supplied the agricultural labour to the newly set up industries.

8.3.1.3 Transportation

England was well-equipped by eighteenth century for sea-borne trade. It had a good number of ports. Inland transport was improved and modernized by building a net work of roads and canals.

8.3.1.4 Scientific atmosphere

England was fortunate in having a handful of remarkable Scots and English who succeeded in inventing machines to be applied in the process of production, and thus transforming the economic life of the country.

8.4 INVENTIONS THAT CHANGED

In the words of David Thomson, the basis of Industrial Revolution was the application of steam power to machinery, first for production of goods, and then, to transport.

8.4.1 Steam engine

In the early part of the eighteenth century i.e., in 1700s, Newcomen, a mechanic, invented a steam engine, and it was used to pump out the water from the mines of England. But, it could not be put to wider use as it had its own defects. It was useless at deep levels, and there was waste of heat at different levels. But, James Watt (1736-1819), the Greenock engineer succeeded in curing the defects of the steam engine by his device of a separate condenser (1769), and could put it to wider use. The improved steam engine of Watt inaugurated a new age, the age of steam, and it became one of the main factors that revolutionised the industry in Great Britain. The fame of James Watt eclipsed the name of Newcomen, and Watt came to be considered the inventor of steam engine. A subsequent invention of the rotary motion, imitating the movement of the water wheel, brought the steam engine into cotton factories in 1781.

The efforts of Boulton should not be overlooked towards manufacturing the steam engine, and making it available in the market, both for inland use and also, for export. He joined hand with James Watt, and manufactured a good number of engines. By 1879, the steam engine established itself as a domineering factor in most of the basic industries of England. Soon, it became the centre of use and attraction of modern industry.

The improved steam engine brought a tremendous change in the production of goods in England. Prior to its invention, the production was carried on mostly by hand, and it was on a small scale. It was confined to a shop or home, where the manufacturer employed a few workmen, and became one among them.

8.4.2 Inventions and improvements in the cotton and textile industries

The production of cloth involves two important processes, i.e., the spinning of the thread out of raw material - cotton wool or silk, and weaving the thread into cloth. The art of spinning

and weaving had been known for ages. According to the old process, one person could spin only one thread at a time, by spinning wheel. But, it was in the process of spinning and weaving that many inventions were made, and these inventions made it possible to spin more than one thread at a time.

In the year 1733, Kay of Bury invented Flying Shuttle which could turn out double the work of a weaver, and also improved the quality of thread. James Hargreaves invented 'Spinning Jenny' in 1754, which enabled men to make eight or ten threads at a time, and thus, it could turn out the work of eight or ten people.

In 1769, Richard Arkwright invented a machine, called 'Spinning Frame' or 'Water Frame' which could spin stronger thread. It was run by water power instead of by hand or feet. These machines were very heavy, and so, they were to be installed in special buildings or factories. In the words of Fisher, "Arkwright was the founder of English cotton industry, and parent of the factory system".

Later inventions resulted in machines spinning two hundred threads at the same time.

In 1779 Samuel Crompton invented 'Spinning Mule' correlating the earlier two inventions, viz., the 'Spinning Jenny' and 'Water Frame' Dr. Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, constructed a self-acting loom run by water power which could turn out the weaving of hundred persons, and thus, greatly increased the rapidity with which the weaving could be done. The power loom of Cartwright (1785) completed "The Revolution in the cotton industry".

It was followed by countless inventions perfection and facilitating every part of the general process of textile manufacture. As a result, a single machine was enough to turn out the work of one or two hundred people.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Mention two reasons for considering the Industrial Revolution as an evolution and not revolution.

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2. Which were the two important inventions which revolutionised the textile industry?

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8.4.3 Coal, iron and steel industries

With the tremendous increase of production by substituting the machine for man or animal power wherever it was possible, the use of machines became very common. But, they are too heavy to be operated either by human strength or by using animal power. The wind and water power were limited and undependable. So, a need was felt for a new motive force necessary

to run the machinery. The improved steam engine of James Watt came to the rescue of the mankind as a new motive force.

The use of steam engine and other machines created a new demand for iron and coal. Iron was essential to produce the machines, and coal is required to produce the steam to run the steam engine.

Iron and steel are the most important factors for the development of industries of any country. Prior to eighteenth century, fire-wood was used to smelt iron ore and manufacture the iron goods. But, the shortage of wood to make charcoal for the smelting of iron, led to experimentation with coal. Since sixteenth century, coal was mined in increasing quantities in England. The Darbys succeeded during the first half of eighteenth century in their attempt of transforming coal into coke, and also in using strong blast of air in the smelting process. Darby's coke-blast process and a series of other inventions and improvements, rejuvenated the declining iron production after mid-eighteenth century. James Watt's steam hammer, Huntsman's steel process about 1740, John Smeaton's air pump in 1760, the reverberatory furnace, 'Pudding' and rolling mill of Henry Cort and Peter Onions about 1783, and hot blast of Nicholson, 1828, were some of the series of other inventions that helped the production of iron rapidly in increasing quantities by the early nineteenth century. The invention of 'Safety Lamp' by Humphry Davy in 1815, helped the mining process of coal.

8.4.4 Transport and Communications

Industrialisation and production of goods on a large scale, led to the demand of raw material and markets for the finished products. These two factors in their turn necessitated the immediate improvement in the process of transportation. In the words of Hayes, the amazing improvements brought about in the process of transportation between 1830-1870, were mere 'revolutionary'. Till 1830, not much change or progress was brought about in the means of transportation. People still used to cover the distance either by walk or by horse ride. The application of steam engine to locomotion helped to solve the problem of transportation in England. The first steam railway was opened between Stockton and Darlington in England in 1815. The inventions of Robert Stephenson improved the locomotive greatly. His 'Rocket' covered the distance of forty miles in an hour and half. The success of Stephenson opened a period of extensive railway building. In the words of Fisher, his success opened an era of greater mobility, greater wealth and greater restlessness for mankind. By 1870, the rail lines were improved greatly, and London was linked with all the major English and Scottish cities. Locomotives were vastly improved. The development of the new means of locomotion has proceeded with the development of Chemistry, Metallurgy, Mechanics, Engineering and Electricity.

Navigation also had its record of success. Steam ships were built in increasing number, and with increase in size as well as speed.

8.5 SPREAD OF THE REVOLUTION

The 'Industrial Revolution' which began in the eighteenth century in England, has been in progress ever since. It was the immense wealth that increased with the progress of Industrial Revolution in England that gave her the strength to endure the strain of a long-drawn struggle with her enemy, France.

The industries that are developed by 1830 in England were expanded with great rapidity. The exports of British goods were increased greatly. Progress in the iron Industry also was remarkably fast. Gradually, the process of change had been introduced into other countries also. The newly invented machines like 'Water Frames' of Arkwright were introduced into other European countries like France, Belgium and Netherlands in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

8.5.1 Agricultural progress

Progress in agriculture was not constant. As we had seen earlier, the enclosure movement and new techniques of eighteenth century transformed the old peasant farming into a large-scale, profit-making enterprise. But, after 1815, the agricultural profits went down considerably. But, again between 1840 to 1870, British farming became very profitable once again. The application of mechanism to agriculture drastically cut down the labour costs. Liebig's work on fertilizer helped very much the progress of agriculture. With the advance of chemical and mechanical agriculture, the crops of England rose, and the labour costs went down. The profitable process went to till 1870 when there was a decline in agriculture.

8.5.2 Industrial expansion after 1870

In the words of Hayes, the period of forty years from 1830 to 1870 had seen the actual Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. The next forty years from 1870 to 1910 were marked by a progressive output of industries already largely mechanized.

8.5.3 Electricity

From 1870, electricity and its applications came into prominence. A wide range and a great variety of electrical devices appeared. The progress in the use of electricity however, was not confined to a particular country. It occurred simultaneously in Britain, in America and all over the European continent.

Electrical dynamos and motors were rapidly improved and multiplied. Gradually, electricity was used for lighting. The invention of electric light by Thomas Edison (1878) and telephone by Alexander Graham Bell (1876), came as great boons to mankind. Soon, there appeared the electric trains and street cars. In 1895 an Italian, Marconi, devised wireless telegraphy. In 1898, wireless telegraphic communication was established across the English Channel, and in 1901 across the Atlantic.

8.5.3.1 Use of electricity for domestic purpose

From the beginning of twentieth century, the application of electricity was extended to domestic purpose. There were electric lights, telephones, small electric motors for vacuum cleaners, for sewing machines and for washing machines.

8.5.4 Aids to personal comforts

Along with the electrical industries, there developed special mechanical aids for the comfort of people at home, in shop or office. The artificial heating was provided by a variety of 'furnances'. Refrigerator was developed, and certain chemicals were found useful for making ice as well as for preserving tinned and potted foods. Engineers learned to apply electricity to refrigerator. The sewing machine came as a big aid to domestic economy. Issac Singer, an American, greatly contributed for the commercial exploitation of the machine. The 'Electric sewing machine was patented in 1889.

A special aid to office economy was the typewriter. The commercial manufacture was inaugurated by Remington and Sons, Newyork, in 1874.

The invention of bicycle facilitated individual locomotion. By 1890, it was widely used in Europe and America. An important new feature of the era from 1870 to 1910 was the devising of the steam turbine and internal combustion engines. The later was applied to the motor car, motor boat and aviation. It gave great impetus to petroleum, rubber and cement industries. Slowly, the gasoline engine, towards the end of 19th century rivalled Watt's steam engine in revolutionising transportation and stimulating industry.

8.5.5 Petroleum and rubber

The invention of the internal combustion engine and its application for motor cars, motor boats, aeroplanes etc., led to the development of the petroleum industry. The use of motor car led to the development of rubber industry.

Charles Goodyear invented the process of vulcanizing rubber in order to make it stronger and more elastic in 1831, and thus became the founder of rubber industry. In the year 1850, James Young, a Scottish industrial chemist, discovered the process of extracting lubricating oil, paraffin, kerosene and by distilling crude oil.

8.6 EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution had far-reaching effects on various aspects of human life like the economic, social, political and philosophical aspects.

8.6.1 Economic aspects

The two economic aspects, the factory system and industrial capitalism are interlinked. The application of machinery in the process of production thoroughly changed the domestic way of production, and gave rise to factory system. The new machinery was too heavy and complicated to be set up in a home or a shop, and too expensive to be owned by peasants or artisans. So, machines were acquired by wealthy men or by 'promoters' who are backed by wealthy men. These machines were set-up of industries on a large scale involved much investment of capital, and thus gave rise to a new type of capitalism, called industrial capitalism. So, there was no factory system without industrial capitalism, and there was no industrial capitalism in the absence of factory system. The industrial capitalists were of two kinds. The first one belonged to upper middle class or the landed nobility. They were already enriched by the earlier commercial capitalism. The second category were "self-made men" drawn from lower classes without previous name or fame. Early industrial capitalists were in close and direct contact with their business enterprises.

The mechanized production absorbed numerous workmen as industrial labourers. There was a tremendous increase in the production of goods in England, and it came to be looked upon as the 'factory of the world'.

8.6.1.1 Big business

In course of time, the factory system became very complicated and gave way to big business. Larger industrial enterprises like railways, gave rise to joint-stock companies and corporations, as it was not possible for individual capitalists and partnership to undertake the enterprises. As a result, ownership of large-scale industries changed hands from individual capitalists or partnerships to that of joint-stock companies and corporations. These companies or corporations in their turn, used to carry on the work through salaried people. This led to the importance of the employees who were entrusted with the management of the industrial enterprises like superintendence and dealing of the business. The industrial capitalists had no direct contacts with the business from which they derived the profits.

8.6.1.2 Increase of Wealth

The application of machinery and the new factory system, increased the production tremendously, and through it the capital. Wealth of Britain also increased during the nineteenth century. The capital investment in Great Britain was doubled in 1870 from 35 to 70 billion dollars. After 1870, the rise of great new industries, big expansion of old industries and rapid extension of commerce, vastly increased the field for capital investment. Increased scope for capital investment gave rise to industrial capitalists, and some of them, as has been seen already,

happened to be "self-made men". They include both ingenious and unscrupulous individuals who emerged from economic and social obscurity, and rank among the 'world's captains of industry'.

8.6.2 Social effects

The growth of industrial towns marked a significant change in the structure of society. It added new classes like the industrial capitalists and industrial proletarians to the already existing social classes the land, owners, peasants, merchants and artisans.

8.6.2.1 Growth of population

Machanised industry and large-scale production shifted the importance from agriculture to industry, and it led to remarkable shift of population from rural area to urban area. Most of the population increase led to the growth of cities and towns. In Britain, London grew to an enormous size. Old cities like Bristol or Glasgow, grew. Cities like Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester or Birmingham, grew out of mere villages.

8.6.2.2 Labour problems

Industrialism brought with it some inherent problems. Under the new systems, workers should leave home to earn their wage. As the large-scale industries required a number of people to work, large numbers gathered together in factories which were at first poorly ventilated and lighted. They were exposed frequently to conditions that endangered their health. The independent worker under domestic way of production became a wage earner in the new industries. The skilled worker under domestic system of production found no place in the large scale industry due to application of the machinery. They were in less demand, and found them in lowered status. For working the new machines, unskilled labour was mostly good enough. So, it gave scope for women and child labour. There was a complete change in the character of labour market with the entry of women and children as wage earners. They became competitors of the men, as they could tend the machines in most industries as well as the men, accepting low wages.

Two different classes—the wage earners and the capitalists engaged in the process of production. A large number of workers collected in factories could discuss their problems, and this led to organize themselves into unions for the protection and furtherance of their collective and individual interests.

In the words of David Thomson, economic life took on a ruthlessness, a spirit of inhumanity and fatalism that it had not known before.

8.6.3 The material advance

The industrial 'Revolution' or 'evolution' brought many comforts and luxuries within the reach of mankind.

8.6.3.1 Economic Liberalism, Liberal Political Economy and Free Trade

It has been already noted that the industrialisation gave rise to new class of people, the industrial capitalists and many of them drawn mostly from middle class or 'self-made men' who rose from obscurity. Just as the landed capitalists in general adhered to conservatism, the middle class people, in the words of David Thomson, "were the prime movers of change". The 'new captains of industry' while committed to political liberalism, supported the economic liberalism. It was expounded by a series of British economists who were influenced by *Laissezfaire* doctrines of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Economic liberalism became a well organised body by doctrine. Like in political liberalism, it gave importance to individual. It argued that the individual

self-interest was the motive force of economic life. They resented the restriction imposed by conservative government in trade or manufacture. It stressed freedom, freedom of trade i.e., without any tariff or subsidies, freedom of contract between the individuals; they resented the interference and regulations of the government. The industrial capitalists were much convinced of their economic liberalism, and hence, it gained strong foothold in Britain. By 1860, Britain adopted free trade and *Laissez-faire* as thoroughly as any nation has ever done.

8.6.3.2 Economic nationalism

But, economic liberalism gradually gave way to economic nationalism after 1870. This was mainly due to the rise of national states like Italy and Germany. Intensified national spirit and rivalry prevailed in European continent. Industrial progress was no more attended by governmental policies of *Laissez-faire*. So long as large-scale mechanized industry was mainly confined to Great Britain i.e., upto 1870, other countries could exchange their raw-material with the finished products of England, freely to the profit of all concerned. But, after 1870, machine industry was extended to other countries, and the argument for free trade was not convincing and acceptable for other countries. Industrialisation varied greatly from country to country in the European continent. Whereas it was complete in England, that Britain advocated the idea of 'free trade' even after 1870 up to 1914.

8.6.3.3 Continental tariff

But, the position of the other countries in the European continent was different. The industrialisation in those countries was in its infant stage, and greatly varied from country to country. So, they sought tariff protection for their infant industries against more highly developed foreign industries. Thus, the trend shifted from economic liberalism to economic nationalism. In the atmosphere of intensified popular nationalism, the interested farmers and manufactures could erect the tariff walls.

Germany was the staunch supporter of the economic nationalism of "Neo mercantilism". Other states like France, United States and Russia, soon followed in line. In three decades i.e., from 1880 and 1910, they enacted neo-mercantilist legislation. Thus, the *Laissez-faire* principle an ideal accompaniment of industrial progress in Europe during the era from 1830 to 1870 was replaced to a large extent during the era from 1870 to 1910 by neo-mercantilism governmental attempts to treat industry and agriculture, commerce and labour as "National interest".

8.6.3.4 Industrialisation and democracy

The rise of Economic nationalism coincided with the advent of political democracy in Western and Central Europe. Between the years 1830 and 1850, liberalism was only a middle class movement, and a few liberals advocated political democracy. But, it was confined to suffrage of the people without insisting on their property and education, and holding office. Liberalism during that period could set up parliamentary government, but it was a government of upper and middle classes. Democratic form of government with universal manhood suffrage was adopted between the years of 1867 to 1885 in Western and Central Europe. It was mostly due to the agitation of working class leaders.

The advent of political democracy insisted more on popular education. Liberals also favoured the idea of free education and popular education.

8.6.3.5 Increase of State functions

As a result, great system of the State got maintained, and State directed schools were inaugurated or strengthened. Gradually, the functions of the State were increased. The matters

like charity and public health came under the control of the State. The exercise of police powers of the State became rigorous over individual property right, affecting the health and physical well-being of the community. Many statutes were made on the treatment of communicable disease, disposal of sewage, the sanitation, ventilation and lighting of factories and shops and private dwellings. Establishment of more public hospitals, sanitoriums, prisons and reformatories became mostly the concern of the State.

8.6.3.6 The growth of Socialist Ideas

The miserable conditions of working classes that prevailed in European continent as a result of the Industrial Revolution, gave rise to a variety of protesting socialist movements. Socialist ideas too were taken from the doctrines of Rousseau and French Revolution. The Socialists cherished the idea of fraternity. But, they were overshadowed by a very special kind of socialism expounded by Karl Marx.

8.6.3.6.1 Karl Marx and his Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx was a native of Rhenish Prussia and son of a Jewish lawyer. He derived his ideas from several sources. Under the influence of the "Younger Hegelians", he developed a strong sympathy for liberal and democratic political ideas. His interest in Economics was intensified at Paris. He made personal observations of the new factory system and industrial proletariat. He had discussions and debates with a variety of socialists, and his contact with Friedrich Engels was the most significant one to be noted. The latter was the son of a wealthy cotton-spinner. He was thoroughly shocked when he saw the conditions of working class, when he was sent to take charge of a branch of a factory near Manchester. He joined the radical 'Socialist'.

In 1848, Marx and Engels jointly issued a little pamphlet, 'The Communist Manifesto'. It attracted little attention in 1848, and even on the part of proletarians. Marx continued to devote his major energies in collaboration with Engels in strengthening the doctrines of the Manifesto. He tried to induce workmen to organize themselves in support of his philosophy and programme.

For many years, he devoted himself to the study of Economics with a view to showing how the industrial worker was exploited by the industrial capitalists. This resulted in his treatise 'Capital'. Marx himself published the first Volume in 1867, and others were published by Engels after Marx's death. However, the Marxist ideas did not achieve revolutionary results until 1917 i.e., the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Mention two important economic effects of the Industrial revolution.
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2. Mention two important effects of the Industrial revolution on the social structure in Europe?
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8.7 LET US SUM UP

1. The Industrial Revolution refers to the radical changes which took place in the 18th and 19th centuries in the field of production, transportation and communication.
2. The Industrial Revolution started in England due to the favourable circumstances which existed there like good climate, availability of capital and labour and due to the necessity that arose for manufacturing of goods on a large scale.
3. A number of inventions caused the Industrial Revolution. Some of the following are the important inventions
 - a) Steam Engine (1769 - James Watt)
 - b) Flying Shuttle (1733 - John Kay)
 - c) Water frame (1769 - Richard Arkwright)
 - d) Spinning Mill (1779 - Samuel Chrompton)
 - e) Power loom (1785 - Edward Cartwright)
 - f) Locomotive (1825 - George Stephenson)
4. The Industrial Revolution had many far reaching economic, social and political effects. Some of the important effects are
 - a) Mechanical production started and the factory system came into existence
 - b) capitalism emerged
 - c) wealth increased and material advancement took place
 - d) population increased and urbanisation took place
 - e) The conditions of the working class became miserable. There was exploitation of the workers by the capitalists.
 - f) The functions of the state increased
 - g) Socialist ideas developed

8.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. a) It did not take place suddenly nor was it confined to a particular period
b) effects were not felt immediately
2. a) Flying shuttle
b) power loom
- II 1. a) Production became mechanised and the factory system started
b) Capitalism emerged
2. a) New classes like industrial capitalists and industrial proletariat emerged
b) Rural areas became deserted and urbanisation increased.

8.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

- 1) Mention some of the inventions of 19th century which added comfort and luxury to mankind
- 2) Describe the economic aspects of the Industrial Revolution
- 3) What were the evils of the Industrial Revolution ? Mention a few of the important attempts made by Socialist movements to fight out those evils
- 4) Describe the inventions which helped to lessen the distance between various parts of the world and to bring mankind closer

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

- 1) It is apt to call it "Evolution" but not "Revolution". Do you agree with this view of Hayes on Industrial Revolution?
- 2) What were the different causes for the origin of the Industrial Revolution in England in 18th century?
- 3) Mention some of the important inventions during 18th century that changed the process of production in some of the key industries. What were the effects?
- 4) Write a brief note on Karl Marx.

8.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Fisher, H.A.C | <i>A History of Europe</i> |
| 2. Grant, A.J. | <i>The story of Europe during the last Five centuries</i> |
| 3. Harrison, John B. & others | <i>A short History of western civilisation since Vol. II 1600</i> |
| 4. Hays : C.J.H | <i>Contemporary Europe since 1870</i> |
| 5. Hazen C.D. | <i>Modern Europe upto 1945</i> |
| 6. Snellgrone C.D | <i>The modern world since 1870</i> |
| 7. Thompson, David | <i>Europe since Napoleon</i> |

– LALITA

UNIT-9 : THE EASTERN QUESTION-ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENTS UPTO 1878

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BLOCK V : THE EASTERN QUESTION

This block has a single unit on the Eastern Question. The meaning of Eastern Question, its significance and the developments relating to it upto 1878 are explained in this unit.

9.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to

1. Explain the meaning of Eastern question.
2. Analyse the causes for the interest of various European powers in the Eastern question.
3. Analyse the causes and results of the revolts of the serbs and greeks in the ottoman empire.
4. Analyse the causes and effects of the crimean war and the Russo Turkiswar.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The problems arising out of Turkey becoming the sick man of Europe are known as the Eastern question. The involvement of major European powers like Russia, Austria, England and France in the problems of the Turkish empire resulted in the crimean war and the Russo-Turkish war. The developments connected with the Eastern question, paved the way for world war I.

9.2 MEANING OF EASTERN QUESTION

European historians divide the Eastern regions of the world into three parts-the Far East, the Middle East and the Near East. In this lesson when we speak of the Eastern Question, we mean the problems of the Near - East. i.e. the region comprising the Balkan Peninsula and Turkey. The Balkan Peninsula is the south-eastern part of Europe with River Danube in the north, Aegean Sea in the South, Black Sea in the East, and Adriatic Sea in the West as its boundaries. The eastern Question is also called the Balkan Problem. In earlier times, it was the home of the Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Albanian races. The people of this region were mostly Christians under the ruthless Turkish rule. The Ottoman Empire began to decline towards the 18th Century.

Now the term, Eastern question, is generally applied to the problems dealing with the decline of the Turkish Empire, and the aspirations of her subject Christian nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula for independence. Lord Morley has described the Eastern Question as a shifting intractable and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples and antagonistic faiths". The Eastern Question revolved round four important problems: (i) the decline of the Turkish Empire in Europe; (ii) the nationalist aspirations of the Balkan people; (iii) rivalries of the European Powers with regard to the sharing of the Turkish spoils; and (iv) the divergent interests of the European powers. According to Miller, the Eastern Question may be defined as "the problem of filling up the vacuum created by the gradual disappearance of the Turkish Empire from Europe".

9.3 RISE OF OTTOMAN TURKISH EMPIRE AND ITS STEADY DECLINE; PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH IT

The Turks were a tribal people whose original home was in Central Asia. They had emigrated thence, during the Middle Ages as permanent settlers to Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and particularly to Asia Minor. They had adopted the Muslim religion of the populations among whom they settled. One of the Turkish tribes which penetrated into Asia Minor had a chieftain, (circa, 1300 A.D.) whose name was Osman or Othman. He assumed the title of emir (prince) of the Turks. The Turks who were subject to Othman and his successors were henceforth called the 'Ottoman Turks'. Othman and his immediate successors were great warriors. They conquered other Turkish tribes, and built up a powerful military State. This growing State of the Ottoman Turks championed the cause of Islam, and renewed the struggle with Christianity for mastery of the Near East.

By the end of the 14th century, the Ottoman Turks had conquered the whole of Asia Minor and south-eastern parts of Europe-Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece except Constantinople-and a few other parts. The Ottoman Turks under Sultan Muhammad II, the ablest and the greatest of the Ottoman Sultans, captured Constantinople in 1453 A.D., which gave the final blow to the surviving Byzantine Roman Empire in the East. Thus, the Eastern frontier town of Europe opened its gates to the Asiatic Turks who occupied substantial parts of Europe. Under Sultan Suleiman II (1520-1566), "the Magnificent", the empire extended as far as Vienna. The Turks controlled the entire Balkan Peninsula, Belgrade and Hungary. When the Turks were at the height of their power during the 16th and 17th centuries, they ruled over the Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt and almost the whole of the north coast of Africa.

However, by the end of 17th century, the vast Ottoman Turkish Empire began to disintegrate, when it lost Hungary to Austria in 1699. During the 18th century, their power began to decline rapidly. The central government was so weak that it was unable to control the governors of the most distant regions. In fact, some of the north coastal African provinces remained only nominally subject to the Sultan. By 1815, Austria century, Turkey was regarded as the "sick man of Europe". In so far as the Balkans were concerned, several Christian races - Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, Rumanian - were under the absolute and oppressive rule of the Sultan. The Governors and the military officers were all Muslims. The Turkish rule in the Balkans was characterised by occasional outbursts of violence and large-scale massacre of the Christians in the Balkans. But, owing to the gradual decline of the military power of the Turks, and the spirit of nationalism generated by the French Revolution, the subject people began to assert their independence.

9.4 INTEREST OF EUROPEAN POWERS

When Turkey was in decline, the Christian nations in the Balkans made attempts to throw off the Turkish rule. But, Turkey recovered from sickness, and crushed the Christians most brutally. This roused the indignation of fellow Christians in Europe. The great powers of Europe intervened less on account of their selfish imperialistic motives, turning the Balkans into an arena of international diplomacy and war. This further complicated the problem.

9.4.1 Russia

Russia intervened in the Balkans for two reasons. The people of Russia and Balkan States belong to the same religion and race, i.e., Orthodox Catholic religion, and Slav race. Russia acted as a Big Brother to the Balkans, and claimed the right to protect them from the Turkish misrule. Moreover, Russia wanted an access to other European countries through the Mediterranean Sea, and hence sought a foothold in the Balkans. During the reign of Peter, the Great (1689-1725), Russia succeeded in getting the control of Baltic Sea. During the rule of Catherine, the Great (1762-1796), Russia defeated Turkey, and through the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, Russia secured the control of Black Sea. This encouraged Russia to seek the control of the Straits in order to have a passage to the Mediterranean Sea. Thus, Russia frequently intervened in this Balkan problem.

9.4.2 Austria

Austrian interests in the Balkan region were more important than those of Russia and others. Austria was surrounded by different countries and had only a short coast line. Lack of an extensive coastline made her a poor naval country. The only access to sea for the Austrian empire to establish commercial contacts with other countries was through the river Danube. Russia's hold on the Danube was detrimental to Austrian interests. Further, the 'Pan-Slavism' inspired by Russia in the Balkans might prove harmful to the Austrian dynastic empire. Hence, Austria's interest was to control Russian influence in the Balkans.

9.4.3 England

Britain was suspicious of Russian ambitions regarding Balkans and Turkey. She considered Russia a serious menace to the British commercial interests in the East, and felt that hold of the Russian control over Turkey would weaken the British Empire in the colonies of the East. Since the digging of the Suez Canal, the conflict between England and Russia in this region had become aggravated. Throughout the 19th century, England supported Turkey against Russia. England supported the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, as it could check the Russian advance in the Balkan region. It was the policy of England to keep Turkey strong in order to maintain the balance of power.

9.4.4 France

France also intervened in the Eastern Question due to commercial and religious issues. She wanted to protect her own commercial contacts with the East. She had been remaining aloof politically, as long as her naval and commercial positions in the mediterranean were safe.

9.4.5 Italy and Germany

On achieving unification of their respective countries, Italy and Germany also intervened in the Balkan problem in order to share the spoils. Through Bismarck kept himself away from Balkan politics, in 1878 at the Berlin Congress, he acted as mediator, and gave a rebuff to Russia in order to befriend Austria. After this incident, Germany came closer to Turkey.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Briefly explain the meaning of Eastern question.

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2. What was the chief, political motive for the Russia intervention in the Balkans.?

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3. What was England's attitude towards the Turkish problem?

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9.5 REVOLTS IN THE EMPIRE

9.5.1 Serbia

The Serbians were the first to raise the standard of revolt against Turkey. They began their struggle in 1804 under the leadership of Karageorge, a man of peasant birth. The movement was supported by Russia until 1812, when due to the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, the Tsar made peace with Turkey. The Turks were able to recover Serbia for time, but the revolt was renewed under Milosh Obrenovitch, who was recognised by the Sultan in 1820 as "Prince of the Serbians". Supported by Russia, he continued to press for the independence of Serbia. By 1830, the connection of Serbia with the Ottoman Empire had become nominal. The country was henceforth ruled by the Prince of the Obrenovitch family through the exercise of their hereditary right.

9.5.2 Greeks

The Serbian revolt was followed by the risings of the Greeks against Turkish misrule. In 1821, the Greeks rose in revolt under the leadership of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti. During the first six years, they fought alone against the Turks. The war was marked by utter atrocities indulged by both the sides. The Turkish Sultan sought the help of Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. The latter sent his son Ibrahim at the head of large army and navy to suppress the revolt. He advanced through the Morea by devastating and slaughtering all that came in his way. The cruelties of Ibrahim annoyed the Christian nations in Europe. Liberal opinion all over Europe was roused against the Turks. Russia, Britain and France came together to take action against Turkey. By the Treaty of London in 1827, the three powers agreed to compel the Sultan by peaceful naval blockade to grant autonomy to the Greeks. The Treaty of London laid the foundation for Greek independence.

When the Sultan refused to grant autonomy to the Greeks, the three European powers sent their naval fleets into Turkish waters. In the battle of Navarino in 1827, The Turko-Egyptain fleet was destroyed. After the battle, Great Britain withdrew from getting involved in Eastern affairs. By 1828, Russia alone remained at war with Turkey, and the Russian army marched towards Constantinle. The Sultan surrendered and signed the Treaty of Adrianople on September 14, 1829. By this Treaty, Greece was recognised as a self-governing State under Turkish overlordship. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were granted autonomy, and put under Russian protection. But, the Greeks protested against the provisions of the Treaty. A series of conferences were held at London from 1830 onwards between France, Britain and Russia, under the chairmanship of the liberal Foreign Minister of England, Palmerston. Finally, in 1832 through the Convention of London, Greece was recognised as fully independent by the three powers. A constitutional Monarchy was set up in Greece in 1833 with Otto, the Bavarian prince, as the first king of Greece. A new Christian State was thus created in south-eastern Europe.

The Treaty of Adrianople initiated the process of dismemberment of Ottoman Empire. Indeed, it was Greece which had given the impetus to the modern spirit of nationalism that brought about the disintegration of the Austrian Empire.

9.6 TURKEY-EGYPT WAR (1832-1841)

The Greek's attainment of independence exposed the weakness of the Sultan and sharpened the ambitions of his vassals. Mehemet Ali, the Governor of Egypt, had also against the Sultan. He was not satisfied with the reward of Crete for his service to the Sultan in the Turko-Greek War. He demanded Syria, and independence to Egypt, which the Sultan refused. This resulted

in a war between Turkey and Egypt. In 1832, Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet Ali, occupied Syria and threatened Constantinople. The Sultan of Turkey appealed to the Great powers, but only Russia responded to the call of the Sultan, and promised the necessary help. By 1833, the Egyptian War came to an end because of the intervention of Great Britain and France. However it was Russia which signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi With Turkey in 1833. According to the terms of this Treaty, Russia promised to come to the help of Turkey whenever she was in danger, and Turkey promised to keep the Straits of Dardanelles open to the Russian warships only. This Treaty was a great diplomatic victory for Russia.

9.6.1 Treaty of London

The growing Russian influence and the conclusion of this Treaty were not the liking of Great Britain and France, which wanted an opportunity to get the Treaty cancelled. In the meanwhile, the Sultan and the Egyptian Governor, Mehemet Ali, were preparing for a final struggle. The actual war started in June 1839. In order to ward off the Russian influence, the great powers-England, France, Austria-supported Mehemet Ali. By February, 1841, the War came to an end with the conclusion of the Treaty, indeed, set at nought the terms of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The Powers pledged themselves not to permit the warships of any power enter the Dardanelles. Thus Russia was the loser, and England was the gainer, while Turkey was saved. This was a great triumph for England which enhanced her prestige.

9.7 THE CIRMEAN WAR (1854-1856)

For ten years after the Treaty of London of 1841, the Turkish Empire remained unbroken and peaceful. But, with the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Eastern Question was again reopened. This was the first great European War after the battle of Waterloo. An interesting feature of the War was that, it was not fought between the Turks and the Balkans, between the European powers which had conflicting interests in the Balkans.

9.7.1 Causes

Like all other wars, the Crimean War also had various causes. The causes for the Crimean War can be summed up as (a) political unrest in the Balkans; (b) rivalry between Britain and Russia, and (c) the religious question.

9.7.1.1 Political unrest in the Balkans

The Greek War of Independence inspired the other Balkan peoples such as the Rumanians, the Bulgarians and the Albanians to strive for independence. As Turkey became weakened, its corrupt and inefficient government made the subject nationalities all the more restive and self-conscious. The unrest in the Balkans became intensified, because of the selfish imperialistic attitude of the Greater Powers of Europe.

9.7.1.2 Rivalry between Britain and Russia

Russia had her eye on Constantinople, since the days of Peter the Great. Since the Greek War, the Russian influence had been growing in the Balkans. She was always ready to aggravate the situation in the Balkans. Tsar Nicholas I called Turkey "the sick man of Europe" who was about to die, and Russia would be the natural heir of the Turkish Empire. But, England viewed the Russian designs in the Near East as dangerous to her commercial interests in the East. Britain was interested in the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire, which could thwart the Russian designs in the East. Thus, the opposing interests of Russia and Great Britain constituted another cause for the outbreak of the Crimean War.

9.7.1.3 Religious question

The immediate cause for the outbreak of the Crimean War was the religious issue. In 1854, there arose a minor dispute between the Latin monks and the Greek monks over the custody of the holy places in the Turkish Empire-Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The Church of the Nativity at Betheliehem was used by both the groups of the clergy. The greek monks held the key of the great door, while the Roman monks had the key of the side door only. For the sake of maintaining equality of right, the Roman Catholics claimed the key of the Great door also. Their cause was championed by Emperor Napoleon III of France, who wished to strengthen his position at home by winning the support of the Catholic party. Russia supported the claims of the Greek monks, while the British supported those of the French. But, the Sultan refused to recognise the Russian demand made as the protector of the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and war broke out in which England and France supported Turkey against Russia. Russia expected help from Austria, but that country remained neutral.

9.7.2 Course of the War

The actual War started in July, 1854. The War was chiefly fought in Crimea. The Russians were defeated in series of battles at Alma, Balacava and Inkermanu. The Turks expelled the Russians from Wallachia and Moldavia. The siege of Sebastopol was the chief feature of the Crimean War. It was here that the famous Light Brigade episode took place. The English poet, Tennyson, wrote a poem on this episode. With the capture of Sebastopol by the Allies on the 9th of September, 1855, the Crimean War came to an end. The new Tsar, Alexander II who succeeded Nicholas I in 1856, sued for peace. The result was the Treaty of Paris signed on March 30, 1856.

9.7.3 Treaty of Paris

9.7.3.1 Provisions

1. Russia was deprived of her protectorate over Wallachia and Moldavia. They were to be two separate autonomous States under the Sultan. But later, these two united to form an independent State named Rumania.
2. The Black Sea was neutralised, and its ports were to be open only to the merchant ships of all the nations.
3. The river Danube was internationalised.
4. Russia was given back Crimea.
5. The Powers collectively agreed to guarantee the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. They agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey.
6. The Sultan promised to treat his Christian subjects in the humane manner, and to introduce liberal reforms.

9.7.3.2 Results

1. The Russian designs in the Near East were undermined.
2. Turkey was temporarily saved from territorial disintegration.
3. The British interests in the Near East were protected.
4. Tsar Alexander II was forced to carry out a large number of internal reforms to win over the people.

5. The Treaty led to the estrangement between Austria and Russia, and friendship between Russia and Prussia.

9.7.3.3 Criticism

The provisions of the Treaty of Paris proved to be insufficient and unsatisfactory. The Treaty gave a fresh lease of life to Turkey, but could not arrest its disintegration. Serbia and Montenegro practically became independent, and the separation of Wallachia from Moldavia was only short-lived. Russia repudiated the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty in 1870. The Sultan had not introduced any reforms in the Balkans. Thus, the Peace of Paris failed to provide a permanent solution to the Eastern Question.

9.8 RUSSO - TURKISH WAR (1877)

The Settlement at Paris in 1856 could not solve the Eastern Question. It was in 1875 that once again the Balkan problem came to the fore which led to a war between Russia and Turkey. The causes for this war can be summed up as follows:

There were a number of violations of the Settlement of Paris. Moldavia and Wallachia united to form an independent state in 1859, with the name, 'Rumania'. Russia was waiting for an opportunity to take revenge against Turkey. There arose among the Balkans in the Turkish Empire, a movement called "Pan-slav movement" i.e. union of all the scattered Slavs under one rule. This Slav nationalism was encouraged by Russia. Russia once again to intervene in the affairs of the Balkans.

9.8.1 Bulgarian atrocities

In 1857, revolts broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Turkish misrule. They were helped by the people of Serbia and Montenegro. The movement became widespread. The European powers intervened, and presented a note to the Sultan, demanding the grant of religious liberty and liberal reforms to the Balkans. The Sultan accepted the proposals, but was not serious about their implementation. Mean-while a big revolt broke out in Bulgaria. The Sultan suppressed this revolt with great cruelty. Thousands of people were massacred, and villages and towns were devastated. These 'atrocities' in Bulgaria shocked the whole of the Christian world. The public opinion was aroused against Turkey in several countries, especially in England. The English statesman, Gladstone, declared that "the unspeakable Turk should be expelled from Europe, with his bag and baggage". However Disraeli, the Prime Minister, prevented England from taking any action against Turkey. But Russia, emboldened by the favourable public opinion in Europe, immediately responded to the cry of the Balkans, and declared war on Turkey on the 24th of April, 1877. Thus, broke out the Russo-Turkish War. The War was a short one. The Russian armies defeated the Turks, and threatened to occupy Constantinople. The Sultan accepted his defeat, and signed the Treaty of San Steafano on the 3rd of March 1878.

9.8.2 Treaty of San Stefano

1. The Sultan recognised the complete independence of Serbia, Motenegro and Rumania with enlarged territories.
2. Big Bulgaria was created with autonomous status under Turkish rule, supervised by Russia.
3. The Sultan promised to introduce good government in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
4. Russia acquired Batoum, Kars, and Bessarabia, with the result that the Russian influence in the Balkans greatly increased.

9.9 THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

The Treaty of San Stefano enhanced the Russian influence in the Balkans. It can be said that with this Treaty, the Turkish Empire in Europe completely disintegrated. The extension of Russian influence in the Near East posed a great danger to England. So, England declared that the treaty of San Stefano must be submitted to a general Congress of European statesmen. England argued that according to the international law of Europe, the Eastern Question could not be settled by one nation, but only by a concert of powers, as it affected them all. Austria supported England in order to share the spoils of Turkey. Russia rejected this proposal outright and thereupon, preparations for a war against Russia began. When Russia was convinced that a war was imminent, she agreed to the Austro-British proposal. The Congress met at Berlin under the presidentship of Bismarck, who offered to play the role of an "honest broker". He invited the diplomats to Berlin. The Berlin Congress drew up the Treaty of Berlin which was signed by the representatives on the 13th of July, 1878.

9.9.1 The Treaty of Berlin 1878-Provisions

1. The independence of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro was formally recognised by the Great Powers.
2. Big Bulgaria was divided into two parts-Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia was kept under Turkish rule with autonomous status under a Christian government. Bulgaria was given autonomous status with nominal Turkish control. Macedonia was given to Turkey for direct rule.
3. Austria was given the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina which remained nominally under the Turkish rule.
4. England secured the control of Cyprus.
5. Russia retained Bessarabia and Kars.
6. The Sultan promised to introduce reforms in Crete, Macedonia and Albania.

9.9.2 Criticism of the Settlement

The Congress of Berlin upset the settlement of the Treaty of San Stefano. Though Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, described the Treaty as 'peace with honour', it was not the final solution to the eastern question. It totally ignored the principle of nationalism by dividing Bulgaria into two parts, and by giving administrative control of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. The Turkish Empire was completely ruined and dismembered. Great Britain and Austria helped themselves to large portions of the Turkish spoils, instead of protecting the Turkish Empire. The transfer of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two Slavonic provinces to Austria angered Serbia. Rumania was offended by the Russian acquisition of Bessarabia. But, the division of Bulgaria was short-lived. The Treaty still left large number of Christians in Macedonia under the Turkish tyranny.

The Congress of Berlin is a landmark in the history of Europe. The seeds for the Great War of 1914 were sown in the Berlin Congress. Britain, instead of supporting the Sultan, hurried to acquire a share of the spoils out of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Russia having lost her hold in the Balkans, turned to Asia. Thus, the theatre of Anglo-Russian conflict shifted from Europe to Asia. In the Balkans, Macedonia became the bone of contention between Turkey and the Balkan states. This conflict led to two Balkan Wars, those of 1912 and 1913. The Treaty brought about a complete estrangement between Serbia and Austria, Russia and Germany. This led to the division of Europe into two rival camps-Triple Alliance and Triple Entente-on the eve of the outbreak of World War in 1914.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which were the two treaties which resulted in independence to Greece.

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2. _____ and _____ united and became Rumania.

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3. The treaty of san stefano was signed after the _____ war

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9.10 LET US SUM UP

1. By Eastern Question is meant the problems which arose as a result of the disintegration of the Turkish empire.
2. The intervention of Russia, Austria, England, France, Italy, and Germany in the affairs of the Turkish empire complicated the problems arising out of the disintegration of the Turkish empire.
3. The revolts of the serbians and the Greeks in the Turkish empire hastened the disintegration of the Turkish empire.
4. The crimean war, the war between Turkey and Egypt and the war between Turkey and Russia, were the consequences of the Eastern question.

9.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The problems arising out of the disintegration of the Turkish empire is known as the Eastern Question.
2. To have access to other European countries through the mediterranean sea was the chief political motive of Russia's intervention in the Balkan affairs.
3. England wanted to maintain the balance of power by trying to support Turkey.

- II. 1. a) Treaty of Adrianople 1829 and
b) convention of London, 1832.
2. Wallachea, Moldavia
3. Russo - Turkish War.

9.12 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTION

- I. Answer the following Questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. What is the Eastern Question? Describe the divergent interests of the European powers in the Balkan region.
 2. Describe the events and results of the Revolt of Greece.
 3. What were the causes and results of the Crimean War?
 4. Narrate the developments leading to the Russo-Turkish War and its results.
 5. Critically examine the work of the Congress of Berlin.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
 1. What is the meaning of the Eastern Question?
 2. Describe the terms and effects of the Treaty of Adrianople.
 3. State briefly the causes and results of the Turkey-Egypt War.
 4. How did the Bulgarian atrocities lead to the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War?
 5. What were the circumstances that led to the summoning of the Congress of Berlin?

9.13 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Gooch G.O. | : History of Modern Europe-1878-1919 |
| 2. Grt & Temperelyn | : Europe in the Nineteenth and twentieth centuries. |
| 3. Hayes. C.J.H. | : History of Modern Europe since 1870 |
| 4. Hazon C.D. | : Modern Europe up to 1945 |
| 5. John and Gwenneth stokes | : Europe and the modern world
1870 - 1983 |
| 6. Marriot, J.A.R. | : The Eastern question |
| 7. Marriot, J.A.R. | : A History of Europe from 1815 to 1939 |
| 8. Octer Gay C. Webb, R.K. | : Modern Europe |
| 9. Taylor, A.J.O. | : The struggle for Mastery in Europe,
1848 - 1918 |

-- K.V.S. NARASIAH

UNIT-10 : DUAL ALLIANCE AND TRIPLE ENTENTE

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10.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to

1. Analyse the political and diplomatic developments in Europe between 1878 and 1913
2. Analyse the circumstances leading to the division of Europe into two armed camps on the eve of the outbreak of world war I.

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BLOCK VI : POST - BERLIN CONGRESS DEVELOPMENTS, 1878-1913

This block has two units dealing with the developments in Europe between 1878 and 1913. After the Berlin congress held in 1878, major European countries were divided into two blocks known as the dual Alliance and the Triple Entente. In Unit 10, the above mentioned two alliance systems are discussed. The next unit (Unit 11) is on the two Balkan wars.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In Lesson No. 5, how the state of Germany emerged as the strongest power in Europe by 1871 is discussed. Otto Von Bismarck, the chief architect of German unity, became a great statesman of Europe. The period, 1871-1890 is rightly called the 'Era of Bismarck' in European politics. After the unification of Germany, Bismarck renounced the policy of 'Blood and Iron', and became a champion of peace in Europe. This was essential for the consolidation of German unity. In his view, the main disturber of peace in Europe was France. He feared a war of revenge by France on account of her humiliation at the Treaty of Frankfurt. Hence, after 1871, the isolation of France became the keynote of Bismarck's foreign policy.

10.2 THE LEAGUE OF THREE EMPERORS OR DREIKAISERBUND-1872

To achieve the isolation of France, Bismarck aimed at befriending all major powers as allies to Germany. Thus, began Bismarck's system of alliances in Europe. There was no danger from Britain, as she was following a policy of 'splendid isolation'. Italy did not count as a great power in international politics. Therefore, the probable allies of France were Russia and Austria. Bismarck had to prevent them from inclining towards France. Luckily, a Republic was set up in France in 1871, which was hated by the monarchs of Russia and Austria. Bismarck took advantage of the situation, and formed a League of the Three Emperors of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia in 1872. They agreed to act jointly for the maintenance of boundaries, settlement of problems arising from the Balkans, and suppression of revolutionary movements in Europe. This was only a formal agreement, and no actual treaty was concluded. This had to be renewed every three years. The Three Emperer's League received a set-back in 1878 at the Congress in Berlin, since Germany supported Austria as against Russia.

10.3 POST-BERLIN CONGRESS EVENTS

The interests of Austria and Russia conflicted in the Balkans. Russia had established her hold over the Balkans by the Treaty of San Stefano. But, Austria was not prepared to accept the extension of Russian influence into that region. Austria joined Britain in acting together at the Berlin Congress. Bismarck, who acted as an 'honest broker' at the Congress, had to decide whether he should side with Austria or Russia. Ultimately, he decided to side with Austria. This led to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovia to Austria and the checking of Russian influence in the Balkans. An outstanding result of the Congress of Berlin was the estrangement of Russia from Germany.

10.4 ANTI-GERMAN POLICY OF RUSSIA

The Russians were bitter about the attitude adopted by Germany at the Berlin Congress. They were utterly disappointed at what they had got. It appeared to them that the restoration of Bessarabia and Kars did not compensate for the amount of money they had spent, and the amount of blood they had shed against Turkey. Russians felt that the Congress was a conspiracy against the Russian people, and a disgrace to the Russian statesmen. Another factor for the resentment of Russia was the decision of the International Commission of German representatives appointed to carry out the delimitations of the countries. The Commission supported the Austrians against the Russians in cases of disagreement. Russians thought that it was being done intentionally. The siding of the German agents with the Austrians, annoyed the Russians.

10.5 TSAR'S THREATS

Tsar Alexander II, the Russian Emperor, was annoyed by the anti-German feelings of the Russians. The bitterness was so great that in 1879, Italy was asked whether she could cooperate

with her in a war against Austria. A similar request was made to France. But, these soundings yielded no results. The Russian troops were mobilized and concentrated on the German and Austrian frontiers. There was the Tsar's threat of a war with Germany. In June, 1879, the Tsar cancelled his visit to Berlin for attending the golden jubilee wedding of his uncle. He wrote a letter to Kaiser William I of Germany, in which he complained of the German attitude, and reminded him of his services in the Franco- Prussian War of 1870, and added that the consequences would be disastrous for both the countries. The Kaiser was pained by the bitter tone of the letter, and asked his Chancellor, Bismarck to draft a reply. If the Kaiser had replied in a similar tone, there would certainly have been a war. But, Germany was not prepared to risk a war at that time. The Kaiser merely replied denying the charges levelled by Russia, and thereby averted a war with Russia.

10.6 BISMARCK'S NEW POLICY

Now the time had come for Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany, to make a change in his foreign policy. Bismarck chalked out a new policy. He flared up at the conduct of Russia. The press campaign against him in that country annoyed him. Bismarck had been following a policy of promoting his country's friendship with Russia without committing it to her exclusive protection. He defined his role at the Berlin Congress as that of an 'honest broker', and he always maintained that he had given full weight to Russian interests. Even then, Russia seemed to be suspicious of Germany. The Russian campaign against Bismarck made him to follow a new policy.

10.6.1 His choice of Austria over Russia

Bismarck had to make a choice. He had already sided with Austria at the Congress of Berlin. Although he thought that from the material point of view, Russia would be a better choice than Austria, he preferred Austria because it had a large population of Germans, which should make it more favourably inclined towards Germany than Russia. Another factor influencing his choice of Austria was that he heard the news that Andrasse, the Foreign Minister of Austria, was going to resign. Andrasse was the man whom he had favoured in the Congress of Berlin. Before he resigned, Bismarck had made up his mind to enter into an alliance with Austria. Andrasse was also anxious to forge an alliance with Germany against Russia. The two statesmen met at Gastein. Prolonged and earnest conversations took place. The discussions with Andrasse were reported in great detail. Bismarck agreed that since the Tsar's threats had destroyed confidence in Russia, a defensive alliance with Austria was indispensable to Germany's safety. Without it, Russia would attack, and Austria would join France. If Germany did not secure Austria at once as an ally, she might not be able to obtain her support when she needed it. Thus, Bismarck sought an alliance with Austria.

10.7 KAISER'S OBJECTIONS OVERRULED

The Gastein meeting of the two statesmen ended in a decision to forge an alliance between their respective countries. They parted to meet again, and in the meanwhile, to consult their rulers. Andrasse wrote back saying that Francis Joseph was willing to enter into an alliance with Germany. But, the Kaiser refused to enter into an alliance with Austria against Russia, whose ruler was his cousin. He refused to give up the traditional policy of befriending Russia. He wanted good relations to be maintained with Russia. In spite of Kaiser's objections, Bismarck was determined to bring about an alliance with Austria. He pointed out that there was no intention to attack Russia. However, if Austria was attacked, Germany would be compelled in self-interest to support her, since Germany's position confronted by a victorious Russia, a defeated Austria, and a hostile France, would be critical. Ultimately, Kaiser's objections were overruled, and he had to give way for an alliance with Austria.

10.8 AUSTRO-GERMAN TALKS AND ANDRASSE *VERSUS* BISMARCK

The discussions of Gastein were resumed between the Emperor, Andrasse and Bismarck. Though they had prolonged discussions over the nature and provisions of the alliance, they could not come to any agreement. Andrasse, the Austrian chancellor, insisted on making an alliance on his own terms. He would not agree to help Germany against France, but would like Germany to help her against Russia. Andrasse preferred a secret and limited treaty. Bismarck objected to these proposals. After protracted negotiations, Bismarck accepted the Austrian terms, and remarked to Andrasse, "If you will not accept my terms, I am forced to accept yours". Thus, the Austro-German Treaty was signed in Vienna on October 7th, 1879, and the Treaty was ratified by both the Governments.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. What was the chief aim of Bismarck's foreign policy after 1871

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2. Andrasse was the foreign affairs minister of

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10.9 THE DUAL ALLIANCE OF 1879

Thus, the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria was signed on 7th October, 1879. It was defensive in character, and was mainly aimed against Russia. The terms were:

- (a) Each agreed to help the other, if either was attacked by Russia.
- (b) If any other power, namely France, attacked either party the other would observe neutrality.
- (c) If Russia joined France, then Germany and Austria would fight together against them.

The Alliance was to be renewed periodically. Bismarck cleverly kept its terms secret upto 1887, and continued to woo Russia. But, when the terms became known, it caused estrangement between Russia and Germany.

10.10 RENEWAL OF THE THREE EMPERORS' LEAGUE, 1881

Keeping the Dual Alliance in secret, Bismarck turned to Russia in 1881 for the renewal of the Three Emperors' League. He wanted to maintain friendly relations with Russia also, for fear of having to confront a Franco-Russian alliance. The new Tsar, Alexander III, who ascended

the throne 1881, felt uneasy at the growing isolation of Russia. Being an autocrat, he had no love for Republican France. Therefore, when Bismarck approached him for the renewal of the Three Emperors' League, he readily agreed to it. Austria, Germany and Russia agreed that if any of them was attacked by a fourth power, i.e., France or England; the other two would observe "benevolent neutrality". Through this also, Bismarck succeeded in isolating France in Europe.

10.11 TRIPLE ALLIANCE, 1882

Bismarck transformed the Dual Alliance into a Triple Alliance, by inducing Italy to join it. France and Italy were rivals over the possession of Tunisia in North Africa. At the Congress of Berlin, Bismarck suggested that France should occupy Tunisia. So, when France occupied it in 1881, Italy was indignant. This was a great diplomatic victory for Bismarck. To end her diplomatic isolation, Italy turned to Austria for an alliance. But, due to the tact of Bismarck, Italy joined the Dual Alliance in 1882, making it into a Triple Alliance, which was mainly directed against France.

10.12 REINSURANCE TREATY WITH RUSSIA, 1887

In spite of his close alliance with Austria, Bismarck always tried to preserve friendly relations with Russia. His aim was to preserve the Franco-Russian coalition against Germany. Therefore, he concluded the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in 1887, and thereby kept France isolated in Europe.

10.13 'DROPPING OF THE OLD PLOT', 1890

The year 1890 marked the end of the remarkable career of Bismarck. On the 20th of March, 1890, the new and young emperor, Kaiser William II dismissed the old Chancellor, and took over German foreign policy into his own hands. Thus, the pilot who had steered the ship of Germany through storm and shoals, was dropped. The new Kaiser refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, and tore apart the alliance system of Bismarck. He embarked upon a vigorous naval policy which frightened England, into seeking an alliance with France. The lapsing of the Reinsurance Treaty led Russia to her siding with France and England. Thus, the international relations in Europe after 1890 led to the forming of a rival camp against the Triple Alliance; viz., Triple Entente with England, France and Russia.

10.14 THE DUAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA, 1895

The none-renewal of the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia by the new Kaiser, led to the formation of the Dual Alliance between France and Russia. France which had so far been completely isolated, watched with interest, the growing enmity between Germany and Russia. France immediately began to woo Russia which was badly in need of economic help. France offered economic aid and French arms to Russia. The friendship between the two countries was further strengthened by naval visits. Finally in 1895, the Dual Alliance between France and Russia was concluded. By this, Russia promised to support France, if she was attacked by Germany or Italy, or by both, and France in turn agreed to assist Russia, if she was attacked by Austria, Hungary or Germany, or both. Thus, the isolation of France came to an end, and the powers of Europe were drifting into two armed blocs. Only Great Britain remained aloof.

10.15 ENGLISH POLICY OF SPLENDID ISOLATION

After the overthrow of Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo, 1815, England followed a policy of aloofness from European politics. But, whenever her colonial interests in the East were

affected by the European powers, she used to intervene in European politics. This policy of England in her foreign affairs is frequently described as the policy of 'Splendid isolation'. This was a time when England avoided any alignment with any other country. There were five main reasons that promoted England to adopt the policy of Splendid isolation: (1) England realised that it was futile to indulge in European politics; (2) England's attention was diverted from Europe to the burning problem at home, viz the Irish agitation for Home Rule; (3) England's lack of interest in trade with Europe turned her away from involvements in European politics; (4) there was no willing ally for England in Europe; (5) there was no statesman in England who could launch a vigorous foreign policy. But, Bismarck's system of alliances and the regrouping of the European powers into two armed blocs by 1895, made England realise the danger of her policy of pursuing isolation. The developments that took place later showed that the policy of splendid isolation was not a wise one.

10.16 FASHODA CRISIS OF 1898

In 1898 there arose the famous Fashoda crisis. This was a major political crisis which almost precipitated a war between France and Great Britain. Under instructions from the French Foreign Minister, Captain Marchand marched into Sudan, and hoisted the French flag in the village of Fashoda, claiming Sudan for France. When the British General, Kitchener came to know of it, he rushed to the spot, and asked Marchand to leave the place. A war between the two seemed imminent. Luckily, better counsels prevailed, and the new French Foreign Minister, Delcasse, who was pro-British, decided to withdraw the French forces. Thus, the Fashoda crisis was amicably settled. Though the Fashoda incident passed off peacefully, England felt her loneliness. Another incident which compelled England to discard the isolation policy was the Boer War. The Boers in Transvaal, in South Africa, revolted against the British Administration in 1899. All the great powers in Europe supported the cause of the Boers. England suppressed the revolt single-handed. By this, Great Britain was disillusioned with her policy of the 'Splendid isolation'. From then onwards, England started looking out for a friend in Europe.

10.17 ENGLISH ATTEMPTS TO BEFRIEND GERMANY

Great Britain and France were traditional colonial rivals, and so, there was no possibility of a lasting friendship between them. Russia and Great Britain were rivals in Balkans and Afghanistan. The only country for England with which there was a chance of its reaching a closer understanding was Germany. England initiated negotiations with Germany. Between 1900-1902, efforts were made to win over Germany. Kaiser William II visited England on the eve of the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. There, he spoke highly of Germany's links with Great Britain. Great honours were showered on him. The British statesmen proposed an agreement with Germany. But, there was no friendly response from the Germans, who interpreted it as a sign of British weakness. The result was that, all attempts to win over Germany were given up.

10.18 INCREASED TENSIONS AND GERMAN NAVAL POLICY

Germany not only rebuffed Britain's suggestions for an alliance, but embarked on an aggressive policy, known as 'weltpolitik' (world power). Through this policy, it determined not only to become the greatest military power in Europe, but also to expand its influence in the Middle East and the Balkans, secure more colonies overseas, and build a battle fleet, second to none. A huge naval programme was initiated in 1900, providing for the construction of a fleet strong enough to threaten the supremacy of the English Royal Navy within twenty years. The naval programme of Germany seriously alarmed Great Britain. Anglo-German relations quickly deteriorated after 1900. The British were also greatly worried at the tremendous growth of the German industry. Further, the Kaiser's threatening and irresponsible speeches contrasted with the growing mistrust in Great Britain. Rebuffed and challenged by Germany, Great Britain turned for allies in other directions.

10.19 ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE AND ENTENTE CORDIALE, 1904

Though England concluded a treaty with Japan, viz., the Anglo Japanese Alliance in 1902, England was not satisfied with it. As the danger posed by Germany began to grow, her search for friends on the continent increased. She found in Germany a rival more dangerous than France and Russia. Britain found a convenient ally in France, and France was also ready for friendship with Britain. Thus, the traditional colonial rivals came together to settle their disputes amicably. Delcasse, the French foreign minister, was a friend of England, and the Anglo-French relations continued to improve. In 1903, Edward VII paid a visit to France, and the French people gave him a hearty welcome. President Loubet and Delcasse were welcomed in England with equal warmth and enthusiasm. The result was the conclusion of the Anglo-French Entente in 1904. By this, England recognised French claims in Morocco, and France in turn accepted the British protectorate over Egypt. Their differences in West Africa, Siam and New Foundland were also settled.

The Anglo-French Entente was not a military alliance. It only signified cordial relations between the two countries. It certainly marked a new chapter in the history of Anglo-French relations. The traditional enmity was converted into cordiality. The Entente Cordiale put an end to the British traditional policy of isolation.

10.20 RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA AND ANGLO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE, 1907

Great Britain and Russia had been enemies in the Middle East, in Persia and in Tibet. It was in the interests of France that a reconciliation should be brought about between England and Russia. Delcasse had done his best to achieve it. Even after his dismissal, efforts continued in that direction. The defeat of Russia by Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 Exposed Russian Weakness, and convinced Britain that she had nothing to fear from Russia. Under the pressure of Paris, Britain and Russia came closer to one another. Russia was influenced by France, her partner in the Dual Alliance, and agreed to settle her differences with Great Britain. The result was the forging in 1907 of the famous Anglo-Russian Entente, through which all matters of dispute between them were peacefully solved. Agreement was reached on the spheres of influence in Persia. Britain was recognised as dominant in Afghanistan, and they agreed not to interfere in the affairs of Tibet.

10.21 THE TRIPLE ENTENTE, 1907

The Anglo-Russian Entente created what was known as the 'Triple Entente'. The Anglo-Russian Entente merged into a 'Triple Entente' between Great Britain, France and Russia. It was a non-military alliance, but the three countries agreed to consult one another in international affairs. This mutual collaboration developed greater understanding and solidarity among them.

10.22 CONCLUSION

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, Great Britain gave up her policy of Splendid isolation. Japan was her ally in the Far East, and she had by the Entente Cordiale drawn closer to France and Russia. The system of alliances divided Europe into two armed camps; the Triple Alliance-Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy; and the Triple Entente-France, Russia and Great Britain. The policy of alliances was inaugurated by Bismarck in the hope of maintaining peace in Europe. Bismarck succeeded in maintaining peace in Europe. But, peace could be maintained only by skillful diplomacy, which died with the death of Bismarck. An unhealthy competition

for armaments began between the two armed blocs. The Hague conferences held in 1899 and 1907 failed to effect a reduction in armaments. An atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and hate further vitiated the relations between the two blocs. Only a pretext was needed for an outbreak of an international conflagration. That came about on the 28th of June, 1914, when the murder of Archduke of Austria at Sarajevo, led to the outbreak of World War I.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Against which country was the dual Alliance of 1879 mainly aimed?

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2. Which countries were the members of the Triple entente formed in 1907?

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10.23 LET US SUM UP

1. With the intention of isolating France, Bismarck started a system of alliances
 - a) in 1872, the the league of three emperors or Dreikaiser bund was formed with Germany, Russia and Austria Hungary.
2. When the relations between Germany and Russia became estranged, the dual alliance between Germany and Austria was signed in 1879. It was aimed against Russia,
3. In 1881, Bismarck again befriended Russia and the three Emperors' League, consisting of Russia, Austria and Germany was revived.
4. In 1882, the Dual Alliance of 1879 was transformed into the Triple Alliance with Italy becoming its new member.
5. After Bismarck was dismissed from power in 1895 the dual alliance between France and Russia was formed. This ended the policy of Bismark of keeping Russia as Germany's friend to keep France isolated.
6. England's fear of Germany resulted in the following alliances
 - a) Anglo - Japaness alliance, 1902
 - b) Anglo - French alliance (Entente condiale) 1904
 - c) Anglo - Russian entente, 1907
 - d) Triple entente (England, France and Russia) 1907

10.24 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. Isolation of France
2. Austria
- II 1. Russia
2. Great Britain, France and Russia,

10.25 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
- 1) What was the new policy of Bismarck? How far did he succeed in carrying it out?
 - 2) Trace the events that led to the formation of Triple Alliance.
 - 3) Briefly describe the events that led to the formation of Triple Entente.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Write about the formation and the terms of the Dual Alliance of 1879.
 2. What are the reasons that prompted England to adopt the policy of Splendid isolation?
 3. What was the Fashoda crisis of 1898?
 4. How was the Anglo-French Entente of 1904 formed?
 5. Examine the factors that led to the formation of the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907.

10.26 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Gooch G.O. | : <i>History of Modern Europe - 1978-1919</i> |
| 2. Grant & Temperley | : <i>Europe in the nineteenth and Twentieth centuries</i> |
| 3. Hayes, C.J.H. | : <i>History of Modern Europe since 1870</i> |
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| 9. Taylor, A.J.O | : <i>The struggle for Mastery in Europe - 1848-1918</i> |

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UNIT-11 : BALKAN WARS

Contents

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Events in the Balkans after the congress of Berlin
 - 11.2.1 Union of the Bulgaria
 - 11.2.2 Revolt in Armenia
 - 11.2.3 Austria's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
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 - 11.3.1 Its Importance
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 - 11.4.2 Serbia
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 - 11.4.4 Rumania
 - 11.4.5 Montenegro
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 - 11.5.1 Hague conference, 1899-1907
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- 11.10 Changes on the Balkan Map
- 11.11 Let us sum up
- 11.12 Check Your Progress : Answers
- 11.13 Examination Model Questions
- 11.14 Books for Further Reading

11.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to analyse

1. The events in the Balkans after the congress of Berlin
2. The nature and significance of the Young Turk Movement
3. The causes and effects of the Balkan wars.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, the developments relating to the Eastern Question, after the Berlin congress of 1878 are discussed. The nature and significance of the Young Turk Movement and the causes and results of the two Balkan wars are also discussed.

11.2 EVENTS IN THE BALKANS AFTER THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

We have seen (in Lesson No. 8) how the Berlin Settlement of 1878 did not solve the problems in the Balkan peninsula. The Treaty of Berlin failed to bring peace to the Balkans. It did not satisfy the ambitions of the various people. The terms of the Treaty of Berlin were violated not only by the independent states in the Balkan peninsula, but also by the great powers in Europe. Major developments took place in respect of the Eastern Question after the Berlin Congress. They were the upsurge of rivalry among the Balkan states for the sharing of the spoils; the Turkish reconstruction movements; the active intervention of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans leading to the First World War. The most significant events which took place in the Balkans from 1878 to 1913 are as follows :

11.2.1 Union of Bulgaria

It was Bulgaria which kept the Eastern Question alive even after the Treaty of Berlin. The Bulgarian problem was created by the Congress of Berlin. While the Treaty of San Stefano had created a Big Bulgaria, the Congress of Berlin separated Roumelia from Bulgaria, thereby sowing the seeds of future troubles.

The division of Bulgaria brought by the Congress of Berlin was short-lived. There was a keen desire and strong agitation in Eastern Roumelia for union with Bulgaria. In 1855, the Bulgars in Eastern Roumelia revolted against their Turkish governor, Gamil Pasha, and expelled him. They proclaimed their union with Bulgaria to which Prince Alexander of Bulgaria agreed by proclaiming himself as the Prince of 'United Bulgaria'. Russia was indignant over the union of Bulgaria. The Tsar of Russia compelled Alexander of Bulgaria to abdicate the throne. But, the Bulgars under Stephen Stambuloff, a nationalist leader and President of the National Assembly, who won the title of 'Bulgarian Bismarck', opposed the Russian intervention. In July 1887, the Bulgarian National Assembly elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a German, as their Prince. He accepted the offer. Russia vigorously protested against it, and other great powers too refused to recognise him. Yet, he maintained himself in power with the support of the Nationalist Bulgars. In 1908, Bulgaria declared her independence. Thus, union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia was achieved in the face of the opposition of the Great powers. It was not surprising that the relations between Russia and Bulgaria were strained. Bulgaria which was regarded as a tool of Russia, became her formidable enemy. The later history of Bulgaria may best be considered in connection with the Balkan Wars of 1912, and 1913.

11.2.2 Revolt in Armenia

Armenia was under the Turkish rule in Asia Minor. The Christians in Armenia suffered on account of the hostile attitude of the Turkish government. At the Congress of Berlin, the Sultan promised the European powers that the Christians in Armenia would receive fair treatment. The promise was not fulfilled, and the situation in Armenia deteriorated. Between 1894 and 1896, the Armenians revolted against their Turkish ruler. The Sultan, Abdul Hamid, feared that Armenia would turn into another Bulgaria, since he could not tolerate the emergence of another independent state out of the Turkish Empire. He also knew that the European powers being divided among themselves, would not come to the help of Armenians. So, the Sultan suppressed the revolts cruelly. A number of Armenian Christians were massacred, and horrible scenes were witnessed. The European powers did not help the Armenians, and Russia too was indifferent. The Armenia revolt was suppressed, and so, the question remained unsolved. The Sultan of Turkey also suppressed a revolt in Crete in 1897. But, the revolts continued, and later in 1908, Crete was united with Greece.

11.2.3 Austria's Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

By the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two Slavonic states of Turkey in the Balkans. For three decades, Austria continued to administer that territory without annexing it. In order to strengthen her influence in the Balkans, Austria on October 7th, 1908, by a proclamation, announced her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This event was a great blow to Serbian national aspirations. Serbia had been looking forward to their union with her in order that she might get access to the sea. Supported by Russia, she now protested against Austrian annexation. Passions on both sides rose very high and a war was imminent, but Germany threatened to support Austria, her ally. Russia did not want to risk a war, and so yielded the ground for the time being. Turkey was paid compensation by Austria which pacified her. But Serbia could not reconcile herself to the Austrian attitude, and continued to agitate against her. Their mutual hostility provided the immediate cause for the World War in 1914.

11.3 YOUNG TURK MOVEMENT

The Eastern Question entered upon a new phase in 1908 with the rise of the Young Turk Movement in the Ottoman Empire. The autocratic and tyrannical rule of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II was opposed by the progressive elements in the country who were influenced by the Western ideas of nationalism and democracy. They formed a party called, 'The Young Turks' or the "Committee of Union and Progress". It consisted of young men, mostly educated in the West. The 'Young Turks' party which had been originally formed in 1891 in Geneva, became a potent factor in Turkish politics. One of the most active 'Young Turks' was Enver Bey, an army lieutenant. The aims of the Young Turks were to overthrow the corrupt, despotic and inefficient government of the Sultan; to modernise Turkey by introducing liberal reforms; to set up a parliamentary system of government based on western patterns; and to introduce freedom of press and religion. They also aimed at making Turkey a great Empire, and to free it from foreign control and protection. They formed secret societies, and carried on propaganda with the help of the Turkish army.

The Young Turks, supported by the army, carried out a successful revolution in 1908, and forced the Sultan, Abdul Hamid to grant a democratic constitution. The Sultan who had lost control of the army, surrendered and restored the liberal constitution. But soon, the Sultan with the support of Orthodox Muslims, withdrew all liberal reforms, and followed a reactionary policy. The result was that in April 1909, Enver Bey and the Committee of Union and Progress carried out a second '*coup d'etat*' as result of which, Abdul Hamid was deposed and imprisoned. His mild, elderly brother was nominated the new Sultan, with the title of Mohammad V, who ruled from 1909 to 1918.

But, practically the Ottoman Empire from 1909 to 1918, was under the military dictatorship of Enver Bey and the Young Turks. Enver Bey launched a programme of 'Turkification'. Turkish was made the official language of the Empire. Turkish national schools were set up. Military service was made compulsory for all. However, the attempt to 'Turkify' the Ottoman Empire proved disastrous. Neither the Christians in the Balkans, nor the Muslim Arabs in Asia were prepared to accept the programmes of the Young Turks. As there was resistance, the Young Turks resorted to repression. The greater the repression, the greater became the resistance.

11.3.1 Its Importance

Though the Young Turk Movement in the Ottoman Empire was a failure, it had an important bearing on the Eastern Question. The Young Turk Movement aimed at the revival of the great Ottoman Empire. But, ironically, it led to further disintegration of the Turkish rule in the Balkans. It was feared by the Great Powers that resurgent Turkey brought about by the Young Turks

might try to reconquer the erstwhile Turkish provinces. Frightened by that prospect, Bulgaria declared independence, and Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Italy declared war on Turkey in 1911, and occupied Tripoli. For six years, the Balkan peninsula was the storm centre of the world. The failure of the Young Turk Movement led to a war in the Balkans, and the war in the Balkans in turn paved the way for the outbreak of a European war.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. What were the three important developments which took place in the Balkans after the Berlin Congress?

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2. What were the chief aims of the 'Young Turks'?

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11.4 BALKAN WARS - POWERS INVOLVED

The Balkan Wars were the outcome of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. The powers involved in these Wars were the independent Balkan States, supported by the Great Powers of Europe. The Balkan States intervened partly out of sympathy for their co-religionists and mainly on account of their selfish motives.

11.4.1 Greece

Greece after her independence, made rapid progress: agriculture and industry developed and the Greek ships acquired a considerable share of the trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. It should be noted that when the kingdom of Greece was created, all the Greeks were not included in it, and a large number of Greeks were still under the autocratic rule of the Sultan. Again, since the Congress of Berlin, Greece had been concentrating upon acquiring Crete and Macedonia, where she instigated revolts. The revolts in Macedonia were put down by the Sultan, but in 1908, Crete was annexed by Greece. Greece in order to acquire Macedonia, played an important role in bringing all the Balkan States together under the Balkan League, which led to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913.

11.4.2 Serbia

The independence of Serbia was recognised by the Congress of Berlin. The people of Serbia were of Slav race. The Congress of Berlin denied Serbia access to sea by giving Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. For years, the Serbians had the ambition of uniting Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, restoring the Serbian empire of the Middle Ages, and gaining access to the sea. But, it could not be fulfilled because Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. The

result was that the relations between Serbia and Austria-Hungary became strained. This made Serbia outbreak other Balkan States to form and join the Balkan League, which eventually led to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913.

11.4.3 Bulgaria

The Treaty of San Stefano created Big Bulgaria bounded by the river Danube, the Black sea, the Aegean and Albania which was under the control of Russia. But, the Congress of Berlin divided Big Bulgaria into two parts-Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria. Though Bulgaria has become independent of Turkey and Russian control, she had been trying to acquire Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia, and also access to the Aegean sea. The union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia was achieved in 1885. This resulted in the estrangement between Bulgaria and Russia. Bulgaria in order to acquire Macedonia joined the Balkan League.

11.4.4 Rumania

The independent State of Rumania was created by the union of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Congress of Berlin recognised the independence of Rumania, which in 1881, was designated as a Kingdom. But, it did not bring about a unification of all the Rumanians, since a large number of Rumanians, still lived not only in Turkey, but also under Russia and Austria. Thus, national unification of Rumania was not completed, because she had to deal with three powers, viz., Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. In order to get a share in the spoils in the final phase of the disintegration of Turkish Empire in Europe, Rumania joined the Balkan League.

11.4.5 Montenegro

The Serbs had two independent States, those of Montenegro and Serbia. Montenegro was a very small State near the Adriatic sea. The Congress of Berlin recognised the independence of Montenegro. It began to grow and aimed at becoming the leader of all the Serbs in the Balkans. In spite of her small size, Montenegro played a very important part in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913.

11.5 ERA OF ARMED PEACE

The period from 1906 to 1911 was appropriately called the 'Era of armed peace'. On many occasions, the peace of Europe was threatened, and it was a miracle that war was averted till 1914. By 1907, Europe was divided into two rival blocs, and an unhealthy competition in armaments went on between them. Practically, all European powers increased their military forces. In addition, the German programme of naval expansion further aggravated the rivalry among the Great Powers. It was realised by all Powers that this unhealthy competition was likely to jeopardize the peace of Europe. So, two attempts were made to come to an understanding on the question of reduction of armaments.

11.5.1 The Hague Conference, 1899 and 1907

Immediately after the first naval expansion programme of Germany, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia convened a conference of World powers at the Hague, a city in the Western Netherlands, to consider the possibilities of achieving reduction of armaments. The First Hague Conference in 1899 was attended by the representatives of 26 nations including the USA. It discussed the problem of disarmament. The Conference established a Court of Arbitration (which later became the International Court of Justice) at the Hague, to which the nations could refer their grievances. However, the Conference failed in reaching an agreement on the reduction of armaments, due to the opposition of Germany. Consequent upon the launching of the second German naval programme of 1907, the Tsar in co-operation with President Roosevelt of the U.S.A., made

another attempt to reduce armaments, and to lessen the tensions. The Second Hague Conference was convened in 1907, which was attended by the representatives of 44 Nations. It prepared a code of regulation on the limitation of armaments. The net result of these conferences was that, no agreement was reached on the reduction of armaments on account of the strong opposition from Germany. Both Conferences proved ineffective. Meanwhile, the world drifted towards war, the World War of 1914-1918.

11.6 TURKO-ITALIAN WAR OF 1911 AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

For a long time, Italy had an eye on Tripoli, in North Africa. After the Young Turk Revolution, she began to fear that if she delayed any longer, she might not be able to get Tripoli. Taking advantage of the internal troubles in Turkey, Italy suddenly declared war against Turkey in 1911. In spite of the efforts of the Young Turks, Italy was successful. Turkey made peace with Italy in October 1912 at Lausanne, as a result of which Italy got Tripoli. This war was significant in that it renewed the process of the disintegration of the Turkish Empire. The War revealed the military weakness of the Turkish Empire. This also led to the union of Balkan States for a final attack on Turkey. It resulted in the outbreak of Balkan Wars, which eventually led to the European War of 1914-1918.

11.7 BALKAN LEAGUE

When Turkey was busy fighting against Italy on the question of Tripoli, negotiations started among the Balkan States for the establishment of a League of Balkan States. This ultimately resulted in the formation of the Balkan League. It was not easy to bring all the Balkan States together, on account of their being mutually antagonistic on historical, racial and sentimental grounds. However, their common dislike of the Turks on account of their sufferings at their hands, brought them together. The massacre of the Christians by the Young Turks inflamed the people, and it was no wonder that, they decided to set aside their differences to fight against their common enemy, Turkey. The Balkan League, started by Bulgaria, consisted of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, which was formed in May, 1912.

11.8 THE FIRST BALKAN WAR, 1912

The members of the Balkan League were infuriated by the Turkish misrule in Macedonia, and wanted to save their brethren from Turkish tyranny. The situation in Macedonia was further complicated by a revolt in Albania. The Balkan situation had once again become explosive, and in spite of being cautioned by the Great Powers, the League declared war on Turkey in October, 1912. This was the First Balkan War. The War was a short one. The overthrow and collapse of Turkey was rendered complete by the brilliant victory of the Bulgarians. Macedonia was occupied by the Allies. The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist with the exception of Constantinople. At this point, the Great Powers intervened, and summoned Turkey for peace negotiation in London. Ultimately, the War came to an end with the Treaty of London in May, 1913.

11.8.1 Treaty of London, 1913

The First Balkan War ended with the Treaty of London in 1913. The following were the terms of the Treaty :

1. Turkey ceded almost all her European territory. She was left with Constantinople, and a small area around it.
2. A new State of Albania was formed.
3. The Union of Crete with Greece was recognised.
4. Serbia was denied access to sea. The Treaty of London marked the dissolution of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

11.9 SECOND BALKAN WAR, 1913

Soon after the Treaty of London, differences developed among the Balkan States over the distribution of spoils. The Balkan League was disrupted. Serbia opposed the creation of Albania and demanded compensation in Macedonia from Bulgaria, and claimed a port on the Aegean. Both Greece and Bulgaria were dissatisfied with the partition of Macedonia. Consequently, relations between Bulgaria and the other Balkan States deteriorated. An offensive as well as a defensive alliance with Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania was created against Bulgaria. The Rumanians who had been silent spectators during the First Balkan War took part in the Second Balkan War in order to get strip of territory in the north-east of Bulgaria. Hoping to regain some territory which they lost recently, the Turks also joined the Allies against Bulgaria. The Allies declared war on Bulgaria in June, 1913 on the refusal of Bulgaria to agree to their demand for compensations. Thus, the Second Balkan War broke out. The War was a brief one. In July, 1913, the Turks recaptured Adrianople. The Allies invaded Bulgaria, and threatened to occupy the capital, Sofia. Surrounded by enemies on all sides, Bulgaria sued for peace. The War came to an end, with the Treaty of Bucharest on the 10th of August, 1913.

11.9.1 The Treaty of Bucharest, 1913

The following were the most important provisions of the Treaty :

- 1) Greece acquired Crete, Aegean islands, Salonika, and Southern Macedonia.
- 2) Turkey was given Constantinople, Adrianople and the Straits.
- 3) Rumania got a large strip of Dobruja.
- 4) Bosnia and Herzegovina were still kept under the Austrian rule.
- 5) Serbia got Central Macedonia, but was denied access to the Adriatic sea.
- 6) The independence of Albania was recognised.

11.10 CHANGES ON THE BALKAN MAP

Thus, the final territorial results of the two Balkan Wars were on the one hand, the reduction of Turkish territory in Europe to Constantinople and Adrianople, and on the other, the enlargement of the Christian kingdoms-Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. These changes were made at the cost of Bulgaria.

The results of the Balkan Wars were disastrous. They did not solve the Eastern Question. Bulgaria was eager to take revenge on Serbia, and acquire Macedonia for itself. The enlargement of Serbia and Montenegro had decidedly altered the balance of power in the Balkans to the detriment of the Central Powers-Germany and Austria-who were now cut off from direct contact with Turkey. The estrangement between Serbia and Austria-Hungary widened on account of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. A dangerous competition for acquiring increasing influence in the Balkans developed between Greece, Serbia supported by Russia on the one side, and Bulgaria, Turkey supported by



Germany and Austria on the other. Only a pretext was needed to start a major European War. The prophecies of those who predicted that a general European war would start in the Balkan peninsula, came true. Bismarck had said, "I shall not see the world war, but you will, and it will start in the Near East". It came true on the 28th of June, 1914 with the murder of the Archduke of Austria at Serajevo, the Bosnian capital, which precipitated a World War.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which countries were members of the Balkan league?

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2. Mention the important changes brought about by the two Balkan Wars?

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11.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Union of Bulgaria with Roumalia in 1908.
2. a) To over throw the corrupt and ineffecient Government in Turkey.
b) to modernise Turkey
c) to revive the glory of Turkey in the world.
- II. 1. Bulgaria, Greece, Montenregro and Serbia
2. a) Reduotion of Turkish territory in Europe confining it to constantinople and adri-anople.
b) Enelargement of the Christian kingdoms of Serbia, Rumania, Montenagro and Greece.

11.13 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Describe the Young Turk Movement and its significance.
 2. Trace the events that led to the Balkan Wars.
 3. Which powers were involved in Balkan Wars and Why?
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. How was the Union of Bulgaria achieved and what was its significance?
 2. Examine the work of the Hague Conference of 1897 and 1907.

11.14 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. G.P. Gooch : *History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919*
2. C.D. Hazen : *Europe since 1815*
3. C.J.H. Hayes : *The History of Modern Europe,
Vol. I-Upto 1870 & Vol. II-Since 1870*
4. J.A.R. Marriot : *The Eastern Question*
5. V.D. Mahajan : *History of Modern Europe Since 1789*
6. A.J.P. Taylor : *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe (1848-1948)*
7. J.A.R. Marriot : *A History of Europe from 1815 to 1939*
8. Raghbir Dayal : *A Text Book of Modern European History*

– K.V.S. NARASIAH

BRAOU

UNIT-12 : IMPERIALISTIC RIVALRY - SCARAMBLE FOR AFRICA

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12.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit, should enable you to

1. Explain the meaning and implications of imperialism and Neo - imperialism
2. Analyse the effects of the scramble of European powers to secure colonies in Africa

BLOCK VII : IMPERIALISM

In this unit there are three units. In these Units the meaning and nature of imperialism and the effects of imperialism are discussed. Unit 12 deals with imperialistic rivalry leading to the scramble for Africa. The next unit (Unit 13) is on the impact of imperialism on Asia. The last unit (Unit 14) is on the developments in Russia between 1856 and 1914.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit the meaning and implications of imperialism are discussed. The scramble among the European powers for colonies in Africa and the effects of that scramble are also discussed in this Unit.

12.2 MEANING OF IMPERIALISM

The 19th Century was a period of empire-building on a large scale. Imperialism signifies this movement. Before we deal with the march of Imperialism, let us consider the meaning and nature of Imperialism. Imperialism and colonialism have long been employed as instruments of national policy. It is difficult to define the word, 'Imperialism' in any generally acceptable way. It means different things to different people. There are many kinds of imperialism-political, economic, racial, ideological and cultural, Imperialism generally means the "Lust of territory". It means expansion of a State's power beyond its borders. It is a policy of establishing control over new areas generally by force. According to Charles Hodges, Imperialism means "a projection externally, directly or indirectly, of the alien political, economic, or cultural power of one nation into the internal life of another people". Imperialism is related to a relationship in which one area and its people are subordinate to another area and its government. Thus, imperialism is in essence, always subordination. It is a power relationship without moral implications or considerations of any kind.

12.3 COLONIALISM LEADING TO IMPERIALISM

The two means 'Colonialism' and 'Imperialism' are usually interchangeable. Even then, Writers distinguish between them, Though J.A. Hobson has failed to define imperialism, he has put forward an acceptable definition of colonialism. "Colonialism in its best sense, is a natural overflow of nationality; its test is the power of colonialists to transplant the civilization they represent, to the new natural and social environment in which they find themselves." It is like a parent-and-offspring relationship. European colonisation began with Columbus discovery of the New World, (Americas) in 1492, and Vasco-da-Gama's finding of a new searoute to India in 1498. Spain and Portugal were the first European countries to exploit these discoveries, and establish colonies in the New and old worlds (America and Asia). By the middle of the 17th century, other maritime powers like the Dutch, the English and the French entered the race for colonization. Their commercial motives made them establish colonies in America and Asia. They acquired several colonies, and established a few White settlements. Maintenance of colonies imposed a heavy financial burden on the mother country'. A large staff to administer, and large armies to protect the colonies were needed. The colonial interests often roused acute and bitter rivalry among European nations which led to series of wars. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13); the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Years' War (1756-63) affected the ambitions of the European powers to acquire colonies. England, the 'mistress of the seas', had also suffered the loss of her 13 American colonies after an expensive war. In 1776, the 13 American colonies united together, and revolted against their 'mother country', England, and finally achieved independence. They formed the nucleus of the United States of America, which by the first quarter of the 19th century, became a strong power. The emergence of the USA gave a severe blow to european colonial ambitions in America. France and Spain had also lost some colonies. Their ambitions were further checked by the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which stressed non-colonisation and non-intervention by the European powers in the Americas. Having been checked by the Monroe Doctrine, the colonial powers turned to Asia and Africa for further colonisation and expansion. By the end of the 19th century, the colonial attitude towards the colonies was changed to that of Imperialism. Thus, the Eurpoean mercantilism led to colonialism, and colonialism in turn led to Imperialism.

12.4 NEW IMPERIALISM FROM 1870

Modern Imperialism can be divided into the Old Imperialism, usually called colonialism extending from 1492 to 1763; and the New Imperialism extending from about 1870 to the present. By 1870, Europe was highly advanced industrially and nationally. It had material wealth and armaments and nationalistic ambitions vastly superior to what the rest of the world possessed. The new economic progress, the expansion of commerce and industry, the linking up of the world, the growth of population, the increase of migration, the need of markets, and raw materials, and fresh fields for capital investment—all these combined with the spirit of nationalism which gave a new impetus after 1870 to Imperialism. The causes for the rise of new Imperialism can be summed up as follows:

12.4.1 Causes

12.4.1.1 Industrial Revolution

In the 19th century, Imperialism was the direct outcome of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The Industrial Revolution first started in England by 18th century, and later spread to other European countries. The new inventions made in the field of steam engine, cotton and textile industry, iron and steel industry, transport and communication led to the establishment of various factories and industries. There was a tremendous growth in industries after 1870. The rapidly multiplying factories in the great cities of Europe required food for their millions of workers, raw materials for their machines, and markets for the manufactured goods. The colonies could supply all these in abundance. Hence, there was a further competition for colonization in Asia and Africa, which led to the upsurge of imperialism.

12.4.1.2 Investment

Surplus capital was the main motive for investment. The colonies offered new avenues for investment to money-lenders in European countries. The investments were mainly made in plantations, railways and other governmental undertakings in economically backward areas of Africa and Asia. Despite the high risk involved in this enterprise, investment in colonies earned greater returns than at home, and provided impetus to the annexation of territories.

12.4.1.3 Raw materials and Markets

As a result of the Industrial Revolution, there arose a great demand for raw materials and markets. The invention of the bicycle and the automobile, for instance, stimulated the search for rubber, oil and tin in Africa and Asia. There was also an increase in demand in European countries for tropical products such as coffee, tea, coconut, sugar, and tobacco. There was also a search for markets for the manufactured goods of Europe. Imperialism was designed to bring an increase in trade, to open up markets for the finished goods. Imports and exports brought profits to European enterprises.

12.4.1.4 War demands

There was the quest for Empire among the European countries, especially after 1870. There was an impression that without impressive colonial holdings, a great power could not be called a world power. Military experts pointed to the advantage of having strategically located naval bases or coaling stations. French army officers strove for the acquisition of colonies which could be converted into recruiting grounds for their country. Colonies served as reservoirs of manpower. The war demands of Germany after 1890, the 'Weltpolitik', inspired the European powers to take to imperialism in a big way.

12.4.1.5 Religion

The interests of trade were reinforced by the zeal of the Christian missionaries to spread the Christian religion abroad. It is to be observed that Europeans carried trade as well as the 'Cross' with them, wherever they went. Religious conversion went hand in hand with military expansion. Missionaries carried the Gospel into every nook and corner of the globe. They trained the converts to read the Scriptures and were made use of for large-scale conversions. The missionaries also provided medical as well as educational facilities. Thus, the religious zeal of the missionaries led to the strengthening of the forces of imperialism.

12.4.1.6 Prestige or National Pride

Many defenders of imperialism believed that it was a matter of national prestige to achieve its 'place in the Sun'. Generations of Englishmen gloried in the boast that "the Sun never sets on the British Empire". The driving power behind the French imperialism in the Far East was national pride, which included pride in their culture, reputation, prestige and influence. The European nations also thought that it was their burden to civilize the human races in the 'backward' regions of the world. The White man seemed to assume the duty of uplifting and civilizing the down trodden blacks, browns and yellows of the earth. Thus, national pride of the European nations contributed to the expansion of empires.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Explain briefly the meaning of imperialism

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2. What were the chief causes for new imperialism?

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12.5 AFRICA

The great continent of Africa lay almost within the sight of Europe, forming as it does the southern boundary of the great inland sea, Mediterranean. It is three times the size of Europe. Africa is the second largest of continents, but it is also the poorest and the most backward of them. One of the earliest civilizations of the world, Egyptian civilization, flourished along the lower valley of the Nile in North Africa. The ancient world knew only the northern shores of Africa. The rest was practically unknown. In the 15th century, there took place a great many geographical discoveries, which greatly widened the known boundaries of the world. After 1487, when Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the world came to know the hitherto unknown outline and magnitude of the continent. Yet, little was known about its people or natural resources.

Africa was regarded as the 'Dark continent' of the world. Upto the 19th century, much of Africa remained unknown and unexplored. The real discovery of Africa was the work of explorers and missionaries. When the Europeans penetrated into the continent, they found its climate hot, its territories disease-ridden, and full of impenetrable jungles. Yet, the European countries competed with each other for acquiring territories in it. The sources of the Blue Nile, the Niger and the white Nile were traced respectively by Bruce, Mungo Park, and Speke in 1769, 1794 and 1858. The lakes, Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza, were reached by Burton in 1858. The greatest of the explorers were David Livingstone and Henry Stanley. David Livingstone, a Scottish Physician, went to Africa in 1850 as a Protestant missionary. He earned fame not as an evangelist, but as an explorer. For 30 years, he headed expeditions into the wild jungles of South-Central Africa, and published accounts which fascinated scientists, and which aroused a lively interest throughout Europe and America. He discovered Lake Nyasa, traced the Zambezi to its mouth, and explored the interior regions between the rivers Orange and Congo. Livingstone, whose name is the most important in the History of Africa exploration, died in 1873. His body was carried with all honours to England, and given the burial of a national hero in Westminster Abbey. Another explorer in Africa was Henry Stanley, an Anglo-American Journalist. He was despatched to Africa by the 'New York Herald' newspaper proprietor to trace Livingstone who seemed to have been lost in the African jungles. Stanley found Livingstone in 1871, and then engaged in important explorations of his own. The great lakes of Tanganyika and Victoria were explored by Stanley who also traced the course of Congo river. His most important books were 'How I found Livingstone', 'Through the Dark Continent' and 'In Darkest Africa'. These books were read with the greatest interest in Europe, and this stimulated the desire to know about the continent. Stanley interested King Leopold II of Belgium in the commercial possibilities of the Congo region, and became the chief 'promoter' of that greedy monarch's "Congo Free State".

Another famous European adventurer in Africa was Karl Peters, a German student of British colonial activities, and organiser and chief propagandist of a German Colonial Society. In 1884, with a few companions he landed on the east coast of Africa. By making friends with the native chieftains and presenting them with toys, he obtained 60,000 Square miles of territory through a number of treaties. Later, this territory became the German East Africa. Another adventurer in Africa was the Englishman, Cecil Rhodes, who earned the name of African 'Empire-Builder'. He was the son of an Anglican clergyman. He was intended for the church, but being sickly in his youth, he was sent to Natal, in South Africa, in 1870 for cure. there, he soon found wealth as well as health in the newly discovered diamond fields at Kimberley. Then, after returning to England and studying at Oxford, he went back to South Africa, and became its outstanding "promoter", financier and statesman. He acquired enormous wealth from mining and commercial enterprises. He became the wealthiest man on the continent. He acquired territory in South Africa, which later came to be known as Rhodesia.

12.6 SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

The activities of the explorers and missionaries in the Dark Africa revealed to the world its hidden wealth in the form of raw materials, industrial potentialities, and markets. This gave rise among the greedy European countries to a competition for gaining spheres of influence in Africa. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further increased the importance of the Continent of Africa. By the end of the 19th century, practically the whole continent had been partitioned among the European powers-England, France, Italy Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal. The 'scramble for Africa' led to serious diplomatic complications in the relations among these nations. We shall now consider how the 'Africa', was partitioned among the European powers.

12.6.1 England

12.6.1.1 Egypt and Sudan

The fall of Napoleon Bonaparte and the extension of Britain's influence into Egypt made England a powerful imperialistic nation. After the death of Mohammed Ali, there arose political disturbances in Egypt. During the rule of Ismail Pasha, the digging of the Suez Canal connecting the Mediterranean with the Red sea by a French Engineer, named Ferdinand de Lesseps was completed in 1869. Egypt was modernised by the introduction of railways, posts and telegraph. For all these undertakings, Egypt borrowed huge amounts of money from other European investors. To repay the money, Ismail Pasha decided to sell his shares in the Suez Company. Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, realised the importance of the Suez Canal, grasped the opportunity, and purchased the whole lot of shares. Thus, the 'Dual control' of England and France was established in 1879 on the Suez, which lasted upto 1883. In 1882, a revolt broke out in Egypt and some Europeans were massacred at Alexandria. The English reacted immediately, and the British army occupied Egypt. Thus, by 1883 the English became the virtual masters of Egypt.

Sudan was a province of Egypt. In 1879, the Sudanese rose against the Pasha of Egypt under the leadership of a saint called Muhammed Ahmed, who was hailed as the **Mahdi** or leader. In 1885 Gordon, the British general in Sudan, was surrounded and defeated. Its Egyptian and British defenders were massacred. Gordon himself died. Later in 1898, the Sudanese were defeated by General Kitchener, and Sudan was made into a Protectorate under the English. The successes in Egypt was made into a Protectorate under the English. The successes in Egypt and Sudan led to further acquisitions by England in Africa.

12.6.1.2 South Africa

Britain gradually acquired all the colonies in South Africa. The Cape Colony near the Cape of Good Hope, was originally a Dutch Colony. Later, it passed into the hands of Napoleon. After the fall of Napoleon, England purchased the Cape Colony. The old Dutch settlers of the colony were popularly known as the Boers. Relations between the English and the Boers were strained from the very beginning. The latter, therefore, migrated to the north, and established the colonies of Transval and Orange Free State. As both the British and the Boers were threatened by the native tribes, the British annexed Natal and the new Boer colonies. This led to two Boer Wars, 1881 and 1902, in which Britain defeated the Boers. In 1909, the English and the Dutch colonies were united to form the Union of South Africa, under the British.

12.6.1.3 Other colonies

In addition to the above colonies of Egypt, Sudan and South Africa, Britain secured Zanzibar, Uganda, the Gold Coast, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and the British East Africa. Thus, she secured a larger share in Africa, extending in an almost continuous line from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo (Egypt) than any other European power.

12.6.2 The French

The French, who had a few possessions on the West Coast of Africa, desired to increase their influence along the North Coast through the great Sahara, especially Algeria and Tunisia.

12.6.2.1 Conquest of Algeria, 1847

Under Louis Philippe, the conquest of Algeria was completed. On the plea of suppressing the "Barbary Corsairs" the Algerian pirates, the French intervened, and ultimately conquered the whole of Algeria in 1847.

12.6.2.2 Tunisia 1881

Tunisia was coveted by both the French and the Italians, and consequently, there was acute rivalry over it. France invested much in Tunis for its development. There was a very inefficient and corrupt administration in Tunis, and so, there was no hope of repayment of the French debt. France and Italy intervened in the internal affairs of Tunisia to set the administration in order. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismarck hinted to France that she should occupy Tunisia. France in 1881 occupied Tunisia, and declared it as a protectorate. By the Treaty of Bardo, 12 May 1881, the French protectorate over Tunisia was accepted by the Great powers. But Italy, an old friend of France, was alienated.

12.6.3 Italy-occupation of Somaliland and Libya

Italy, whose ambitions had been thwarted in Tunisia by France, felt frustrated at first. But, she too had her share of the 'scramble' in Africa. In 1885, she acquired Eritrea, and established her protectorate over Somaliland in East Africa. In 1911-12, Italy conquered and occupied Tripoli and Cyrenaica, which were later united and renamed as Libya.

12.6.4 Germany

Germany achieved her unity only in 1871, and so, had been left behind in the race for colonisation. Bismarck was at first against any colonial expansion. It was only after industrialisation that Germany began to feel the need of raw materials and foreign markets, and of finding suitable settlements for her increasing population. Bismarck adopted a forward colonial policy, and turned his attention to Africa. By 1885, Germany established her protectorates over Togoland, Kamerun, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa.

12.6.5 Belgium-Congo

King Leopold II of Belgium summoned an international congress of explorers and scientists in 1876, and organised an International Association for the exploration and civilization of Central Africa. An International Africa Association was set up, with branches in many countries. The expedition of Stanley directed the attention of the African Association to the Congo, and it was decided to concentrate on its exploration. As the enterprise was financed by King Leopold himself as an individual, the Congo Free State became the personal monopoly of his. In 1884, the Association recognised the independent State of the Congo, and the next year, King Leopold assumed sovereignty over the Congo State.

12.6.6 Portugal

Portugal secured Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.

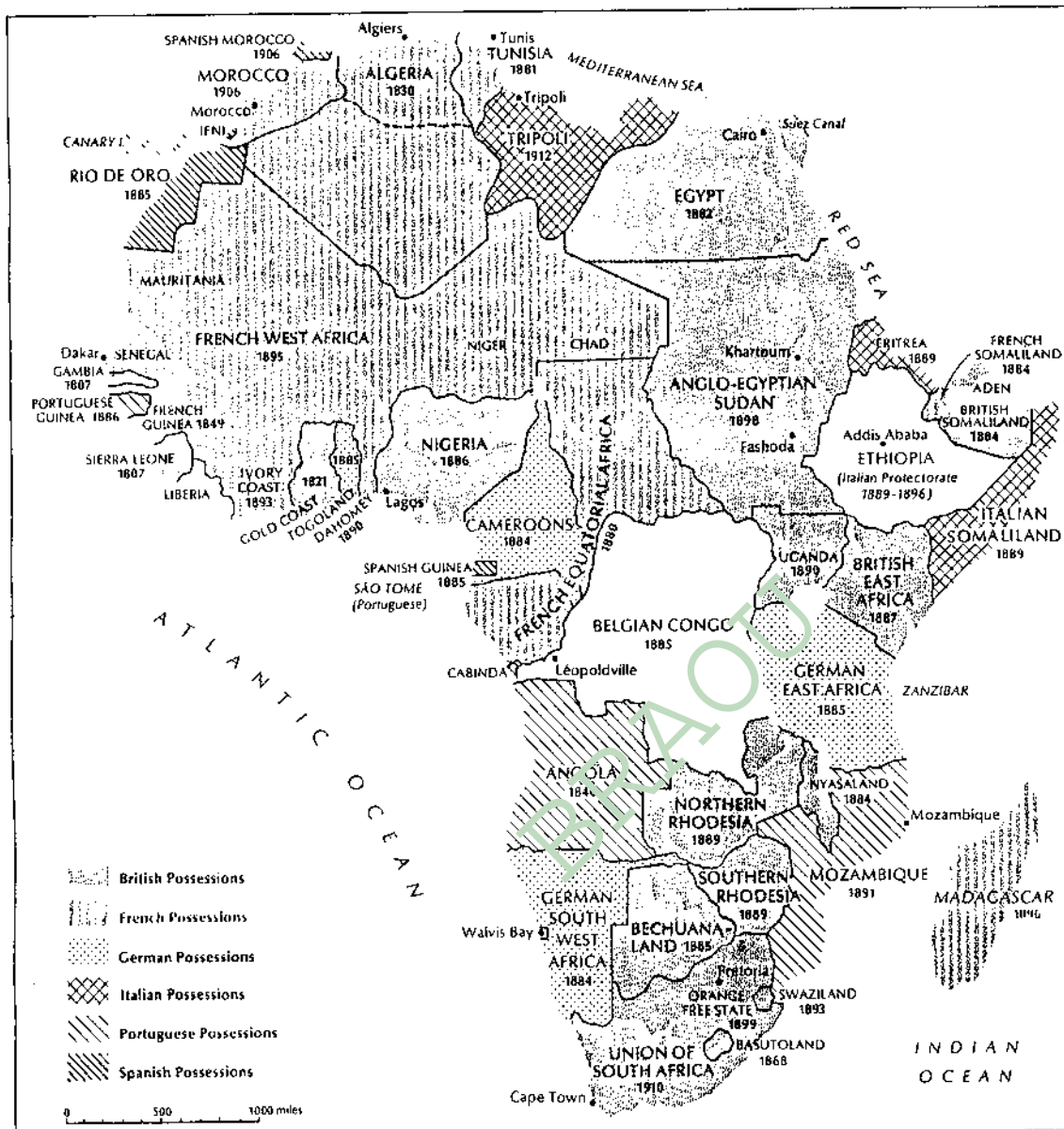
12.6.7 Spain

Spain also acquired a province on the north-west coast of Africa, known as Morocco.

12.7 BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884-85)

The Berlin Conference was summoned by Germany and France to discuss the African situation, particularly the Congo problem. Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany, presided over the Conference. The Conference was attended by all the States of Europe (except Switzerland), and also by the U.S.A. The Conference recognised the independence of the Congo Free State. General agreements were reached on the abolition of slavery and trade, and freedom of trade in the Congo basin. But, the Conference provided no machinery for the enforcement of its

decrees. So, there were violations of the agreements. Even after the Berlin Conference, the process of penetration into Africa continued. By 1914, with the exception of Abyssinia and Liberia, practically the whole of Africa was partitioned among the various European powers.



IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA, 1914

This map indicates how the vast majority of Africa was carved up by European nations in the two decades of the 1880s and 1890s.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which countries were colonised by England in Africa?

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2. Mention the gains of France in Africa in the race for colonies

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12.8 LET US SUM UP

1. Imperialism in general means subordination by one power of other people or states. Colonialism led to imperialism.
2. A number of economic factors like economic progress, the economic needs of the under-developed countries and the growth of communications resulted in neo - imperialism from 1870 onwards.
3. In the scramble for colonies in Africa, the European powers secured the following places
 - a) England - Egypt & Sudan, South Africa, Zanzibar, Uganda, gold coast, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and British east Africa.
 - b) France - Algeria, Tunisia
 - c) Italy - Somaliland & Libya
 - d) Germany - Togoland, Kamerun
German south west Africa and German East Africa
 - e) Belgium - Congo
 - f) Portugal - Mozambique, Angola and Guinea
 - g) Spain - Morocco

12.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1) Imperialism in essence means subordination.
It is a policy or way of a power establishing authority over others
 - 2) economic progress, development of communications were the chief causes for neo - colonialism.
- II 1) England colonised, Egypt, Sudan, South Africa, Zanzibar, Uganda, gold coast, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and British East Africa in the African continent.
 - 2) Algeria and Tunisia

12.10 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

- 1) State how European colonialism led to Imperialism.
- 2) What is New Imperialism? Enumerate the causes for its rise from 1870.
- 3) Critically examine the 'Scramble for Africa' among the European powers and its effects.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Explain the meaning and implications of imperialism.
2. How did Britain come to occupy Egypt and Sudan?
3. Describe the conquest of France in Africa.

12.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Grant & Temperley | : | <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries</i> |
| 2. John & Gwenn -etc stokes | : | <i>Europe and the Modern world 1870-1983</i> |
| 3. Hazen C.D. | : | <i>Modern Europe up to 1945</i> |
| 4. Hayes C.J.H | : | <i>Contemporary Europe since 1870</i> |
| 5. Snellgrase, L.E | : | <i>The Modern world since 1870</i> |

K.V.S. NARASIAH

UNIT-13 : IMPACT OF IMPERIALISM ON ASIA

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13.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to explain

1. The colonisation of Asia by the western powers after 1850
2. The effects of imperialism in Asia.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The continent of Asia is the largest among the world's continents. This giant continent consists of five major areas : (1) Soviet Asia (2) The Far East (China and Japan) (3) South-east Asia (4) South Asia and (5) South-West Asia or Middle East. It is also most populous continent. More than half of the world's population is in Asia. Most of the regions in Asia are backward. The majority of the people are landless agricultural workers, illiterate, inarticulate, sunk in age-old poverty, superstition and disease. Struggle for survival is the usual feature of Asia. Asia has generally come to mean poverty, illiteracy, disease and population pressure. Even

then, in ancient times there was cultural domination of Asia in the world. It was the cradle for most of the earliest civilizations of the world; the Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, and the Chinese civilizations. The Asiatic civilization is known as the Oriental civilization. All the great religions of the world-Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Islam, Confucianism-have originated in Asia.

13.2 CONTACTS BETWEEN ASIA AND EUROPE BEFORE 1850

The dawn of the Modern period in Europe began with the capture of Constantinople in 1453 A.D. by the Ottoman Turks. One of the characteristic features of the dawn of the Modern age was the geographical discoveries. Europe's direct contacts with Asia began with the discovery of a new sea route to India in 1498 A.D. by the Portuguese navigator, Vasco-da-Gama. Portugal was the first among the powers to establish direct commercial contacts with Asia. These commercial contacts led to colonisation. The Portuguese merchants established trading centres in India, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, China and Japan. Portugal was not the only country interested in explorations. Spain, England, Holland and France also joined in the enterprise. By the end of the 16th century, travel to Asia had become well-established. Christian missionaries followed the traders. While the Christian missionaries were trying to convert the natives to Christianity, the officials and traders from the West were extorting what wealth they could, with little concern for the welfare of the inhabitants. By the end of the 18th century, England gained monopoly in India by driving out the French, and attempted to win concessions in Japan and China. French missionaries and traders established colonies in Indo-China. The Portuguese managed to retain small holdings in India-Goa, Diu, Daman and the island of Macao, near Hongkong. The Dutch (Holland) took over the East Indies, and Deshima island in Nagasaki Bay, in Japan. China was opened to foreign exploitation in the early 19th century, all these contacts were primarily commercial, and secondarily political in character. There was no real Europeanization of a cultural sort. The population of Asia was deeply rooted in its own complex culture, and was not much affected by the presence of European traders and missionaries.

13.3 ASIA AFTER 1850-EUROPEAN DOMINATION IN ASIA

A new wave of European imperialism swept Asia in the second half of the 19th century. This was further accelerated by the Industrial Revolution. The industrialized nations of Europe in order to secure raw materials, to sell manufactured goods, and to invest surplus capital, scrambled for colonies in Asia also. They were no longer satisfied with the limited coast traffic and commercial contacts, but even sought to subjugate Asian states. The industrialized and advanced European powers with their naval and military supremacy and large financial resources, could bring Asiatic rulers under their control. We shall now consider how Asia became a victim to European dominance.

Great Britain, by 1876, acquired India and declared it as a part of British Empire. In 1880, Burma and Baluchistan were added to its Indian Empire. In South-eastern Asia, Singapore, Malacca and the island of Borneo were occupied. In South-Western Asia, Britain acquired Aden and Kuwait, and established a "sphere of influence" in Southern Persia. From China, Britain got Hongkong, and established its privileged position in Tibet. By early 20th century, Great Britain governed a 3rd of the whole population of Asia. France acquired Indo-China besides a few trading centres in India, and established her 'sphere of influence' in Siam and China. By 1914, France also got under her control a large population of Asia, the majority of whom were Buddhists. The government of Holland acquired the Dutch East Indian Empire, the islands of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, two-thirds of Borneo and New Guinea. A good number of Asiatics, largely Muslims, by 1914 came under the rule of the Dutch. Portugal still continued to rule over a few trading posts in India, and the port of Macao in China. Germany in 1880 took possession of the north-eastern New Guinea, and in 1898 leased from China, the port of Kiachow. Russia

held Siberia, and marched through Turkestan and Western Central Asia to the borders of India. By 1907, Russia through agreement with Great Britain, established its 'sphere of influence' in Northern Persia. It is interesting to note that the United States of America also joined the European powers in acquiring territories in the Pacific of South-east Asia. The United States, by virtue of its victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898, acquired the Philippines.

13.3.1 The Far East

Thus, by early 20th century, almost 3/5th of the entire area of Asia came under the direct rule of European powers (including the U.S.A.). But, still there remained areas in Asia which enjoyed independence of European rule. They were the 'Far Eastern' countries of China, Japan and Siam, and the 'Middle Eastern' regions of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia. All these states, though influenced by European civilization, did not come under the direct rule of the European powers.

13.3.2 Japan

The word, 'Japan', is derived from a Chinese phrase, meaning "Rising Sun". Until 1853, Japan was a backward country, and lived in complete seclusion. Her laws forbade foreigners to set foot on her soil, and her own people to cross the seas, and set foot on foreign lands. Particularly from 1638 to 1853, Japan was practically cut off from Europe, and Europe from Japan. The 'opening' of Japan to Western influence was the result of a naval expedition. In 1853, an American naval squadron under Commodore Mathew Perry, appeared off the Japanese coast, and demanded the opening of the Japanese ports to American trade. The Japanese were highly impressed by the sight of Perry's four warships, the exhibits he showed to them, and the big cannons which his ships carried. The Japanese felt the importance of Western Industrial Civilization and acknowledged the Western superiority in arms. In 1854, the Japanese Prince concluded a treaty with the U.S.A. by which, Japan promised to allow American merchantmen to visit two ports. This prompted Britain, France, Germany, Holland and Russia to send their fleets to Japan, and obtain similar privileges. The advent of the Westerners started a Civil War in Japan between the Progressives, who wanted Westernisation of Japan, and the Conservatives, who hated Europeanisation. This led to the Japanese Revolution of 1867-1868 in which the Progressive triumphed, and thus, Japan underwent remarkable change. The Shogunate, which controlled the Government, was abolished, and the youthful and able Emperor, Mutsuhito was made actual as well as titular monarch of Japan.

13.3.2.1 Europeanising Japan

Under Mutsuhito, (1867-1912) Japan was rapidly "Europeanised". He started refashioning his country on western lines. In the subsequent decades, Japan underwent a rapid transformation. In 1871, feudalism was abolished. Young Japanese were sent to Europe or America to study. Foreigners, especially Europeans and Americans, were welcomed to Japan. Christian missions were tolerated. Foreign commercial contacts were encouraged. European ideas and models were closely observed in modernising the political, educational, military, economic and industrial institutions of the country. The entire administration was overhauled, and the people were given a democratic constitution. Universities were set up at Tokyo and Kyoto, and elementary education was introduced on an extensive scale. A public-school system of 'Western' type was established. There was also swift progress in material civilization in Japan. The first railway line, 18 miles long from Tokyo to Yokohama, was opened in 1872, and by 1888, she was well provided with rail transport. The army and the navy were reorganised, and by the close of the 19th century, Japan possessed an efficient army and navy. The state also encouraged the establishment of industries, particularly silk and cotton, by providing enough capital. Soon, numerous factories in the field of mass production. By the first decade of the 20th century, Japan became as industrialised a

country as any European country or U.S.A.

13.3.2.2 Japanese Imperialism

With this rapid Europeanisation, Japan began to dream of becoming a great power in the world. Having become a manufacturing and trading nation, the Japanese sought to extend their trade and territories. Japan wanted vacant lands for her surplus population. She required raw materials for her factories, and markets for the finished goods. All these factors required the pursuit of a policy of Imperialism by Japan.

Like Western powers, Japan too wanted territories in China. Early in the 1890's, Japan began seriously to meddle in Chinese affairs. Korea became the target for attacks by Japanese imperialism. The Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, in which Japan defeated China. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895, China surrendered Korea, the Liaotung peninsula with Port Arthur, and the island of Formosa. The European powers became aware that Japan had become a militant nation, and powerful competitor for them in the East. Alarmed by the sudden rise of Japan, Russia, France and Germany appeared as the champions of China's integrity, brought pressure on Japan, and forced her to return Port Arthur and Liaotung peninsula to China. Russia later in 1898, seized the Peninsula along with Port Arthur, whereupon Japan decided to take vengeance on Russia for her action.

Japan carefully prepared for a war with Russia. In 1902, she concluded an alliance with Great Britain, the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Meanwhile, Russia occupied Manchuria, and rushed her troops to the Korean border. Without waiting further, Japan declared war on Russia in 1904. This is the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. The War was a short one, which Japan won. Russia was defeated, sued for peace. Through the mediation of the U.S.A., the Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905, was concluded. By this Treaty, Russia surrendered Port Arthur and Liaotung peninsula to Japan, and recognised Korea as a Japanese 'sphere of influence'. Russia pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea and Manchuria. Later, Japan annexed Korea in 1910. The territory thus annexed was valuable to Japan, since it served as a source of raw materials, market for Japanese goods, and a field of investment for Japanese capitalists. After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan made rapid progress in industry, and in modernising its army and navy. During the First World War, Japan sided with the Allies, and after the War was over, Japan was considered an important power, and given a place among the Big Five, who drew up the Peace treaties.

13.3.3 Chinese Empire

The Chinese empire was one of the oldest and highly civilized empires of the world. It also became one of the unfortunate victims of the imperialist scramble for markets by Western powers. There had been commercial contacts between the Chinese Empire and the rest of the world since ancient times. In the modern period, there had been a great demand in Europe for Chinese goods such as tea, silk, cotton textiles and porcelain. But, the Chinese were backward and poor, and had always lived in isolation hating the outside world. The Chinese Empire did not allow any foreigner to settle in Peking. Foreigners were permitted to trade at only one Chinese port, Canton, under severe restrictions. The Chinese Empire was vast, and China proper was the core of the Empire, and there were several outlying provinces such as Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. Though earlier, China had contacts with the West, those contacts were primarily commercial and religious. China was not 'Europeanised' on account of these contacts. But, in the face of the expanding western imperialism, the isolation of China could no longer continue. China was forced out of its isolation by the great powers of Europe. China was not conquered by any single strong power, but was subjected to joint colonial exploitation. Through a series of aggressions, the European powers compelled China to cede territories and trading privileges.

13.3.3.1 European Aggression

It was in the 19th century China was forcefully intended upon by the newly industrialised powers of Europe. The process began in 1840 with the Opium Wars waged by Great Britain against the Chinese Empire. The Chinese government had forbidden the importation of opium. As there were enormous profits in the opium trade, the British traders at Canton persisted in bringing opium from India into China. The Chinese government took severe measures against smuggling. In 1839, the Special Commissioner, appointed to check smuggling, seized 20,000 chests of opium at Canton, and destroyed all of them. Thereupon, the First Opium War (1839-42) broke out in which the English inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese. The Chinese sued for peace, and the Treaty of Nanking (1842) was concluded. By this Treaty, China had to pay a large war indemnity, surrender Hongkong to Great Britain, and open the four ports of Amoy, Ningpo, Foochow and Shanghai to trade, in addition to Canton. The same privileges were obtained by the other Western nations also-American, French, Belgian, Prussia, Dutch, and Portuguese-in separate Treaties with China. The above mentioned Treaties exposed the weakness of the Manchu Government which the foreign imperialist powers took advantage of to extend their domination. This resulted in the Second Opium War (1856-60). In 1856, the English and the French declared war on China, on the pretext that the British flag was insulted by the Chinese, and that France had to avenge the murder of a missionary. Once again, the Chinese were defeated by the combined Franco-British forces, and the Treaty of Tientsin (1860) was concluded. By this Treaty, China agreed to open six additional ports to foreign trade, to legalise the opium trade, to receive foreign Ministers at Peking, to tolerate the missionary activity, and to guarantee the safety of Europeans travelling in the interior. Russia by a separate treaty in 1860, extorted from China the Amur coastal district in the far north-east. There, she established the port of Vladivostok, and used it as a base to expand her influence in Manchuria.

Further dismemberment of the Chinese Empire took place with the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Japan after Europeanisation, pursued the policy of imperialism in China. Korea became the bone of contention between China and Japan. Under the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), China ceded to Japan, Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula, along with port Arthur, China also recognised the complete independence of Korea. The European imperialist nations, especially Russians, could not tolerate the Japanese occupation of the Liaotung peninsula and port Arthur. Russia, with the support of Germany and France, compelled Japan to restore them to China. But, later in 1898, Russia annexed the Liaotung peninsula along with port Arthur.

The European aggression in China was further intensified by the intervention of Germany and France. Germany in 1897, on the pretext of redressing the murder of two missionaries of German nationality, secured from China a 99 year lease of the port of Kiaochow, and economic privileges in the Chinese province of Shantung. France, in the same year, secured the South China Bay of Kwangchow, and economic rights in Kwangsi province, and in the island of Hainan. Thus, the imperialist powers carved out their respective "spheres of influence" in China. Great Britain in Yangtse Valley ; Germany in Shantung, and Japan in Fukien. It appeared in 1898, that China would share the fate of Africa.

13.3.3.2 The Open Door Policy of U.S.A.

The actual partitioning of China was prevented by the rivalry among the imperial powers. Great Britain and the U.S.A. in particular, did not like the partition of China amongst many powers. They wanted to keep open China for trade to all the powers. John Hay, the Secretary of State of U.S.A. proclaimed the famous 'Open Door Doctrine' in 1899. The doctrine did not dispute the right of the other powers to territory and privileges which they had already secured. But, it was laid down that "all parts of China should be open, on equal terms to the citizens of all foreign countries for commerce and investement". This policy was found acceptable to all,

and China was saved from being dismembered. Thus, China was allowed to retain her nominal independence.

13.3.3.3 Reaction and Reforms

The penetration of the European powers into China, caused economic distress and misery to her people. The weaknesses of the Manchu administration were exposed. People lost respect for the government, and a spirit of revolt prevailed every where in the empire. The result was the Taiping Rebellion (1850-65) under the leadership of Hung Hsin Chuan. He established a rival State in China, called **Taiping Tien Kuo** (Heavenly Kingdom of Peace) in 9 South-Western provinces of China, with its capital at Canton. But, the Manchu rulers suppressed the rising, and destroyed the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace. However, the spirit of the uprising compelled the young Manchu Emperor, Kuang Hsu (1875-1908) in 1898, to issue a series of decrees for bringing about reforms. He issued order for the establishment of schools and colleges, the building of railways, the study of European science, and the reorganisation of the army and the administration on Western lines. These radical reforms aroused bitter feelings among the conservative sections in China. A *'coup d'etat'* followed in Sept. 1898, engineered by the regent, Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, and supported by a prominent army general, Yuan-Shih-Kai. The young emperor was imprisoned, and the reforms were revoked. Thus, the reform movement suffered a severe set-back.

13.3.3.4 The Boxer Rising, 1899-1901

The conservative section of the reactionaries, encouraged by Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi, formed secret societies in China. One of the secret societies, that of "Boxers" or "Righteous Patriotic fists", decided to drive away the foreigners out of their country. They massacred the missionaries, destroyed the railways, and set fire to the houses of foreigners. By 1900, the movement spread to all the major cities of China, and reached its climax in Peking. Thereupon, the Imperialist powers got together, and sent an international military expedition, consisting of troops from Russia, Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Italy, Germany and Japan, to suppress the rising. The Boxers were suppressed with great cruelty. The victorious foreign powers compelled China to accept the Allied terms of peace. According to it, the powers guaranteed the integrity of China, and China in turn agreed to pay a huge war indemnity, amounting to 333 million dollars, so safeguard foreigners and foreign interest in the country, and to permit foreign powers to maintain armed forces for self-protection at Peking and Tientsin. Thus, the subjection of China by foreign powers was rendered complete.

13.3.3.5 Chinese Revolution of 1911-12

China was thus humiliated and exploited by the Imperialist powers. This roused the feelings of the younger generation of the Chinese intellectuals, many of whom who had studied abroad, were influenced by the Western ideas and thought. They wanted radical reforms. But, the Manchu dynasty which had been ruling China since 1644, was quite indifferent to the introduction of reforms. Their hold on the Chinese government was very weak. The young Radicals came to the conclusion, that Chinese regeneration depended upon getting rid of the Manchu dynasty, and its conservative administration. The leader of this group was Sun-Yat-Sen, who was born in 1866, the son of a poor peasant and a graduate of medicine. He gave up his promising career as a surgeon, to carry on revolutionary propaganda among the students and soldiers. For his revolutionary activities, he was exiled in 1895, and even in exile, he built up a Revolutionary League from Japan and Europe, and organised secret groups in many parts of China for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The events in China favoured the revolutionary agitation, as the simultaneous deaths of the Dowager Empress, Tzu Hsi, and the puppet Emperor Kuang Hsu, occurred in 1908. As a result of the revolutionary activities of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, anti-monarchical

riots broke out in 1911. Very soon, the revolutionaries succeeded in occupying several important cities and provinces. In December, 1911, a provisional Republican government was established at Nanking, with Sun-Yat-Sen as President. In the following year, 1912, in February, the boy Emperor Hsuan Tung abdicated the throne, and thus the rule of the Manchu dynasty ended. Thus, as a result of the Chinese Revolution of 1912, China was proclaimed a Republic.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Who opened the doors of Japan to western influence?

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2. Who was the author of the 'Open door' policy?

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13.3.4 India-the Crown takes over

The coming of the Europeans to India began when Vasco-da-Gama discovered a new sea route to India in 1498. The Portuguese were the first to establish trading centres in India. They were followed by the Dutch, the English and the French. In the keen contest among the European powers for trade monopoly in India during 17th century, the English and the French only remained. At that time, India was ruled by a dynasty of Muslim Emperors known as the Mughals. The Mughal rule began to decline after the death of the last Great Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, in 1707. The collapse of the Central government in India left the field open to the establishment of a new authority. For more than one hundred years, the English and the French trading companies had fought one another for supremacy in India. It was Robert Clive, through the victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757, established the British rule in India overthrowing the French. After the elimination of the French, the British rule in India was rapidly extended by the empire-builders of the English East India Company by 1818, the British East India company became the master of India.

In the spring of 1857, the progress of the British rule in India was suddenly interrupted by the Sepoy Mutiny. This incident was a great setback to the British rule in India. Though the Mutiny was suppressed, it had a far-reaching effect on the British rule in India. One consequence of the Mutiny was the final eclipse of the Mughal rule in India. The Mutiny also ended the system of dual control under which, the British government and the East India Company shared authority in India. The British parliament in 1858 passed the 'Better Government of India Act', by which the English East India Company was abolished, and the British Government assumed direct rule, and full responsibility of India. Later in 1876 by another enactment, India was declared an "Empire", and the British sovereign was styled as "Empress (or Emperor) of India". Thus, the British Crown took over the entire administration of India.

13.3.4.1 British Control over the Indian Empire

When the Crown took over the Indian administration, the British India presented a heterogeneous picture marked by divergencies in race, language, religion and culture. There were about 700 nominally independent states under native rulers, "the protected Princes of India". The British Government adopted two methods to administer India. One, the 'Empire of India', the Indian portion directly under British rule, was administered by the representative of the Crown, the Viceroy. The second, 'Native States', the independent states under native rulers, who acknowledged British supremacy, were kept under the 'Supervision' by the Viceroy.

As a part of the British Empire, India progressed well. Roads and railways were built; agricultural production was stimulated, industries were established, harbour works were undertaken, sanitation and public health were promoted; and an Indian Army with British officers was constituted. Even then, there arose among Indian nationals, the spirit of Nationalism which culminated in the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. It was through this organisation that the Indians struggled for Independence, which was achieved on August 15, 1947.

13.3.5 Siam-Persia and other Powers

Siam was another country of the Far East which came under European dominance without losing her independence. The colonial expansion of the British in Burma, and of the French in Indo-China, seriously endangered the independence of Siam. Both these European powers grabbed the border provinces, and in 1896, they agreed upon the division of the whole country into 'spheres of influence'. But, Siam was saved partly because both France and Great Britain welcomed the continuance of Siam as an independent state to serve as a buffer between their holdings, and partly because the patriotic Royal house of Siam was unyielding.

The Muslim 'Near East' and 'Middle East' also felt the impact of European domination. The countries in this area-Persia (or Iran), Belucistan, Afghanistan, Turkistan-came under the influence of Russian imperialism. Russia after the Congress of Berlin in 1878, turned her attention towards the East and South-east. She conquered the province of Kars in 1878, and annexed Chinese Turkistan in 1880. Her expansion towards the Southeast, Persia and Afghanistan roused British hostility. Great Britain considered 'Russophobia' a great danger for her Indian Empire. Wars broke out during 1878-81 between England Russia on the question of 'spheres of influence' in Afghanistan. But, they came to an amicable settlement through the mediation of France by 1907. The Anglo-Russian Entente was concluded by which the two powers agreed to recognise each other's sphere of influence' in Persia, and Russia gave up her designs on Afghanistan.

The countries of Australia and New Zealand also came under the influence of British Imperials. The British colonisation in Australia began in 1788. Gradually, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and West Australia were colonised. In 1901, all the British Colonies were united, and the Commonwealth of Australia was formed. New Zealand was colonised by the British in 1826. 1907, in New Zealand was given the status of a Dominion.

13.4 EFFECTS OF IMPERIALISM

There were far-reaching effects of European imperialism.

13.4.1 Modernisation

The European imperialism promoted modernisation, with the acquisition of colonies by European countries, the European civilization spread to all continents. Africa, hitherto, a Dark continent, and Asia were benefited much by contacts with European nations. Slave trade was

abolished, and the African tribes came under the influence of Christianity, and received the benefits of Western Education. The Western system of Government was also introduced, and the colonies were granted in an increasing measure, self-government. Railways, Posts and telegraphs, and education were improved. The countries of Asia and Africa under Western dominance achieved economic progress.

13.4.2 Economic exploitation

There were also bad effects of imperialism. The economic exploitation was one such result. To a large extent, the colonies were exploited for the benefit of the 'mother countries'. The mineral products and the raw materials were taken away by the European countries for their factories. The finished goods were brought to the colonies, and sold at high rates.

13.4.3 Racial discrimination

Imperialist policies led to racial discrimination in Africa and Asia. The practice of the cult of superiority of the White man over the Blacks in Africa, and Browns the native Africans as slaves. The apartheid and racial discrimination made the native people aspire for self-government.

13.4.4 Other Results

Imperialism also roused high passions and tensions, among the Great Powers. Affairs in Egypt and Sudan almost led England and France to war. Italy and France became enemies over the question of Tunisia. The Boer Wars led to estrangement between England and Germany. Morocco became the bone of contention between the French and the Germans. These international rivalries and jealousies over the acquisition of colonies, led to the formation of two armed blocs-Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy, and Triple Entente between Great Britain, France and Russia-on the eve of the World War I. Thus, Imperialism became one of the causes for the outbreak of First World War.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Which European countries exercised their dominance over Siam?

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2. What were the important effects of imperialism in Asia?

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13.5 LET US SUM UP

1. Domination of Europe over Asia started after 1850.
2. Japan came under American influence.
3. In China many European countries established their 'spheres of influence'.
4. Modernisation, economic exploitation and racial discrimination were some of the important effects of imperialism in Asia.
5. India came under the British crown from 1858.

13.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Commodore Perry
2. John Hay
- II. 1. Britain and France
2. a) Modernization b) Economic exploitation
c) Racial discrimination

13.7 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Trace the European domination in Asia after 1850.
 2. How did Japan become an Imperialist power between 1890 and 1910?
 3. Examine the stages marking the subjection of China to foreign Imperialism.
 4. What were the effects of European Imperialism?
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Describe the contacts between Asia and Europe before 1850.
 2. How was Japan Europeanised?
 3. What was the condition of the Chinese Empire before it was forcibly opened by the West?
 4. Trace the course and the significance of the Revolution of 1911-12 in China.
 5. Examine the character of the British control over the Indian Empire.
 6. Narrate the establishment of European domination in Siam, Persia, Australia and New Zealand.

13.8 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. Grant and Temperley | : <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries</i> |
| 2. Hazen C.D. | : <i>Europe and Modern World 1870-1983</i> |
| 3. John | : <i>Europe since 1815</i> |
| 4. Hayes C.J.H. | : <i>Contemporary Europe since 1870</i> |
| 5. Snellgrase L.E. | : <i>The Modern World since 1870</i> |
| 6. Wolfe M. | : <i>The Economic Causes of Imperialism</i> |

– K.V.S. NARASAI AH

UNIT-14 : DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIA, 1856-1914

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14.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this Unit should enable you to

1. analyse the developments in Russia between 1856 and 1914.
2. to critically estimate the implications and significance of the reforms of Tsar Alexander II.
3. to understand the implications of the policy of Russification by Tsar Alexander III.
4. to trace the spread of Marxian ideas in Russia, to analyse the causes, nature and effects of the 1905 Revolution and to analyse the causes significance and effects of the Russo-Japanese war of 1905.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

In the North-Eastern part of Europe lies Russia, peopled by Slavs who belonged to the Greek Orthodox Catholic Church. Russia had long been a prey to internal dissensions and Scandinavian invasions from the West, and to those of Mongols from the East and the South. Russia was a backward country which at the dawn of the Modern age, emerged as a nation-state under the rule of Ivanov dynasty. Ivan III, known as Ivan the Great (1462-1505), liberated Russia

from Mongol domination, and put an end to the internal quarrels. He laid the foundations for a national monarchy in Russia. Ivan IV (1533-1584) who earned the name of Ivan the Terrible, assumed the title of Tsar, or Emperor of "all the Russians". Thus, a new national monarchy, absolute and imperialist, with its capital at Moscow, came to be established in Russia. But, Russia remained as a backward country in Europe for two centuries. Russia did not reap the benefits of the Modern age-the new learning, scientific development, religious upheaval and the rise of capitalism-which modernised the countries of Western and Central Europe. Russia stood isolated having little commercial and cultural contacts with Western European countries. Russia was blocked by Poland and Sweden on the Baltic side, and by the Turks on the Black Sea side. These two were the 'windows to the west' for Russia, which were closed till the end of the 17th century. The Russians were influenced by Mongol culture in their manners and dress. They put on turbans and flowing robes, and imitated the Asiatics in many other ways. Their only bond of connection with Western Europe was their religion, Christianity.

It was under Romanov dynasty (1613-1917) that Russia was Europeanised, and emerged as a Great Empire, next to British Empire. At the beginning of the 18th century, Peter the Great (1689-1725), the father of Modern Russia, had set Russia on a new path. He introduced Western civilization in Russia. He made his people adopt the European way of life, customs, manners and dress. He created a class of nobles called 'gentry', who became a privileged class in the Russian society. But, all these measures had little impact on the mass of the population. Peter also opened the closed Baltic Sea window for contacts with the West, by waging a successful war against Sweden. Russia, the last born child of the European civilization, thus became one of the European powers. The policies of Peter were carried on by Catherine the Great (1762-1796). She waged a successful war against Turkey, and by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji, 1774, acquired port Azov, of the Black sea. Thus, the closed window of Black sea was opened for Russia to develop contacts with the Western countries.

In spite of the efforts of Peter and Catherine, Russia could not rise to the level of other Western countries upto the middle of the 19th century. Russia was an agricultural country with primitive and inefficient methods of cultivation. A peculiar type of feudalism known as 'serfdom' prevailed in Russia. There were two classes in the society, the nobles and the peasants. The nobles were highly privileged and wielded considerable social and political power. The majority of the peasants were serfs who belonged to the unprivileged class. The Tsarist regime was absolute, and followed a policy of severe repression. Education, the press and foreign travel were strictly controlled by the State. However, it did not remain unaffected by the forces of liberalism and constitutionalism, let loose by the French Revolution. There was an awakening in Russian society which led to a demand for social and political reforms. Russian history in the 19th century was one of the struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces.

14.2 ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER II, 1855

The Crimean War (1854-56) led to the emergence of Russia as a modern state. Upto that time, Russia had opposed the forces of liberalism and modernisation, which were revolutionising the countries of the West. The liberal tendencies of Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825), ended in reaction due to the influence of Metternich, who was a great champion of conservatism. His successor, Tsar Nicholas I (1825-55), had continued the traditions of absolutism and autocracy. It was during his reign that the Crimean War broke out, in which Russia was defeated, and her military weakness exposed to the world. He died in the middle of the Crimean War. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander II, the 'Tsar Liberator'. With the accession of Tsar Alexander II, a new era of liberal reforms began in Russia.

14.2.1 Tsar Alexander II (1855-1881)'s Reforms

Alexander II ascended the throne of Russia in the middle of the Crimean War. It was he who ended the Crimean War, by signing the humiliating Treaty of Paris in 1856. After ending the

Crimean War, Alexander II embarked on a radical reorganisation of the Russian State. There was a great deal of discontentment in the country. The loss of prestige in the Crimean War increased the opposition to the government. The people blamed the autocratic government for their defeat, and the humiliating Peace of 1856.

To appease the people, the Tsar introduced some concessions and reforms. As a preliminary measure, he released the political prisoners and relaxed the restrictions on the press, on the universities and on the foreign travel. These reforms were enthusiastically welcomed by the people.

14.2.1.1 Abolition of serfdom

The most important reforms of Alexander II was the abolition of serfdom in 1861. This earned for him the title of "Tsar Liberator". Russia was predominantly an agricultural country. Feudalism of the Medieval type prevailed in Russia. The majority of her people were serfs. The cultivable land of the Russian Empire consisted of large estates belonging either to the Tsar, the royal family, or to the Nobles and their families, which numbered about 1,00,00. The serfs were attached to the soil, half of them belonging to the Crown, and the rest to private owners, the Nobles. The position of the serfs in Russian society was wretched and miserable. They were in bondage to their landlords who could demand any kind of service from them, sell them, transport them, hand them over to the army, or give them cruel punishment. Alexander II decided to liberate the serfs in his country. The Edict of Emancipation was finally published in March, 1861. This decree abolished serfdom in Russia as a result of which, about 35 million Russian serfs were liberated. The serfs were granted personal freedom, and were no longer required to pay feudal dues to their masters. On the Crown lands, the serfs became land-owners. The serfs on the private lands were given only the houses in which they were living, and a strip of garden. The land that was bought by the State from the landlords was transferred to the village communities (mir) which in turn, distributed it among the serfs. The serfs were required to pay for it in the form of easy instalments. The village community was responsible for the collection of money from the serfs. The emancipation of the serfs was a great humanitarian act on the part of the Tsar. However, it did not improve the condition of the serfs. Indeed, it worsened, and they resented paying the instalments. It is alleged that Alexander II liberated the serfs from the nobles, only to make them 'serfs of the state'.

14.2.1.2 Local Government

The emancipation of the serfs destroyed the very foundation of Russia's administrative system, and a reorganisation of local government followed. By the Zemstvo Decree of 1864, a network of local self-government was established, which provided representation to the nobility, the peasants and the townsmen. European Russia was divided into 360 districts, and 34 provinces. Each district and each province had its own Zemstvo or elective council. The district councils were representative of all classes of the community - nobles, burghers and peasants. The district councils elected the provincial councils or Zemstvos. The functions of these councils were the ordinary functions of local government, viz., supervision of primary education, sanitation, poor relief, and charity, prevention of famine, maintenance of roads and bridges; and election of the Justices of Peace.

14.2.1.3 Judiciary

The administrative reorganisation led to reforms in the Judiciary of the State. By a judiciary edict of 1862, the old system was remodelled on that of Western Europe. The judiciary was separated from administration. Provision was made for the election of the Justices of Peace by the people. The district, provincial and circuit courts were established. The Senate was the highest court of appeal. The laws of the country were codified. Western principles like the

independence of magistrates, oral procedure, and Trial by Jury were introduced. The principle of equality before law, was proclaimed.

14.2.2 Revolt in Poland, 1863

The revolutionary movement of Alexander II received a set-back after 1863. It was in that year that the people of Poland revolted against Russia. Poland lost her independence through a series of partition treaties in the 18th century among the three neighbouring States, Russia, Prussia and Austria. Russia got the major part of Poland. Since then, the Polish patriots had been organising secret societies, and agitating for the restoration of their country's independence. Encouraged by the liberal attitude of Alexander II, the Poles aspired to political and social concessions. But, Alexander was no true liberal. He acted as a benevolent despot, rather than as a true democrat. He did not concede the demands of the Polish people. In March 1863, the Poles revolted against the Russian government. ill-organised and ill-equipped, and bereft of foreign assistance, the Polish agitators were no match to the regular armed forces of Russia. Moreover, Bismarck, in pursuance of his domestic and foreign policies, offered the Tsar Prussian armed assistance. It was therefore not surprising that Tsar Alexander II crushed the Polish rebellion without any difficulty. It resulted in the incorporation of Poland in the Russian Empire, and the proclamation of Russian as the official language of the country.

14.2.3 Change in the attitude of the Tsar

The Polish revolt turned Tsar Alexander II into a reactionary, and he continued to be so till his death. He imposed censorship on the press, revived the secret police, controlled education, and restricted foreign travel. The radical liberals in Russia did not accept the change in the attitude of the Tsar. They formed many secret and revolutionary societies, and resorted to terrorist activity. The result was the rise of 'Nihilism' and the Nihilist movement in Russia. The Nihilists were the followers of Michael Bakunin, a radical theorist, and founder of European anarchism. The word, 'Nihilism' is derived from Latin, 'ni hili' which means, nothing. The nothing must remain as it exists, was the cardinal principle of the Nihilists. The Nihilists advocated the complete destruction of the existing order of the society—the Tsardom, the Church, the social and economic order—and the reconstruction of a new order based upon reason and science. Tsar Alexander II took all steps to suppress the Nihilist movement in Russia. The secret police of the Tsar was made active, and a number of Nihilists were caught and deported to Siberia as exiles. The action of the Tsar further provoked the revolutionaries to step up their terrorist activity. They resorted to outrages and attempts by bomb, pistol, or knife on the lives of many high officials. The result was that Tsar Alexander II himself was killed in 1881, by the explosion of a bomb hurled by a Nihilist. With the death of Tsar Alexander II, liberalism was given up in Russia.

14.3 TSAR ALEXANDER III (1881-1894) AND HIS RUSSIFICATION

Tsar Alexander II was succeeded by his son, Alexander III in 1881 who ruled for 13 years. His reign marked a period of reaction and repression. He had a giant-like body, but a poor intellect. He was a great enemy of liberalism, and believed in autocracy. He resorted to ruthless measures to suppress the Nihilist movement. The secret police was made to hunt down the Nihilists, who were caught, imprisoned, and exiled or executed. He brought education under State control. Admissions into the universities were restricted, and the liberal-minded teachers were dismissed. He imposed a rigid censorship on the press. Newspapers and other publications were brought under strict surveillance, and many had to wind up their business. Trial by Jury was abandoned in certain classes of cases. The powers of the 'Zemstvos' which had done good work since their establishment, were reduced, and land-captains were appointed to the communes to control the peasants. These officials, many of whom were the former lords of the serfs, were

given great powers over the people. Thus, the old type of feudalism or serfdom was again imposed in Russia, by appointing land-captains in the villages.

Tsar Alexander II also followed a policy of Russification. He wanted to make everything Russian in the Russian Empire. His aim in this regard was to achieve "one Tsar, one Church and one Russia". The Russian language, the Russian culture and the Russian religion, (orthodox Christianity) were imposed even on non-Russian minorities in the empire. In this regard, the Tsar was helped by Pobedonostsev, who was appointed "Procurator of the Holy Synod", which controlled the Orthodox Church in Russia. He persecuted all persons who did not belong to the Orthodox Church. The Tsar issued decree after decree, directing his officials to intensify their campaign of Russification. The Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians were the victims of Russification. Their national spirit was curbed and their Church interfered with. Their schools were completely Russianised. Their literature and language were to be taught in Russian. Protestants and Catholics were discriminated against, and their children were treated as illegitimate. The Jews were the worst sufferers in Russia. They were persecuted with great severity. The Jews were not allowed to own or lease land. Restrictions were imposed on their admission into schools and universities. They were prohibited from moving outside. They were put under the strict surveillance of the Government. the position of the Jews in Russia became intolerable and a good number of Jews immigrated to other parts of the world, especially, the U.S.A. to escape death. Great resentment was shown by the minorities in the Russian Empire against the policy of Russification. But, the Tsar put down all opposition ruthlessly. Tsar Alexander III died suddenly in 1894.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Why did Tsar Alexander II get the title of "Tsar liberator"?

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2. What were the aims of the policy of Russification of Tsar Alexander III?

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14.4 TSAR NICHOLAS II (1894-1917)

Alexander III was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, who was the last member of the Romanov dynasty, and the last Tsar in Russia. He was weak-willed, and believed in mysticism and fatalism. He was completely under the control of the **Tsarina**, who herself was under the influence of a dubious and reactionary monk, Gregory Rasputin. Rasputin was a great friend and divine counsellor to the Tsarina. Under the influence of his wife and Rasputin, Nicholas II followed a policy of reaction and repression, from 1894 to 1905. The policy of Russification, persecution, and reaction was continued. Finland was incorporated in the Russian Empire, and the policy of Russification was followed in that country also.

14.4.1 Industrial Progress

An important event during the reign of Tsar Nicholas II was the rapid spread of industrial revolution in Russia. The industrialisation began in Russia during the reign of Tsar Alexander III. It was Count Serge Witte, appointed as Minister of Communications and Minister of Finance by Alexander III, who was responsible for the growth of industry and big business in Russia. Witte was a native of Tiflis in the Caucasus, where his father was an imperial administrator. Though he was politically a conservative in his outlook, he showed interest in Western commercial and industrial development. During the reign of Alexander III, he undertook the construction of Trans-Siberian railroad connecting Europe with the Pacific Ocean in 1891, and completed it in 1902. This was a significant achievement of the industrial revolution in Russia. Serge Witte held the post of Minister of Finance even during the reign of Nicholas II. He continued in that post for 10 years upto 1903, and during that period, big business developed in Russia. He influenced the Tsar to formulate policies favourable to big business in Russia. He introduced 'protective tariff' in order to develop home industries. State banks were strengthened. Russian labour was made more efficient which was achieved by making liquor business a state monopoly, and by reducing drunkenness among the workers. Workers' welfare schemes were also undertaken. He imposed State regulation on mines and factories. The growth of industrialisation during this period gave a fillip to Russian imperialism. There arose a great opposition from the reactionaries against Witte and his policies. Even after his retirement from office in 1903, the progress of industrialisation in Russia did not suffer. Coal fields, iron mines and oil wells were availed of to keep up the pace of industrialisation. A number of factories were established. Shipping industry rapidly expanded, and ports were developed. The annual output of pig iron and coal increased tremendously. This rapid development of industry was partly due to the flow of the French capital, and partly due to the cheap labour of the ex-serfs of Russia.

14.4.2 Spread of Marxian ideas

The rapid growth of industries created a number of problems in Russia. The Industrial Revolution caused the rise of a new class, the proletariat or workers' class in the Russian society. A number of industrial towns sprang up in Russia. Many social evils like low wages, long working hours and child labour had crept into the society. This gave rise to problems of labour and capital, and friction between the workers and the capitalists. Thus, the conditions were ripe for the rise of Marxian Socialism in Russia. The Socialists came forward to better the conditions of the workers. This gave rise to a powerful Trade Union movement, and formation of political parties. The urban industrial working class formed the Social Democratic Party in 1898, with Marxian Socialist principles. This Party later split into two - the Mensheviks or the Moderates (Minority Party) and the Bolsheviks or Radicals (Majority Party). The latter was led by Lenin. Another party, the Social Revolutionary Party consisting chiefly of peasants, came into existence in 1901. They demanded land reforms, and advocated terrorism and political murder. The merchants, capitalists and bankers, who were dissatisfied with the autocracy of the Tsar, formed a liberal party, the 'Union of Liberators' in 1903 and demanded more political reforms. The Marxian Socialists, though not numerous, were most active in organising workers' unions. In spite of the repressive measures of the Tsar, the workers' unions were formed in a number of industrial urban towns. Industrial strike became the most powerful weapon of the workers. Thus, the Marxian Socialists were preparing the ground for the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, and the capture of power.

14.4.3 1905 Revolution

During the reign of Tsar Nicholas II, Russia witnessed two revolutions - one in 1905, and the other in 1917. The Revolution of 1917, otherwise known as the Bolshevik Revolution, was mightier, and more momentous than the Revolution of 1905. Yet, the Revolution of 1905

acted as prelude or a dress-rehearsal for the mightier Revolution of 1917. The causes for the Revolution of 1905 can be summed up as follows :

By 1900, there arose in Russia widespread dissatisfaction and discontentment among peasants, workers and the middle class against the repressive rule of Nicholas II. The peasants demanded land reforms and organised insurrections against the landlords and tax collectors. The workers, influenced by Marxian Socialism, were forming trade unions, and demanding reforms for the betterment of their conditions. They were resorting to strikes. The middle class capitalists and merchants were demanding political reforms. Workers' strikes and peasants' revolts, became the order of the day in Russia. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 precipitated the matters. Russia, the giant European power, was defeated by Japan, a dwarf Asiatic power which revealed the inner weakness of the Empire. The Russians denounced the government as weak in war, and strong in repression.

At this time, an incident occurred in St. Petersburg, which caused the Revolution of 1905. On Sunday, January 22, 1905, a huge procession of workers and peasants, men and women, marched towards the Winter Palace of the Tsar. They were led by Father Gapon, a priest, who wanted to hand over to the Tsar a memorandum, setting forth their grievances. When the Tsar came to know of it, he fled, and his officials panicked. Even before the procession reached its destination, the palace guards and regular troops opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds of people. This was known as the slaughter of 'Bloody Sunday'. This incident triggered off the outbreak of the Revolution 1905. Thereafter, a wave of political outbursts had occurred throughout Russia. All the revolutionaries who were working underground till then, came out into the open to lead the movement. The houses of the nobles were burnt down by the peasants. There were mutinies in the army and the navy. The Tsar's uncle, the Grand Duke Serge, was assassinated at Moscow in February, 1905. The liberals demanded a parliamentary form of government, and universal suffrage. From June onwards, there were widespread revolts by the workers. The Social Democrats organised the first Soviet in St. Petersburg, and directed the General Strike of October, 1905. It was this Soviet which played a leading role in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This General Strike paralysed the entire government. Tsar Nicholas II yielded to their demand for liberal reforms, and issued the famous October Manifesto on the 30th of October, 1905. Thus, the Revolution of 1905 brought about a change in the traditional, autocratic, repressive policy of the Tsar in Russia, and also paved the way for the great Revolution of 1917.

14.4.4 New Constitution

The October Manifesto of the Tsar guaranteed liberty of speech, association and faith, and the establishment of a parliament - an imperial Duma elected on the basis of a limited franchise. The Duma was to initiate and enact all legislation. But, these reforms did not satisfy the liberals, and caused a rift among them. The radical group of liberals, popularly known as the 'Cadets', (the Constitutional Democrats), refused to accept the October Manifesto. They demanded for a constitutional monarchy wherein the ministry was responsible to the parliament, Duma. The conservative liberals, especially the Zemstvo men, who supported the October Manifesto, were called the "Octoberists". They accepted the Manifesto with a provision for the establishment of Duma. Taking advantage of the division among liberals, the Tsar resorted to suppression, and withdrew all the concessions. He considerably curtailed the legislative powers of the proposed Duma. He established a Second Chamber, the Imperial Council, a nominated body, which was to share legislative powers with the Duma.

The Tsar summoned the First Duma in May, 1906. As the socialists boycotted the elections, the First Duma had a majority of liberals. The 'Cadets' demanded a constitutional form of Government, The Tsar was not prepared to accept their demand, and he dissolved the Duma. The 'Cadets' felt frustrated, and held a meeting at Viborg in Finland, and issued an appeal to

the people not to pay taxes or render military service. But, the appeal received little popular support. A Second Duma was elected, and was summoned in March, 1907. This was more radical than the First, as the Socialists formed a big majority in it. The Tsar did not want such a Duma to remain in session for long, and he dissolved it in June. Thereafter, the electoral law was revised arbitrarily. The constituencies were redistributed, and franchise was restricted. A Third Duma, elected on the basis of the new electoral law, was summoned in November, 1907. It gave the government a working majority. It held several sessions between 1907 and 1912. Although the Duma did not exercise any real power, it carried out several reforms like social insurance, education, the setting up of landbanks, etc. In 1912, the Fourth Duma was summoned. It was more reactionary than the Third, and the autocratic rule of the Tsar was firmly enforced. Thus, theoretically Russia had become a constitutional monarchy under the autocratic Tsar. The Socialists in Russia were disgusted with the government, and threatened to stage armed revolts. A revolution seemed imminent. It was just then that the First World War broke out in August, 1914. In an outburst of patriotism, all parties except the Radical Socialists, set aside their differences, and supported the government. Such was the internal situation in Russia when the First World War broke out.

14.4.5 Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) - Russian defeat

The Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) roused the jealousy of Russia. Russia wanted to acquire Port Arthur, which was a warm-water port. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895, Japan acquired Formosa, Liaotung Peninsula, and Port Arthur. Russia induced France and Germany to join her, and together they forced Japan to give up all her gains. Japan had no allies to face the three powers, and so, evacuated Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur. Later in 1898, Russia obtained from China by force, a lease of Port Arthur, and permission to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway upto it. There was a great resentment in Japan over the action of Russia. Russia appeared as a great menace to Japan in the East. Japan was in search of an ally in Europe to face Russia. At the same time, Great Britain wanted an ally in the East, as her dominion in India was seriously threatened by Russophobia in the West, and the French from Indo-China across Burma. This resulted in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, by which they agreed to cooperate with each other in any war. The Treaty was renewed in 1905. With the conclusion of this Treaty, Japan became bold enough to oppose the Russian advance in the East. Meanwhile Russia occupied Manchuria, and rushed troops to the Korean border. Without waiting any longer, Japan declared war on Russia in 1904. Thus, the Russo-Japanese War broke out.

Japan won a series of victories over Russia. The Japanese invaded Korea, and expelled the Russians from the Peninsula. After a siege lasting for a year and half, they captured Port Arthur, and cleared Liaotung Peninsula of the Russians. In March, 1905, they defeated the Russian army in Manchuria at Mukden. Meanwhile, the Tsar sent his Baltic squadron to retrieve the Russian fortunes in the Chinese sea. The Japanese naval force routed it. Thoroughly humbled, Tsar Nicholas II was prepared to accept peace at any cost. Through the mediation of President Theodore Roosevelt of the USA, the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded in 1905. By this Treaty, Russia surrendered the Liaotung Peninsula along with Port Arthur to Japan, and recognised Korea as a Japanese "sphere of influence". Russia returned Manchuria to China.

14.4.6 Compromise with England-Triple Entente

The Russo-Japanese War had far-reaching effects on the balance of power in Europe. It indirectly led to the Anglo-Russian convention. The War endangered the newly formed Anglo-French Entente, 1904, by putting Russia, an ally of France, against Japan, an ally of Great Britain. But, with the defeat of Russia, the situation changed for the better. Britain was fully convinced that she had nothing to fear from Russia. On the other hand, Russia was frightened of German imperialism, although Tsar Nicholas II was reluctant to conclude any treaty of friendship with Kaiser William II. Both Great Britain and Russia expressed resentment over the construction

of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. Britain feared that the security of India would be threatened, and Russia dreaded the extension of German influence to Constantinople. This common danger posed by German aggression, drew Russia and Britain together. With the mediation of France, an Anglo-Russian Entente was concluded on the 31st of August, 1907. By this, both the powers settled peacefully their conflicting interests in Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet. Later in 1907, the Anglo-Russian Entente merged into a Triple Entente between Great Britain, France and Russia. It was a non-military alliance, but the three countries agreed to cooperate with one another in international affairs. Thus, the Triple Entente comprising Great Britain, France and Russia, was formed against the Triple Alliance, of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Why was the October Manifesto of 1905 issued?

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2. Which treaty brought to an end the Russo - Japanese War?

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14.5 LET US SUM UP

1. Tsar Alexander I (1855 - 1881) abolished serfdom, introduced district councils and reorganised the judiciary on western lines.
2. Tsar Alexander III (1881 - 1894) aimed at Russification
3. In the late 19th century and early 20th century Marxian ideas began to spread in Russia.
4. In 1905 Revolution was prelude to the more famous 1917 Russian Revolution.
5. The defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905 also paved the way for the Russian Revolution.

14.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. Because he abolished serfdom
2. To make everything Russian, to spread Russian language, Russian culture and Russian religion throughout the Russian empire.
- II 1. It was issued to yield to the demands of the revolutionaries, who wanted liberal reforms.
2. Treaty of Portsmouth.

14.7 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Trace the reforms introduced by Tsar Alexander II in Russia.
2. Critically examine the internal policy of Alexander III.
3. Describe the industrial progress and its effects during the reign of Nicholas II.
4. Bring out the causes for the 1905 Revolution in Russia and mention its results.
5. What are the constitutional changes that took place in Russia from 1906 to 1912 ?
6. State the causes, course and results of the Russo-Japanese War.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each

1. What do you know about the Revolt of Poland in 1863 ?
2. Examine the change that has come in Tsar Alexander II's attitude after 1863.
3. What are the factors that contributed towards the formulation of Anglo-Russian Entente and Triple Entente ?

14.8 GLOSSARY

Aparthied	Showing discrimination or hatred of the people on the basis of their colour and race
Russification	Exclusive or too much insistence on the adoption of Russian language, religion and culture by all the people of Russia, including non-Russian minorities
Tsar	Designation of the ruler of Russia

14.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Gooch G.P. : *History of Modern Europe 1878-1919*
2. Hayes C.J.H. : *The History of Modern Europe, Vol. I upto 1870, Vol. II Since 1870*
3. Hazen C.D. : *Europe Since 1815*
4. Ketelby C.D.M. : *A History of Modern Europe*
5. Palmer & Perkins : *International Relations*
6. Taylor A.J.P. : *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918*

– K.V.S. NARASIAH

UNIT-15: CAUSES AND RESULTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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 - 15.6.5 Democracies in the place of dictatorships
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BLOCK VIII : EUROPE, 1914-1945

This unit has 9 units (Unit 15 to Unit 23) The important developments in Europe between 1914 and 1945 are discussed in these Units. The causes and results of World War I, The developments between the two world wars, like the Russian Revolution, Rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany are analysed. A detailed account of the league of Nations is also given and on the events leading to world war II, there is a separate Unit.

BRAOU

15.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this Unit should enable you to

1. Analyse the causes for the first world war
2. narrate the different stages of the war
3. Describe the nature of the world war and
4. Analyse the effects of the war

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The First World War, 1914-1918, was one of the greatest disasters that ever befell mankind. It was not an unexpected tragedy because during the 40 years preceding its outbreak, the developments had been dragging Europe towards a World War. Though the conditions were explosive, peace was maintained to some extent upto 1914, by the Great Powers. This kind of peace was rightly called 'Armed Peace'.

15.2 THE PERIOD OF "ARMED PEACE", 1870-1914

The period from 1870 to 1914 is appropriately called the 'Era of Armed peace' in Europe. It was during this period that most of the countries in Europe were industrialised, and able to make economic progress. The rapid industrialisation changed the very face of the European civilization. A great expansion of industry and trade had taken place since 1871. Railways had been built, and steamship lines established. Agriculture had progressed. Technical education and scientific research were encouraged. The resources of the States were utilized for the development of industry and commerce. Many countries in Europe had become great trading and manufacturing countries of the world. The industrial expansion in Europe required overseas colonies, from which raw materials could be obtained, and in which manufactured goods could be sold. The countries in Africa and Asia fell a prey to the avarice of the imperial powers of Europe. The search for colonies led to colonial rivalry among European powers, often resulting in wars which were only minor and localised wars. Peace could thus be maintained in Europe.

The industrialisation gave rise to the working class movement in Europe. A new class of the proletariat sprang up. They were paid low wages. Long working hours and miserably low wages were the characteristics of the early stage of industrial development. Women and children also were employed in mines and factories. Slums developed around every industrial area where poverty, ill-health, immorality and crime were rampant. The conflict between the capitalist class and the labour class became the foremost characteristic of the industrial society. Many social and humanitarian movements were started to better the conditions of the workers. This gave rise to a variety of socialist movements. Some of the Radical Socialists resorted to strikes and armed revolts against the autocratic states. Some states in Europe introduced legislative measures for the betterment of the workers. Germany under Bismarck adopted State Socialism. Even the autocratic Tsarist Russia changed over to liberalism after the 1905 Revolution. Thus, a war between the labour and the capitalist states was averted.

Militant nationalism was another important feature of the 'Era of Armed Peace'. The spirit of nationalism created estranged relations between countries. There existed deep-seated antagonisms between the Teutonic races of Germany and Austria, and the Slav races of Russia and Serbia. Since 19th century, the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine had been a bone of contention between France and Germany. The Italians treated Austria as their national enemy. The annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria in 1908, caused resentment in Serbia, and her ally, Russia. After the expulsion of Turkey from Europe, there developed national rivalries

among the Balkan States. Mutual suspicion and rivalry led to a race for armaments. Practically, all European powers increased their military forces. By 1907, Europe was divided into two Armed Camps, and an unhealthy competition in the acquisition of armaments developed between them. Though the peace of Europe was threatened on many occasions, no major war broke out till 1914. Thus, the chief features of the era of Armed Peace were the spread of industrialisation, the rise of the working class movement, and the emergence of militant nationalism.

15.3 CAUSES FOR THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The general causes for the outbreak of the First World War may be summed up as follows :

15.3.1 Formation of hostile alliances-two military camps

Europe became divided into two military camps by 1907; the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. In 1879, Germany entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary, forming the Dual Alliance. In 1882, Italy joined the Austro-German Alliance, and thus was formed the Triple Alliance. As long as Bismarck was the Chancellor of Germany, he saw to it that France and Russia did not come together. But, after his dismissal in 1890, Germany did not take much notice of Russia, which began to lean towards France. France also began to woo Russia for an Alliance. Thus, in 1894 the Franco-Russian Alliance was forged. England gave up her policy of 'Splendid Isolation' and began searching for allies. In 1904, England concluded the Entente Cordiale with France, out of fear of the German naval expansion. When in 1907 England signed the Anglo-Russian Convention with Russia, there came into existence the Triple Entente. Thus, Europe was divided into two armed and hostile camps-the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The Triple Alliance consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, and the Triple Entente of France, Russia and England. There was mutual jealousy and enmity between the two camps created by the system of secret alliances, which ultimately brought about the General War of 1914.

15.3.2 Militarism

Another general cause for the outbreak of the World War I was 'Militarism'. The system of alliances divided Europe into two hostile camps. The purpose of the alliances was to secure national security, but in reality, they led to increased insecurity among the nations of Europe. Each group feared that the other group would try to become militant. This distrust and suspicion led to an armament race. The military and naval armaments of all the Great powers began to grow year after year. Thus, big armies and big military budgets became common among the countries of Europe from 1890 onwards. There arose a keen naval competition between Germany and England. Both countries entered a race of naval armaments. For every ship built by Germany, two ships were built by England. The two Hague Conferences failed to curb the armament race. The armament race gathered momentum after 1912, when Austria-Hungary and Russia raised the strength of their armed forces. France also joined the armaments race. Alarmed by the French and Russian military expansion, Germany also raised the strength of her standing army. Even small countries made military preparations of the European powers culminated in the Great War of 1914.

15.3. International anarchy

Another cause of the War was the prevalence of international anarchy in Europe, which led to the breakdown of the peace-machinery. The Great War would have been averted, if there was an international machinery to settle disputes between nations. The Concert of Europe, formed after Napoleonic Wars, which aimed at preventing future wars, died an untimely death, and was not replaced by any such instrument. Bismarck's secret alliances system created conditions

unfavourable to the growth of friendly relations among the countries. Mutual distrust and suspicion resulted in an armaments race among the countries of Europe. The two Hague Conferences of 1889 and 1907, convened by Tsar Nicholas II, to consider the possibility of using arbitration to settle disputes, utterly failed. The Conferences failed to evolve a permanent international machinery to keep the world safe for peace. Though it established the Court of Arbitration at the Hague, it failed to maintain peace among the nations. No peace machinery was available to avert the two Morocco crises, and the two Balkan Wars, which ended on an ominous note. The absence of international machinery and ethics led to the outbreak of a General War in 1914.

15.3.4 Excessive Nationalism coupled with chauvinism

Excessive and narrow nationalism was one of the causes for the World War I. Nationalism implies patriotism, the love of the country which if in excess, led to the hatred of the other. The spirit of nationalism gave rise to national chauvinism which created unhealthy relations between the European powers. There existed a deep-seated antagonism between the Teutonic races and the Slav races. Since the unification of Germany, the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine had been a bone of contention between France and Germany. The Italians treated Austria as their national enemy, and wanted to liberate "Italia Irredenta" from the Austrian rule. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, caused resentment in Serbia. There was an upsurge of nationalism in those two provinces which led to their demanding their union with Serbia, with whom they had racial affinities. After the expulsion of Turkey from Europe, there developed national rivalries among the Balkan states-Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro which culminated in the Second Balkan War of 1913. Bulgaria which was humiliated by a combination of the other Balkan powers in that War, contemplated a war of revenge. The intense nationalism of Serbia created bitterness between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. It was this Balkan crisis that ultimately became the pretext for the starting of the World war in 1914. Thus, nationalism coupled with chauvinism contributed to the creation of tension in Europe which preceded the World War I.

15.3.5 Imperialism

The colonial rivalry and imperialism of the European powers were a cause for the outbreak of World War I. The rapid industrialisation of Europe in the 19th century created a need for raw materials and markets. Every European country tried to capture markets in every other part of the world. The efforts to establish protectorates and spheres of influences in Africa and Asia resulted in the upsurge of imperialistic rivalries among the European nations, which in turn gave rise to a series of international crises. Austria and Russia came into conflict in the Balkans. Germany since the beginning of the 20th century, became a serious Imperialist rival to Great Britain, France and Russia. Kaiser William II's project for the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, threatened the Russian interests in the Balkans, and those of the English in the East. Germany's expansion in South Africa posed a threat to the position of the British in that area. The widening of Kiel canal, and German efforts to rival England in naval power, threatened the supremacy of Great Britain over the seas. Further, Germany and France became rivals in Morocco. The Moroccan crisis and the Agadir crisis led to a complete breach between Germany and Great Britain. The economic rivalry between Great Britain and Germany, was particularly bitter. Germany's industrial goods by the beginning of the 20th century, competed with those of Great Britain. The economic imperialism in which they were engaged, widened the breach between Germany and England. Thus, imperialism was yet another cause for the outbreak of the World War I.

15.3.6 War psychosis in Germany

Germany since its foundation, had been a military state. She was the production of the 'blood and iron' policy of Bismarck, and continued as such, even after the achievement of German unity. The Germans were great devotees of militarism. It was aptly observed that "the national

industry of Prussia was war". The German army was the strongest and the most powerful in Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was virulent war propaganda in Germany to which the accession of Kaiser William II gave an impetus. Young and energetic, the Kaiser wanted Germany to be a great world power. Germany under the new Kaiser demanded a 'place in the sun', an empire. 'Weltpolitik' or world policy became the slogan of the Germans who were led to believe that theirs was a superior race (herrenfolk), which was destined to conquer the world. This accorded with Kaiser's ambitious imperialist policy, which could be achieved only if Germany could acquire naval supremacy over Great Britain. Kaiser launched ambitious programmes of naval expansion in 1898 and 1907, which roused British hostility and competition. So long as Germany did not challenge the British naval superiority, the relations between the two had remained cordial. Significantly, Bismarck had taken special care not to compete with Great Britain in this regard. But, soon after his retirement, the new Kaiser gave up the traditional foreign policy of Germany, which resulted in strained relations between England and Germany.

15.3.7 Incidents prior to the War

For a decade (1905-1914) before the outbreak of the First World War, Europe experienced a series of crises, but miraculously averted the breaking out of any major war till 1914.

15.3.7.1 Morocco Crisis

Morocco was a neighbour of French Algeria in North Coast Africa. Both France and Germany had commercial interests in Morocco. In 1905, the political conditions in Morocco were disturbed. France resolved to interfere in its affairs and compelled the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, to carry out reforms calculated to improve the situation. But, Germany opposed French intervention in the internal affairs of Morocco. The German Emperor, Kaiser William II, himself landed with a force in Tangier, and declared his support to the independence of the Sultan. The German Emperor's action suddenly led to an international crisis, known as the First Moroccan Crisis, 1905. But, a major war was averted due to the acceptance by France of the German demand for an international conference of Great Powers to settle the Moroccan dispute. Accordingly, an international conference was arranged at Algeiras in Southern Spain in 1906. Germany's aim was to destroy the Anglo-French Entente of 1904. But, throughout the deliberations of the conference, Italy, Great Britain and several other powers, supported France. Germany was isolated at the conference. Backed by Great Britain, France established her protectorate over Morocco. This was a serious set-back to Germany, which became all the more hostile to England. Indeed, the crisis intensified the old enmity between Germany and England, and strengthened the friendship between France and England.

15.3.7.2 The balkan Crisis

The Anglo-Russian Cordiale in 1907 was landmark in international diplomacy, as it marked the end of a long period of hostility between the two countries. This roused the suspicion of the Germans, and the Kaiser bitterly complained of the encirclement of Germany. So, he wanted to strengthen the Triple Alliance. Austria too feared the Turkish regeneration, due to the Young Turk Movement 1908. So, supported by Germany, Austria-Hungary annexed the two provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, which was a violation of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. Serbia bitterly protested against the action of Austria. Russia supported Serbia. The dispute between Austria and Serbia would have led to a war, but for the payment of compensation by Austria to Turkey for the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the annexation was accepted by Turkey, Russia kept quiet. But, the annexation resulted in extremely strained relations between Serbia and Austria. The hostile attitude of the Serbians continued to threaten peace in the Balkans. It was this crisis which ultimately triggered off the World War I.

15.3.7.3 Agadir incident or the Second Moroccan Crisis

A Civil War broke out in Morocco in 1911. The Sultan of Morocco appealed to France for help. Immediately, France sent a naval force which landed in Morocco, and occupied Fez, the capital. Germany protested against the French intervention in Morocco, and sent a gunboat named 'Panther' to the port of Agadir, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, to safeguard the lives of German nationals, and German economic interests. Once again, a tense situation was created, and the peace of Europe was threatened. This was known as the Agadir incident or the Second Morocco crisis. In this, Great Britain firmly supported France, and strongly protested against the German military action. Germany was not prepared to risk a war with Great Britain. Consequently, the German warship was withdrawn, and war was thus averted. Germany recognised the French protectorate over Morocco, and as compensation, Germany was given extensive territories in the French Congo. Finally, Morocco was practically incorporated in the French colonial Empire in Africa.

15.3.8 Immediate Cause-Sarajevo Murder

The immediate cause of the World War of 1914-18 was the murder of the Archduke of Austria, Francis Ferdinand, who was the heir to the Austrian throne. By 1914, the situation in Europe threatened to explode into a war. There was growing rivalry between Austria-Hungary and Serbia in the Balkans, and only a pretext was needed for starting a war between them. The pretext was provided on June 28, 1914, when the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The murder was committed by a member of a Serbian secret society, the 'Black-Hand', a Pan-Serbian society, whose motto was 'union or death'. The murder was instigated by Serbia, and Austria decided to take full advantage of the new situation to crush Serbia. Austria, thereupon, sent an ultimatum to Serbia, to which Serbia gave an evasive reply. Austria with the support of Germany declared war on Serbia. Russia, the ally of Serbia, on hearing the news of the declaration of war on Serbia by Austria, declared war on Germany. France, the ally of Russia, declared war on Germany. When Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium, Britain joined France and Russia in the war. Thus, broke out the Great War of 1914.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Which were the three crises which took place between 1905 and 1914?

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2. Which was the immediate cause for world war I?

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15.4 NATURE OF THE WAR

The First World War (1914-1918) was the greatest of its kind in history, upto that time from the stand-point of the number of nations and people involved, the nature of the armaments used, the extent of destruction and effects on human civilization. Nearly 27 nations directly or



indirectly were involved in the War. The Allies were the Triple Entente (France, Russia and Great Britain), Serbia, Rumania, Japan, and Belgium. The Central Powers were the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria Hungary and Italy), Bulgaria, and Turkey. At the beginning of War, Italy remained neutral, but in May, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria, and joined the Allies. The War dragged on for four long years. The War was fought on a large scale, and the air was for the first time used as a field of war. New methods and techniques of war, new weapons hitherto unknown, were extensively used. The trench system was the most important method of warfare. Soldiers themselves specially dug zigzag, long or short trenches, for protection from enemy fire. Another feature of the War was the use of aeroplanes and air balloons, called zeppelins, for surveys, and photographically locating the enemy. Another new weapon used was poison gas, first employed by the Germans in 1915. The tanks and armoured motor-cars, carrying machine guns, were used to cross the enemy's trenches, and carry destruction deep into the enemy ranks. Another new feature was the submarine warfare. Submarines attacked enemy ships on or below the sea. By 1917, a large-scale submarine campaign had taken place. The German submarines, U-boats as they were called, successfully effected the British blockade. The War was a great disaster and took a heavy toll of human lives and property. A number of cities and industrial towns were ruined.

15.5 COURSE OF THE WAR

The Great War broke out when Austria declared war on Serbia, on the 1st August, 1914, and dragged on upto November, 1918. The course of the War can be divided into two phases. The first phase was from 1914 to 1917, and the second phase from 1917 to 1918.

15.5.1 First Phase, 1914-1917

(1) **Western Front** : Germany had to fight the War on two fronts, in the east against Russia, and in the west against Great Britain and France. At first, Germany turned to the west, and conquered Belgium. When Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain joined the War. Germany then invaded France through Belgium. The British and the French resisted the advance of the German troops. The Battle of Marne was memorable one for trench warfare. The Germans were defeated and driven out of France by the Allies. Thus, Paris was saved from German occupation. But, the war with the French continued on the borders of France.

15.5.1.1 Eastern Front

On the eastern front, the Russian army invaded Austria and Germany. Germany had to assist Austria against Russia. Russia was badly equipped, and was no match to the Central powers. Russia was defeated by the German commander, Hindenburg at the Battle of Tannenburg in 1915. However, Russian armies advanced into Austria, and threatened to occupy Hungary. Germany came to the rescue of Austria, and Russia was compelled to withdraw from the Austrian territories.

15.5.1.2 War in the Near East

In October, 1914, Turkey entered the War on the side of the Central Powers. This was a terrible blow to the Allies, as Russia was completely cut off from the Allies. It also prevented their giving any assistance to Russia. The German fleet dominated the Baltic Sea and Black Sea. In order to help Russia, the British attempted to capture the Gallipoli Peninsula to force their way through the Dardanelles, and take possession of Constantinople, but failed to achieve this objective. But, the British captured Cyprus, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, by defeating the Turks. Meanwhile, in 1915, Italy entered the War on the side of the Allies, to get Italia Irredenta from Austria. But, Italy suffered heavy defeats. The occupation of Italy by the Austrian troops was averted, only with the help of France and Great Britain. Bulgaria joined the Central powers,

while Rumania declared War on Germany and Austria, in 1916. But, Rumania was defeated by Germany, and her capital, Bucharest was captured and occupied. She was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty with Germany.

15.5.1.3 War on Sea

War raged on the sea also. The British imposed a naval blockade on Germany. The British navy guarded the North Sea, while the French and Italian navies dominated the Mediterranean. Germany made several attempts to break through the blockade. The Germans made a desperate attempt to lift the blockade at the Battle of Jutland in 1916, against the British. Both sides incurred heavy losses. It was a victory for the British as the German fleet returned to the Kiel canal, only to surrender at the end of the War. Having failed to break the blockade, Germany launched her submarine warfare on the British Isles. The German U-boats caused heavy losses not only to the British Merchant Marine but also to neutral powers, like the U.S.A. But, Great Britain maintained her naval supremacy throughout the War.

15.5.1.4 Collapse of Russia

The series of defeats and the heavy losses sustained by Russia in the War made the Tsarist regime unpopular. As a result the Tsarist regime was overthrown, and Lenin was able to establish a Bolshevik government in 1917. The Bolshevik regime in Russia wanted peace, and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded which Germany as a result of which, Russia withdrew from the War.

15.5.2 Second Phase, 1917-1918

The U.S.A. enters the War on the side of the Allies : The withdrawal of Russia from the War in 1917, made Germany very strong. She concentrated all her forces in the west. It appeared as if the Allies were going to lose. At this critical juncture, the U.S.A. came to their rescue, as a result of an incident which occurred in May, 1915, in which a British passenger vessel, the Lusitania, carrying some American citizens, was sunk by a German submarine. There was a great uproar in America against Germany, for the loss of American lives. Finally, the decision of Germany to continue its submarine warfare led the U.S.A. to declare War on the Central powers. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U.S.A. declared war on Germany in 1917 to save democracy in the world the American forces began to pour into Europe in large numbers. The American navy cooperated with the British on the high seas. The entry of the U.S.A. on the side of Allies strengthened the allies and gave them hope.

15.5.2.1 Surrender of the Central Powers

The entry of U.S.A. in the War was a turning point for the Allies. In 1918, Germany and Austria made a final and desperate attack on the Allies. To meet, this challenge the French General, Marshal Foch, was placed in supreme command of the Allied armies. A series of defeats were inflicted upon the Germans. Germany began to retreat. Meanwhile, Turkey and Bulgaria were also defeated. Austria also suffered defeat, and surrendered to the Allies on Nov. 9, 1918. Kaiser William II, the Emperor of Germany, abdicated the throne, and fled away to Holland. A Republic was proclaimed in Germany. The new Weimar Republic sued for peace. The War came to an end, with the unconditional surrender of Germany to the Allies, and an Armistice was granted on Nov. 11, 1918.

15.6 EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The Great War resulted in huge loss of men, money and material. The destruction was colossal. Innumerable cities were destroyed, and millions of people were killed. Starvation,

pestilence and disease prevailed everywhere in Europe after the War. There was acute shortage of food in Europe on account of the naval blockade of Germany. Huge amounts of money were spent on the war. The industries of the nations were crippled, and the run away inflation ruined many people. The worst sufferers were Russia, Germany, Austria and Italy. In addition to the economic disaster, political revolutions broke out in many European countries. The great dynastic Monarchical Empires were overthrown, and out of their ruins, new states were created.

15.6.1 German Losses

The German losses in the War were heavy. Germany was made responsible for the War. Germany was compelled to surrender a number of her territories, to reduce her army, and to pay a huge war indemnity. After the War, Germany surrendered, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Alsace and Lorraine. She evacuated from Polish territory. She gave her coal mines in the Saar valley on a lease to France. Restrictions were imposed on her stock of arms. France and England divided among themselves, all the colonial possessions of Germany. Germany was to pay huge amounts as war reparation to the Allies. The Hohenzollern ruling dynasty in Germany was overthrown, and a Republic was established in Germany. This humiliation of Germany resulted in the rise of dictatorship under Hitler, which ultimately caused the outbreak of the Second World War.

15.6.2 Turkey's Losses

Turkey was also one of the victims of the Great War. She had fought on the side of Central powers and was defeated by the Allies. Turkey surrendered a number of her territories. Turkey gave up her claim on Egypt, Sudan, Cyprus, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia. Turkey was to pay a huge war indemnity. The humiliation of Turkey after the War resulted in the overthrow of Turkish Sultanate, and the establishment of a Republic in the country.

15.6.3 Republics in the place of Monarchies

The War resulted in the overthrow of the great monarchical Empires in Europe-the Hapsburgs of Austria, the Hohenzollerns of Germany, the Romanovs of Russia and the Sultanate of Turkey. Out of their ruins, new republican states had emerged. The Weimar Republic was established in Germany. The breakup of Austria-Hungarian Monarchy led to the establishment of Republics in Austria and Hungary. The Turkish Monarchy was replaced by a Republic. Thus, Republics came to be established in place of Monarchies after the War.

15.6.4 Rise of New Nation States

The Great War resulted in the rise of new Nation States in Europe. These were created or carved out of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and German territories. The first of the new nation states to arise on the ruins of Austria-Hungary, was Czechoslovakia. It consisted of the kingdom of Bohemia and Moravia. Another new state was Yugoslavia. The new state included-in addition to Serbia and Montenegro-Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia and Dalmatia. Another new state created in Central Europe was Poland. Poland which disappeared from the map of Europe during the 18th century, due to its partition among her greedy neighbours-Prussia, Austria and Russia-once again emerged as a new independent State.

15.6.5 Democracies in the place of Dictatorships

As a result of the Great War, dictatorships in many countries were overthrown, and replaced by Democratic governments. The Kaiser's dictatorship in Germany was ended with the establishment of a Republic. In 1917, the Tsar's dictatorship in Russia was overthrown by a Proletariat Republic. The Turkish Sultanate dictatorship was destroyed by a republic. Thus, Democracy triumphed over dictatorship.

15.6.6 Spread of the Principles of Self-determination

The War resulted in the recognition of Nationalism and Self determination principle of Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. In accordance with this principle, plebiscites were held in the disputed areas to ascertain the wishes of the people. Thus, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania had emerged as new nation states. The principle of self-determination was not confined to Europe, since it spread to Asia and Africa. Many Nationalist movements broke out in Eghypt, China and India.

15.6.7 Effects on U.S.A. and Russia

As a result of the Great War, the U.S.A. set aside the Monroe doctrine, and began to participate in international politics. The United States emerged as a world power. The dominance of England, France Russia, Germany, Italy and Austria was reduced by the War. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was indirectly a consequence of the War. Russia emerged as the first Communist State in the world, and a new era began in the history of the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Who first used poison gas in the first world war?

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2. Mention the names of the new states which were carved out in Europe after world war I?

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15.7 LET US SUM UP

1. The following were the important causes for world war I
 - a) Formation of hostile alliances
 - b) Militarism
 - c) Aggressive nationalism
 - d) Imperialism
 - e) The international crises like morocco crisis, Balkans crisis and Agadir incident
 - f) The murder of prince Francis Ferdinrand of Austria was the immediate cause.
2. America entered the war on the side of the allies (England, France) in 1917. Germany, Italy, Turkey were on the opposite side. They were known as the central or axis pavers. Powers

3. The First world war had the following important effects.
 - a) It resulted in tremendous loss of life and property.
 - b) The Turkish empire shrunk
 - c) Republics emerged in the place of monarchy in Austria Germany & Russia
 - d) Democracy gave place to dictatorship.
 - e) New states like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland were created.
 - f) League of nations was created.

15.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. Morocco crisis, Balkans crisis and Agadir incident.
2. Murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914
- II 1. Germany
2. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland

15.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. Is it appropriate to call the period from 1870 to 1914 as the 'Era of Armed Peace' in Europe?
 2. What were the chief causes that led to the outbreak of the First World War?
 3. Trace the crises that preceded the commencement of the First World War.
 4. Briefly describe the events in the course of the First World War.
 5. Examine the effects of the World War.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
 1. How was Imperialism one of the causes of the First World War?
 2. Describe the war psychosis that prevailed in Germany right from the inception of the State.
 3. How did Moroccan crisis occur? Causes and Results of the World War
 4. What was the Balkan crisis?
 5. Analyse the nature of the First World War.

15.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 1. David Thomson | : | <i>Europe Since Napoleon</i> |
| 2. Grant and Temperley | : | <i>Europe In the 19th and 20th Centuries</i> |
| 3. C.J.H. Hayes | : | <i>Contemporary Europe Since 1870</i> |
| 4. C.D. Hazen | : | <i>Modern Europe upto 1945</i> |
| 5. James Joll | : | <i>Europe Since 1870-An International History</i> |
| 6. John and Gwenneth Stokes | : | <i>Europe and the Modern World, 1870-1983</i> |
| 7. Lipson E. | : | <i>Europe Between the Two World Wars</i> |
| 8. Snellgrove L.E. | : | <i>The Modern World Since 1870</i> |

UNIT-16 : RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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16.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this Unit should enable you to

1. Explain the causes of the Russian Revolution
2. Narrate the course of the Revolution
3. Analyse the reforms of Lenin
4. Explain the results of the Revolution and
5. Estimate the significance of the Russian Revolution

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is a landmark not only in the history of Europe, but also in the history of mankind. It had been the greatest social and political upheaval since the French Revolution, and culminated in the establishment of a Proletariat Republic. "The roots of the Russian Revolution were deeply embedded in the history of Russia" says Lipson.

16.2 CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The developments in Russia from 1856 to 1914 have been discussed in detail in lesson No. 13. In the 19th century, Russia had by far the largest empire in Europe, and the largest in the world, next only to the British Empire. Its boundaries extended from the Baltic Sea and the Arctic Ocean in the north, to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea in the south. It touched the eastern borders of Prussia and Austria, and extended upto the Pacific in the east. This vast Russian Empire was under the autocratic and oppressive rule of the **Tsars**. The Tsar of Russia was the unquestioned head of both the Russian Empire and the Russian Church. His ministers and officers were entirely under his control, and his will was law throughout the Empire. Though Tsar Alexander II introduced liberal reforms in the beginning, he turned conservative and reactionary at the end. His successors, Alexander III and Nicholas II were all the more conservative and reactionary. In Russia, the rulers formed a class by themselves. The nobles and aristocrats depended for their powers and privileges on the pleasure of the **Tsar**. They were the privileged class in the society. The middle class, peasants and serfs were the unprivileged classes. The Church was part of the Russian bureaucracy and was used as an instrument of repression. University and Secondary education was under the control of the State, and was a monopoly of the higher classes. The rulers adopted the modes of western civilization and culture, while the peasants and workers were kept illiterate, and superstitious in a semi-savage condition. The economic condition of the peasants had become very bad by the end of the 19th century. Though Tsar Alexander II issued the Edict of Emancipation in 1861 which abolished serfdom, the lot of the peasants did not improve. The proclamation assigned a small plot of land to every family. The peasant had to pay the cost of the land in instalments spread over a long period. They were not entirely satisfied with this new arrangement. The allotment was too small, and the redemption price was too high. Taxation was also increasing owing to wars and foreign loans. There was dissatisfaction and discontentment every where in Russia, specially among the peasants. There were occasional riots and revolts against the Tsardom and the Nobles.

16.3 THE EMERGENCE OF THE MARXISTS

The rapid industrialisation in Russia began with the reign of Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917). The growth of industries created a new class in the society, viz., the proletariat or the working class. The discontented peasants came to the industrial towns, and joined the factories in large numbers as workers. The capitalists made the workers work long hours, paid them low wages, and paid no attention to their welfare. The conditions of the working class in Russia were bad. The workers felt that they were being exploited by the capitalists and so, they readily responded to the revolutionary propaganda. The Russian intellectuals like Leo Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky and Turgenev through their writings exposed the wretched conditions of the working class and peasantry. But, the ideas which served as a catalyst for the Russian Revolution, were put forward by Karl Marx. The Marxist Socialism attracted the Russian working class. Trade unions emerged and industrial strikes were organised. A social Democratic Party was organised in 1898, which later split into the moderates or Mensheviks and the radicals or Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks were led by Lenin, who was very much influenced by Karl Marx's ideas of Communism. Thus, by the end of 19th century, the Marxists had become a strong force in Russia.

16.4 CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

16.4.1 Political cause

The political condition of Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries was not much different from that of France before the French Revolution of 1789. The Russian government was autocratic and tyrannical. The political structure was highly centralised. At the head of the government was the Tsar, who wielded absolute power. The Church and the army were under the control of the Tsar. There was no scope for the securing of political and civil liberties in Russia. The Tsar was the sole law-giver and law-protector. Though some liberal-minded Tsar like Alexander II, introduced democratic reforms, forced by the logic of circumstances, they soon become conservative and reactionary. The defeats which Russia sustained in the Crimean War of 1854, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, brought out the incompetence of the Tsarist administration. Tsar Nicholas II and his queen, who were ruling Russia at the time of the Revolution, were under the hypnotic influence of dubious saint, Gregory Rasputin. Rasputin was an extremist who dominated the political scene in Russia from 1907 till the Revolution. The Duma or the Russian Assembly, introduced by Tsar Nicholas II, remained only as an advisory body. The series of defeats which Russia suffered in the First World war exposed the weakness of the Russian army. This intensified the discontentment and disaffection among the people who revolted against the Tsar which culminated in the ending of Tsardom in Russia.

16.4.2 Economic Cause

Russia had by and large remained primitive for a long time. Russia was not touched by the upheavals marking the dawn of the modern period in Europe. Russia was primarily an agrarian country where the society was feudal in character. A peculiar type of feudalism, viz., serfdom, prevailed in Russia. The serfs were subjected to all sorts of hardships by the nobles or Kulaks. Their economic position in the society was wretched. Though Tsar Alexander II issued in 1861 a proclamation emancipating the serfs throughout the empire, it did not improve their condition. The efforts of Peter the Great and Catherine II to place Russia on the path to modernisation and foreign trade were not very successful. However, though the process of modernisation was slow, Russia made some progress in industries after 1800. During the reign of Tsar Nicholas II, the last Tsar, Russia made rapid progress in industrial development. Railways, machines, and factories were introduced and improved. The growth of industries created a new class of industrial wage-earners (workers) or the proletariat. The discontented peasants came to the industrial towns, and swelled the ranks of the workers. At the same time, another new class of rich industrialists or capitalists was created. There began the exploitation of workers by the capitalists. Thus, the way was paved for Socialism. The capitalists were also indignant towards Tsardom, for they were deprived of a share in the government. So, they quickly responded to the ideas of revolution.

16.4.3 Ideological Cause

The intellectual awakening in Russia began in the reign of Peter the Great. The French Revolutionary principles, Western political ideas, Nationalism, Constitutional Government, Civil liberties and Socialism, had inspired the intelligentsia of Russia. There was a great intellectual ferment in Russia during the 19th century. The universities in Russia became radiating centres for revolutionary ideas. The frightful Tsars brought the universities under strict control of the state. Censorship was imposed on foreign literature, and no Russian was allowed to visit a foreign country. Even then, world famous Russian scholars, philosophers and writers like Tolstoy, Turgenev, Maxim Gorky, and Chekov stirred the imagination of Russians. They exposed through their writings the inefficiency and weakness of the Tsar's autocratic administration in Russia.

The work of Maxim Gorky, *The Mother*, had a tremendous influence on the consciousness of the Russians. The writings of Tolstoy, and Chekhov provided a stimulus to anarchism and nihilism which aimed at the destruction of the old order. The ideology of Karl Marx, the prophet of Socialism, had a profound effect on the industrial working class, the proletariat in Russia. His programme of socialism outlined in the Communist Manifesto, 1848, became the gospel of the Russian Revolution. It was Plekhanov, who was the first to advocate the cause of Marx. He was soon overshadowed by Lenin, who made Marxian socialism the basis for the Revolution in Russia.

16.4.4 Other Causes

Apart from the chief causes mentioned above, there were other causes which were responsible for the outbreak of the Revolution. In the first place, the Tsars followed an aggressive foreign policy in the Balkans and in Serbia, which added to the sufferings of the people. The defeats which Russia sustained in the Crimean War and the Russo-Japanese War, exposed the incompetence and inefficiency of the Tsarist Government. Secondly, the rise of Nihilism, populism, anarchism and socialism, precipitated the matters for a revolution in Russia. The Marxist Socialists organised the 'Social Democratic party' in 1898 at Minsk. In the same year, a Marxist paper, 'Iskra' (Spark), was smuggled into Russia from abroad. In 1903, the party split into two groups; Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. The Mensheviks were the Moderates or the minority men who advocated non-violent means to achieve socialism. The Bolsheviks were the radical socialists or majority men, who called themselves communists, and who advocated a violent revolution of the proletariat. Thirdly, the Tsars of the 19th century overlooked the interests of the minorities like Poles, Germans, Finns, Jews etc., in Russia. The Russification policy of the Tsars deprived the nation of loyal services of the minority communities. Fourthly, 'the Bloody Sunday' of 1905 Revolution became 'the General Rehearsal' for the great Revolution. The Tsar temporarily yielded and called for a Duma which did not solve the problems. Tsar Nicholas II, under the evil influence of Rasputin, continued tyranny and repression. By 1914, many strikes threatened the government, and armed conflicts broke out in the capital. A revolution seemed imminent. At that time, the Great War, World War I broke out in early August, 1914.

16.4.5 Immediate Cause-First World War Involvement

The immediate cause for the great Revolution was provided by the Tsar's inability to manage the First World War. Russia participated in the War on the side of the Allied powers from the beginning. She declared war on Germany in support of Serbia. On the outbreak of the War, a new wave of enthusiasm swept over Russia. All opposition parties in Russia, except the Radical Socialists, set aside their differences, and extended their support to the Tsar and his government. But, the Tsarist regime failed to grasp their helping hand. By 1915, the relations between the Tsar and the Duma became more strained over the conduct of the War. The Tsar mismanaged the War. Moreover, the Russian soldiers were ill-equipped in their arms and ammunition. The Tsar himself took over the command. During his absence from the capital, the Government was indirectly controlled by Rasputin, who was bitterly hated by the people and the army. The Russians suffered more and more defeats in the War. Many Russians died, and many more were wounded in the War. Further, the prevailing economic conditions complicated the situation. There was a bitter shortage of food products, and the large-scale mobilisation upset the industrial production in the country. The Tsarist government was thoroughly discredited. The popular indignation against the Tsarist government mounted, and on 30, December 1916, Rasputin was poisoned, and shot dead. But, the murder of Rasputin failed to improve the situation. Inefficiency and corruption in the government were not rooted out. The situation became very tense, and some people openly proclaimed revolution. Thus, broke out the great Russian Revolution of 1917.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Mention two important economic causes for the Russian Revolution.

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2. What was the immediate cause for the Russian Revolution.

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16.5 BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION

The Russian Revolution of 1917 occurred in two stages. The first was the March Revolution which had overthrown the Tsarist regime, and established a liberal provisional government under Kerensky. The second was the October Revolution which had overthrown Kerensky's regime, and established the government of the workers under Lenin. Both these were accomplished without much bloodshed. The March Revolution of 1917 began on the 8th of March, 1917 when the women textile workers in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) went on a strike demanding food. That was the beginning of the Russian Revolution.

16.6 FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

The acute food crisis during the War resulted in outbreaks of violence by hungry men and women which culminated in a gigantic political demonstration. On the 8th of March 1917, the women textile workers in St. Petersburg went on a strike demanding food. This was followed by a huge demonstration of industrial workers supported by the Socialists. The cry 'Down with the War' and 'Down with Autocracy' was raised. The troops also soon joined the demonstrations against the government. The situation became critical, and the Tsar had absolutely no supporters. The Tsar rushed from Moscow to Petrograd to dissolve the Duma. But, his train was held up outside Petrograd. On March 11, the Duma dissolved the Duma, but the Duma refused to be dissolved. On the other hand, the Duma on the 12th March, 1917 effected a *coup d'etat*, and established a 'provisional government' headed by Prince George Lvov. Finding his position critical, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated the throne on March 15, 1917. He and his family were imprisoned, and later were shot dead on July 16, 1918. With the abdication of the Tsar, more than three centuries of Romanov rule in Russia came to an end. Thus, the March Revolution put an end to the autocratic Tsarist regime in Russia.

16.7 THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT-GEORGE LVOV AND KERENSKY

The provisional government established by the March Revolution in Russia was dominated by the bourgeoisie and the Mensheviks, the Moderate Socialists. It proclaimed Russia as a Republic. No Duma was elected. An 'Executive Committee' was formed under the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. The new government at once proclaimed the freedoms of association, of the press and of religion. It liberated thousands of political prisoners, and removed the ban on

political exiles. It restored the Constitution in Finland, and promised self-government and unity to Poland. It announced that a National Constituent Assembly would shortly be elected by universal franchise to determine the permanent form of Russia's future government. This made the public in Russia rejoice. But, their excitement was cooled down when the government decided to continue the war against Germany in alliance with the Allies. This created misunderstanding between the provisional government and the Soviets (Councils of Workers). The Petrograd Soviet dominated by Bolsheviks desired a "general and democratic peace" with Germany. The German government took advantage of the internal quarrels between the Soviets and the pro-Allied provisional government. In order to strengthen the Soviet, Germany made arrangements for Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders to enter Russia. Their arrival intensified the struggle, and completely undermined the Provisional government. On the 20th of July, 1917 Prince Lvov resigned, and Alexander Kerensky became the Head of the Provisional government.

Kerensky was a socialist who made it his objective to win the War. This was impossible owing to the utter lack of arms and ammunition. Further, the Russians were fed up with the War. They wanted to stop fighting, and consolidate the Revolution. Kerensky's government failed to establish law and order in Russia. There was general unrest throughout the country. The workers refused to work, the peasants to pay their taxes and the soldiers to fight.

16.8 OCTOBER REVOLUTION-LENIN AND TROTSKY

The lack of a strong leadership in Russia gave the Bolsheviks an opportunity to acquire power. Many Bolsheviks flocked round their leader, Lenin. They established Soviets (Councils of Workers) all over the country. Within a fortnight, Lenin organised a secret 'Red Guard', a few hundred young workers, armed with bombs and machine guns. Lenin had several capable Lieutenants, of whom two can be mentioned, Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Trotsky and Stalin were the right hand and left hand men of Lenin. A battleship, the Aurora, manned by the Bolsheviks waited above Petrograd in the river Neva. The night of the 6th of November, 1917 saw the Bolshevik detachments occupy the central Postal, telegraph, and telephone offices, the railway stations, the State bank, the fortress, the military staff quarters and all important buildings in Petrograd, except the Winter Palace, the headquarters of the Provisional government. On November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks succeeded by violence in overthrowing the Provisional government of Kerensky, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Kerensky fled away from Russia. In this way, the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia. This phase of the Revolution is known as the Bolshevik Revolution or the October Revolution (according to the Russian calendar).

16.9 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

After the overthrow of the Provisional government, Lenin proclaimed Russia a 'Soviet Republic' or "a dictatorship of the proletariat". The new Bolshevik government styled itself as the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin. Trotsky was commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Stalin was Commissar for Home Affairs. Thus, Russia emerged as the first Communist country in the world. Lenin after assuming power in Russia, announced the programme of his new government. The programme of the new government was to conclude immediate peace with the Central Powers, to nationalise land, and distribute it among peasants, and to nationalise industries, and put them under the control of committees of workers. Lenin issued a "Declaration of the Rights of People", promising the right of self-determination to the non-Russian subject people in Russia. This programme appealed to numerous Soviets set up throughout Russia during 1917, and it was through them that Lenin extended Communist sway beyond St. Petersburg and Moscow, to the country at large.

16.10 TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK, 1918

The immediate problem for the new government was the War with Germany. The Bolsheviks had already proclaimed their aim to bring the War to a speedy end. The new government appealed to the warring states to end the hostilities, and to conclude peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. The Allies rejected the offer. But, Germany showed willingness for making peace with Russia. After prolonged negotiations, Russia concluded the humiliating Treaty on the 3rd of March 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Ottoman Empire). According to this Treaty, Russia lost the Ukraine; Poland; the Baltic provinces, (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia), Finland and the Caucasus, and also agreed to pay a war indemnity of six billion Marks. Thus, Russia had withdrawn from the First World War by 1918. The Allies and the enemies of the Bolsheviks strongly opposed the Treaty. But, after the War, the Treaty was not recognised by the Allies, and Bolshevik Russia regained some of the lost territories later.

16.11 REFORMS OF LENIN

The original name of Lenin was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. He is generally known by his pen-name, N. Lenin. He was born at Simbrisk on the Volga on 22 April, 1870. His father was an inspector of schools. He belonged to a middle class family. When he was 16 years old, his brother was hanged on the charge of plotting to murder Tsar Alexander III. When he was studying law at the university of Kazan, he became an ardent disciple of Karl Marx. In 1894, the year of the accession of Tsar Nicholas II, Lenin took to Marxian propaganda in St. Petersburg, for which he was exiled for three years to Siberia. During this period, he wrote a book on Russian capitalism which had a tremendous effect on the Socialists in Russia. From 1903 to 1917, for 14 years he, was self-exiled in Switzerland, from which his Marxian socialist paper, *Iskra* (The spark) was smuggled into Russia. Finally, he returned to Russia in April, 1917 and became the leader of the Bolsheviks. By the November Revolution of 1917, he established the Soviet Republic of workers, soldiers and peasants in Russia. Lenin became the dictator of the Republic. He at once ended the War with Germany, and concluded the humiliating Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The new regime of Lenin was opposed by the counter-revolutionaries consisting of the old landed nobility and Tsarist officers. They were aided by the Western capitalist powers, Great Britain and France. They gathered an army, the 'White Army', and fought a Civil War from 1918 to 1921 with the revolutionary army, the 'Red Army' commanded by Trotsky. The War resulted in the complete breakdown of all opposition to the Revolution. Lenin with the help of Red Army, ruthlessly crushed all his opponents. After the period of destruction, he implemented a number of constructive programmes and reforms on the lines indicated by the theory of Karl Marx.

16.11.1 Economic Reforms

The new government of Lenin had to face a number of critical economic problems. The government had confiscated the land, and seized the factories and workshops. A period of 'War Communism' was inaugurated in Russia during 1918-1921. Private property was confiscated. Debts, both foreign and domestic, were cancelled. State barter system was introduced, whereby the government financed the industries in kind, which delivered their products to the State for distribution to other industries, to the people and to the army. But, these economic measures did not produce good results. Lenin later incorporated a measure of capitalism in his socialist pattern, which he introduced as the New Economic Policy in 1921. This new policy proved helpful to Russia in making progress.

16.11.2 Social Reforms

Bolsheviks introduced several radical social reforms to make Russia a Socialist State. The Right to Property was abolished. Factories and land were 'socialised'. Education was brought under the control of the state. The Bolsheviks had no belief in religion. The Orthodox Church in Russia was disestablished in 1918. All Church property was confiscated, Churches were closed, and religious education was abolished. Marriages were no longer performed by the priests; only civil marriages were allowed.

16.11.3 Military Reforms

Lenin took drastic measures to save the Revolution from the internal and external enemies. Trotsky, the War Commissar, developed an effective fighting force, called the 'Red Army'. This Army put down the Civil War, defeated and drove out the foreign forces, and saved the Revolution in Russia. Besides this, Lenin organised a secret police, called the 'Cheka', to root out all opposition to the Revolution. The 'Cheka' inaugurated 'Red Terror' in Russia. The Tsar and his family were shot dead. The victims of the Cheka ran into thousands. Later in 1922, its place was taken by OGPU, which speedily dealt with all anti-revolutionaries through arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, exile and execution.

16.11.4 Administrative Reforms

Russia was a country with many races. In order to federate all races, each race formed itself into a Republic. Thus, Russia became a Federation, a 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics'; commonly called the U.S.S.R. The Communist dictatorship was established. Opposition parties were not allowed in Russia. Newspapers, educational institutions, the cinema and the radio were used to propagate the Communist principles. The Politbureau, which consisted of nine members, was the supreme executive authority in the Communist Party hierarchy.

16.12 NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP)

Lenin's experiment of 'War Communism' was not successful. There was a steep fall in production, and famine broke out in many parts of Russia. The peasants revolted. This forced Lenin to compromise with capitalism. In 1921, he inaugurated the New Economic Policy (NEP) which was a blend of capitalism and communism. He encouraged free enterprise in some fields. Farmers were allowed to sell their products in open markets, and retail traders to buy and sell for profits. Individual enterprise was tolerated in small-scale manufactures. But, the State retained certain major sectors like foreign trade, banking, mining, forestry, railways, and heavy industries, under its control. The NEP of Lenin improved the economic condition of Russia. Lenin viewed the NEP as an experimental measure to save the Revolution.

The NEP was the last outstanding achievement of Lenin. He was a man of dominating temperament and of strong will. He had tremendous driving power. He was the undisputed leader of the Communist Party, and sole dictator of Russia for six years. In spite of broken health, he worked unceasingly till his death. He died on the 21st of January, 1924 at Gorky near Moscow.

16.13 ESTIMATE OF THE REVOLUTION

The great October Revolution of 1917 is a landmark not only in the history of Europe, but also in the history of entire mankind. It revolutionised the economic system in the world. The French Revolution of 1789 brought Liberty and Independence, and the Russian Revolution of 1917 brought Economic Equality. It introduced a new force, Marxian Socialism, which became as popular as Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Russia emerged as the first Socialist State, based

on Karl Marx Communism, in the world. This was the first Revolution which put an end to class war between the capitalists and the proletariat. The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia established a new type of State, free of capitalist exploitation. The Revolution was the torch bearer for the downtrodden workers and peasants. The Revolution inspired the downtrodden in different parts of the world, to rise against capitalism and imperialism. The ideas of the right to freedom and self-determination made the people in the colonies, Indians in particular, to struggle for independence. Today, half the countries in the world utilize the Russia Revolutionary principles for formulation their own programmes of economic development.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Who was the Tsar? Who abdicated in March 1917?

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2. What was the important feature of the new Economic policy?

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16.14 LET US SUM UP

1. The following were some of the important causes for the Russian Revolution
 - a) the autocratic Government of the Tsars
 - b) defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905
 - c) economic suffering of the peasants and workers
 - d) spread of Marxian ideas
 - e) failure of Russia in World War I.
2. The Revolution began on 8th March (February in Russian Calender) 1917, with the strike of the workers in Russia.
3. A provisional Government was set up with Geroqe Lvov as its head in March 1917, later Kerensky became its head. The provisional Government of Kerensky was over thrown on November 7, 1917 (October, according to the Russian calender) and Bolsheviks came to power in Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. This is known as the Bolshevik Revolution.
4. Lenin introduced many economic, social, military reforms.

16.15 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Economic suffering and exploitation of the peasantry and workers and the acute food crisis during the first world war period.
2. Tsar's inability to manage the world war.
- II. 1. Tsar Nicholas II
2. Allowing free enterprise in certain areas was the chief feature of NEP.

16.16 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. Trace the causes that led to the October Revolution in Russia.
 2. How and in what stages did the Russian Revolution of 1917 occur?
 3. Assess the various reforms introduced by Lenin.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Briefly describe the conditions that prevailed in Russia in the second half of the 19th century.
 2. What was the immediate cause that led to the great October Revolution?
 3. Examine the role played by George Lvov and Kerensky in the provisional Government that was established by the March Revolution.
 4. Describe the part played by Lenin and Trotsky in carrying out the November 1917 Revolution.
 5. State the necessity and the characteristics of the New Economic policy that was started by Lenin.
 6. Make an assessment of the October Revolution of 1917.

16.17 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. C.D. Hazen : *Modern Europe upto 1945*
2. C.J.H. Hayes : *Contemporary Europe Since 1870*
3. James Joll : *Europe Since 1870-An International History*
4. David Thomson : *Europe Since Napeleon*
5. Weg : *Europe Since 1945*
6. John and Gwenrreth Stokes : *Europe And the Modern World, 1870-1983*
7. L.E. Snellgrove : *The Modern World Since 1870*
8. E. Lipson : *Europe Between the Two World Wars*
9. Grant and Temperely : *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*
10. Prof. L. Mukherjee : *A Study of Modern Europe and the World (1815-1950)*

– K.V.S. NARASIAH

UNIT-17 : THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

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- 17.6 World war I and the political Developments in central Europe
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- 17.9 Examination Model Questions.
- 17.10 Books for further Reading.

17.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to

1. analyse critically the work of the Paris peace conference
2. classify the provisions of the treaty of versailles and point out their merits and defects
3. analyse the provisions of the treaties concluded with various European countries after the world war I, and
4. explain the political developments in central Europe after world war I.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

After the end of world war I in the Paris peace conference various treaties were concluded. The most important of them was the treaty of Versailles. The provisions of that treaty and the provisions of various other treaties concluded in that Paris conference are discussed in this Unit. The political developments in central Europe after world war I are also discussed in this Unit.

17.2 CONGRESS OF PARIS

Paris was chosen as the centre for conducting negotiations that would decide the future map of Europe. Paris was chosen, as it was the very centre of Allied hostility to Germany. But, it was not a happy choice, since a great deal of fighting and destruction had taken place in the neighbourhood of Paris. These unhappy memories and associations had their effect on the conclusions of the Conference.

The Peace Congress held its inaugural session on January 18, 1919 in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the palace at Versailles. It was in the same hall and on the same day, forty eight years earlier that a Hohenzollern Prussian king was proclaimed as the German Emperor. Indeed, it was an irony of history that in the same Hall, the fate of the humiliated Germany was to be decided.

17.2.1 Representatives who attended the Congress of Paris

The Congress was an assemblage of the foremost men of Allied countries. Clemenceau, the old tiger of French politics and premier of his country, was the honorary President of the Congress. Marshall Foch, the organiser and winner of military victory, also represented France at the Congress. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U.S.A., was present, thus starting a wholly new precedent for American executives. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England, showed a spirit of accommodation, and a measure of statesmanship. Italy was represented by its Prime Minister, Orlando, and Japan by Marquis Saionji, who was twice Prime Minister of his country. Generals Botha and Smuts represented South Africa. The Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Newfoundland, Princes of India, and Arabia, and the Prime Ministers of the new states of Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia represented their respective countries.

The Peace Congress after its formal inauguration on January 18, 1919, met rarely. The real work of the Congress was done by special committees and experts selected, as need arose. It was done in privacy. Reports which met with the approval of the spokesmen of Allied Great Powers were passed on to the whole Congress. In fact for several months, the principal decisions were made by the 'Big Four'-Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando and Wilson.

17.3 PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY

The provisions of the Treaty consisted of 15 parts, and had 440 Articles and twenty annexures. They are as follows:

17.3.1 Political

1. Germany ceded Alsace-Lorraine to France, the towns of Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, the city of Memel to Lithuania, and the province of Posen and a strip through West Prussia (the so-called Corridor) to Poland.

2. She agreed to cede Upper Silesia and the northern part of East Prussia to Poland, if the people concerned expressed themselves to be in favour of joining it through a plebiscite.
3. She also agreed to cede Schleswig to Denmark through the same process.
4. Danzig was surrendered by Germany. This important Baltic port was set up as a Free city under the League of Nations.
5. Germany recognised the independence of Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and German Austria.
6. Above all, it gave the Allies a *Carte Blanche* to settle as they would, the affairs of Eastern Europe.
7. Germany was forced to give up all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions to the Allies.

England, France Belgium and Japan administered these overseas German possessions as mandatories of the League of Nations.

17.3.2 Economic and Military

1. Germany had to transfer the full and absolute possession of the coal mines of the Saar Valley for fifteen years, compensate for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France, after which a plebiscite was to decide whether the Saar should remain with France or rejoin Germany.
2. The special financial privileges enjoyed by Germany in China, Siam, Egypt and Morocco were done away with.
3. Germany promised to reduce its army to one million, to abolish conscription, and to pull down its fortifications, fifty Kilometers to the east of the Rhine.
4. She also agreed to reduced its navy to six battle ships, and have no submarines.
5. She was to stop production of tanks, and aeroplanes, and desist from importing and exporting war material.
6. The Allies were to exercise supervisory control over even ordinary German weapons of war.
7. She also agreed to demolish her fortifications at Heligoland, and to open the Kiel Canal to all the nations.
8. In addition to all the terms enumerated above, Germany was forced to acknowledge responsibility for the World War, and accordingly promised to make financial reparation for all the damages done to the civilian populations of their Allies and their properties.

She was to make an initial payment of five billion dollars before May, 1921. Until these terms were fully executed, the Allied armies should continue to occupy German lands at Germany's expense. She was also to return the works of art taken from Belgium and France.

The terms of the Treaty were harsh and humiliating. This Treaty made Germany loose 1/8 of its territory, 1/10 of its population, 70% of its natural resources, and 100% of its overseas investment.

17.4 OTHER PEACE TREATIES

The Treaty of Versailles was the most striking and important one. Peace Treaties were also signed with Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Ottoman empire.

17.4.1 Austria

The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria under the terms of which, Austria recognised the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. Austria was

now reduced to a small independent German State. She was not to unite in future with Germany. She was deprived of her sea ports, her army was restricted to 30,000 men and her navy to three ships. It was obliged to pay such indemnity as decided by the Reparation Commission.

17.4.2 Bulgaria

The Treaty of Neuilly made Bulgaria lose most of the land it acquired in the Balkan War, and all her conquests in the Great War. She promised to pay an indemnity of almost half a billion dollars, and reduce her army to 33,000 men.

17.4.3 Hungary

By the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary lost the Slovak provinces to Czechoslovakia, and Transylvania to Rumania, and Croatia to Yugoslavia. Hungary suffered losses in territory and population; and its army was limited to 35,000 men.

17.4.4 Turkey

The Treaty of Sevres with the Ottoman Empire turned Palestine, Mesopotamia and Jordan into British mandatory territories, and Syria into a French mandatory territory. Thrace, Adrianople, Gallipoli and the remaining Aegean islands were surrendered to Greece. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were internationalised. Thus, the once mighty Ottoman Empire was reduced to a petty Turkish state, retaining only the city of Constantinople and a few areas, and subjected to crushing debts and foreign control of its finances. However, the Turkish National Assembly at Ankara, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, refused to ratify it.

The Treaty of Versailles and other Treaties were undoubtedly imposed by the Victorious Allies on the defeated Germany and her confederates.

17.5 TREATMENT METED OUT TO GERMANY

Clemenceau of France and Orlando of Italy, backed by their nations, demanded dire punishment for Germany. Clemenceau wished for peace based on force alone, and laughed at the 14 Points of Wilson. Though Lloyd George's slogan of 'Hang the Kaiser, and make Germany Pay' secured the support of a thumping majority in the General election of December, 1918, he was not for exacting impossible amounts of money from Germany as reparation. To quote him, 'Was it sensible to treat her as a cow from which to extract milk and beef at the same time'. However, he was pressurised by his countrymen into exacting the best possible terms from Germany.

Woodrow Wilson was both resolute, and formidable, and unbending. His stiffness was both a virtue and a defect. On occasions, it was responsible for wrong decisions, or unwise concessions. He set his heart upon starting a permanent League of Nations. He was obliged to make repeated concessions to England and France, in order to enlist their support for his pet project. For instance, he had to concede the transfer of the bulk of German colonies under the so-called mandatory system to the British Empire.

Germany had been humiliated and rendered friendless by the victorious Allies. She was directed to send a full-fledged diplomatic delegation to receive the draft treaty of Versailles. Accordingly, the German delegation led by her foreign minister, went to Versailles. Unfortunately, their movements were under close surveillance, and they were denied the liberty of moving about. In fact, they were kept in a hotel behind barbed wires. They were not allowed to communicate with any one. Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, addressed the German delegation in these words : "You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The

time has come when we must settle our accounts. You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace". The German Foreign Minister replied denying the charge that Germany was responsible for the War.

However, the German delegation was informed that they must send their reply within three weeks, and all their communications must be in writing. The publication of the peace terms infuriated the Germans. They condemned the Allies for their high-handedness, treachery and deceit. The German Government's Memorandum consisted of 443 pages, whereas the terms of the Treaty covered 230 pages only. Only a few minor alterations were made in the original Treaty, at the instance of Lloyd George. The Germans were given just five days to accept the revised Treaty, and if they failed to do so, their country would be invaded. The Germans felt that the terms of the Treaty were so unjust. However, Field Marshal Hindenburg made it clear that it was impossible to flight successfully against the Allies. It was the misfortune of Germany that she was in the throes of a famine then, and so the German Assembly at Weimar decided to accept the terms of the Treaty, while objecting to the provisions relating to War guilt and the demand for the surrender of the war criminals.

But, the Allies demanded unconditional acceptance, and the Germans, left with no other alternative, submitted finally. The German Foreign Minister led the German delegation to Versailles to sign the Treaty. For the second time, the German delegates were treated like prisoners during their stay in Paris. The Parisian mob threw stones and hurled abuses at the delegation going to Versailles to sign the Treaty in the Hall of Mirrors. Such was the said situation in which the German delegates signed the Treaty on the 28th of June, 1919, the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War.

The drastic and severe terms and humiliating stipulations imposed on Germany and her confederates, though considered just and appropriate at that time, were in the long run detrimental to the interest of Europe, and the undertaking of effective peace-making efforts. The cruel treatment of Germany, and humiliating terms imposed on her, roused the aggressive nationalist and autocratic militaristic spirit in her, and this finally caused the Second Global War. Although it was clamoured that the idealistic and famous 14 Points of Wilson formed the basis of the peace treaties, they were not in fact scrupulously followed because of the great powers' interests.

President Wilson had declared that the "world must be made safe for democracy", and insisted upon a just and lasting peace founded upon an impartial respect for the wishes of the people, and "a universal dominion of the right". But, the actual settlement belied this lofty idealism, and brought to the fore the old adage, "to the victors belong the spoils". Although the principle of nationality was invoked as the basis of the settlement, it was the principle of nationality that was carried out at the expense of the defeated nations in favour of the victorious ones. Thus, the colonies of Germany and the territories of Turkey were added to the possessions of the big Allied powers. Hungary also lost 1/4 of its population to foreign countries.

However, it must be admitted that the peace was concluded in an atmosphere when passions were running high, and the feeling against Germany was very bitter. The horrors and atrocities of the War made the Allies hold Germany responsible for them. Hence, it was natural for them to be harsh and vindictive. They thought that Germany deserved neither consideration nor mercy. Above all, the Allies had many conflicting interests to reconcile, and were handicapped by the secret treaties concluded among themselves to enlarge and strengthen their coalition against the Central Powers. By these Treaties, many states were brought into the War through liberal promises of territorial gains, and so, they could not be entirely ignored.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Who was the honorary president of the Paris Peace Conference?

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2. Briefly mention the effects of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany

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17.6 WORLD WAR I AND THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

The military disaster of Germany, Austria and Turkey in World War I caused political revolutions to break out in them. Though the socialists caused these revolutions, they were uniformly mild in character, and more inclined towards democratic nationalism, than to any basic social change.

17.6.1 Germany-The Weimar Constitution

In Germany, the unrest was on the increase. Prince Maximilian, the Chancellor sought to reduce domestic unrest by promising in October, 1918, a number of constitutional reforms. But, the demands for the overthrow of the monarchical regime grew louder. Luckily, these demands enjoyed the blessings of a global force like Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U.S.A.

The emperor was forsaken by both the navy and the army. Every city in Germany witnessed rioting by the Socialists, and the setting up of revolutionary "Workers' Councils". In fact, on November 8, amidst these disorders, Bavaria was proclaimed a "democratic and socialist republic". The Chancellor had already advised the emperor to abdicate. In the circumstances, the emperor fled to nearby Netherlands. With his flight, ended the German Empire of the Hohenzollerns.

Prince Maximilian, the Chancellor, made way for a new Chancellor in November, 1918. He was the Socialist Friedrich Ebert. Under his guidance, a "Council of Peoples' Commissars" was set up at Berlin. Now three political organisations-Progressive, Centrist and Social Democratic joined to form a liberal democratic republic. By February 6, a Constituent Assembly, elected by secret ballot of all Germans over 25 years of age, men and women alike, met at Weimar. It ratified the peace treaty with the Allies in June 1919, and also adopted a Constitution by the end of July for the future government of the country. This came to be known as the Weimar Constitution. Ebert was elected the first constitutional President of the Republic, and his fellow socialist, Scheidemann, was appointed its first Chancellor.

The Weimar constitution retained the federal organisation of the German Empire, since it broadened the powers of the Central Government, and lessened those of the states. The

executive authority was vested in the President legislature-Reichstag, representing the people and Reichsrat, representing the States. The Chancellor and his associate ministers were made responsible to the Reichstag. All German citizens of over 25 years of age, male and female, were given the right to vote. A detailed bill of rights was included in the constitution, and provision made for Initiative, Referendum and Recall. It also provided for proportional and professional representation. All these in a way rendered this constitution rather unique in character.

17.6.2 Break-up of Austria-Hungary

The Imperial Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary also collapsed in the wake of the revolution of 1918-19, giving rise to the democratic republics of Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the kingdom of Yugoslavia. The conciliatory manifesto of the Emperor Charles I in October 1918 promising to organise the monarchy on a federal basis in order that each of its nationalities might have democratic autonomy, was made too late since the leaders of the subordinate nationalities had decided upon breaking away from the Hapsburg Empire.

17.6.3 Czechoslovakia

In October 1918, a group of Czech patriots led by Thomas Masaryk and Edward Benes, proclaimed at Paris, the deposition of Charles of Hapsburg as the king of Bohemia, and the independence of the "Czechoslovakian Republic". In the same month, a self-constituted Czech "National Council" took over the government at Prague, and a similar, "National Council" in the Slovak province of Hungary voted for "Union of the Slovaks with the Czechs in a new "Czechoslovakia". A National Assembly was at once convened at Prague. In November, it ratified what had been done, and elected Masaryk president of the Republic, with Benes as foreign minister. By February, 1920, the new republic adopted a democratic constitution.

17.6.4 Yugoslavia

The Slavs in the south of Austria-Hungary, revolted at the same time as the Czechs and Slovaks in the north. In October, 1918, the Croatia Diet proclaimed the deposition of Charles of Hapsburg, and the separation of the "kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia" from Hungary. A Revolutionary Council of Yugoslav Congress was authorised to admit representatives from Bosnia-Hrzegovina, and from Slovene province of Carniola. In November, the Congress voted to incorporate all the Yugoslav territories of Austria-Hungary, with the independent state of Serbia in a kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In December, King Peter of Serbia assumed the kingship, with his son Alexander as Regent, and a ministry headed by the veteran Serbian politician, Nicholas Pasic. Austria-Hungary found itself helpless in preventing the Yugoslav Union.

17.6.5 Poland

The Poles of Austrian Galicia broke away from the Hapsburgs, and joined the Poles of Prussia and Russia, in establishing a national state. The military reverses of their "Oppressors" viz., Russia, Austria and Germany helped the Poles in achieving their long cherished goal. The efforts of their two great leaders, one the celebrated musician, Ignace Paderewski, and the other the famous soldier and radical, Joseph Pilsudski, were successful. Luckily, the pledges of Woodrow Wilson rendered the deliverance of Poland possible. The deliverance came in the midst of the revolutions of 1918-19 throughout Central Europe. The collapse of the Dual Monarchy, and the surrender of Germany united Polish territories under Austrian and German control. Pilsudski took over the leadership of the provisional Government in 1918. In January, 1919 with Pilsudski as President, and Paderewski as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, a Constituent Assembly was elected by universal suffrage. Thus, Poland which was made to disappear from the political

map of Europe as a state, achieved political resurrection or rebirth, when it emerged as a republic in 1919. The national unification of the Rumanian-speaking peoples was an important phase of the general revolutionary movement that witnessed the rise of independent Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland, consequent on the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire.

17.6.6 Hungary

In Hungary, Count Michael Karolyi took over the headship of a provisional Government in October, 1918, in the wake of the general revolutions. In November, he proclaimed Hungary, an independent republic, with himself as Governor. He pledged to democratise the country, and redress the grievances of its subject nationalities. But, his task was rendered very difficult, because of internal strife and external invasion.

In March, 1919, Karolyi resigned, and the government passed into the hands of a left-wing Socialist and Jewish Journalist, Belakun by name. He was a fanatical Communist. He at once proclaimed a 'dictatorship of the Proletariat' in Hungary. He started imposing Communism on the Magyars, and employed force against the revolting nationalities. He organised a 'Red Army', and despatched it against the Slovaks, and the Rumanians. But, the Rumanians answered it by advancing on Budapest. In the meantime, Belakun became unpopular, and so, in terror he fled to Austria. Budapest was occupied by Rumanian troops, though the internal affairs of Hungary were controlled by an aristocratic group led by Admiral Nicholas Horthy, and Count Stephen Bethlen.

Following the withdrawal of the Rumanian Army, a general election was held in Hungary in January, 1920. The results were favourable to the reactionaries. Admiral Horthy was immediately made the Regent. But, from April 1921, Count Bethlen began what proved to be a ten-year term as Premier and virtually dictator.

17.6.7 German Austrian Republic

In October, 1918, Vienna witnessed a series of demonstrations by mobs of workmen and students. The emperor Charles knew that he would not be able to stem the tide, and so, abdicated in November, 1919. With his abdication, ended the long reign of the Hapsburgs. A Provisional Government of the National German State of Austria which had been set up by mutual agreement among the leaders of the Social Democratic, Christian Socialist and nationalist parties (leading or prominent political parties), proclaimed Austria a Republic in November, 1919, a day after the abdication of the emperor. In February, 1920, a Constituent Assembly was elected by universal suffrage which adopted a democratic constitution drawn up on the lines of the Weimar Constitution.

17.6.8 Bulgaria

In Bulgaria, monarchical form of government remained, largely due to the tact and timely abdication by the king Ferdinand in favour of his son and successor, the youthful Boris III. The young king entrusted practically dictatorial powers to a forceful and popular statesman, Alexander Stambulinsky. He was a peasant by birth, and the leader of the Agrarian party in Bulgaria. His vigorous internal reforms benefitted the peasantry, promoted patriotic sentiment and made for the economic progress of the Bulgarian masses.

17.6.9 Turkey

Sultan Mohammad V died in July, 1918. His successor Mohammad VI, accepted the resignation of Enver Pasha, and other Young Turk ministers, whose alliance with Germany brought about the ruin of the Turkish power. Mustafa Kemal, a capable leader, led the patriotic

forces. Discredited Enver Pasha's policies, and established by 1919, a separate and strongly nationalist Turkish Government in Anatolia. By 1923, he captured Constantinople, deposed Mohammed VI, and finally transformed the Ottoman Turkish Empire into the National Republic of Turkey, with Ankara as its capital.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What were the treaties which were concluded with Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey?

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2. Why did monarchy survive in Bulgaria after world war I?

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17.7 LET US SUM UP

1. The paris conference was convened after world war I to redraw the map of Europe after world war I
2. The treaty of versailles which reduced Germany to a humiliating position, contained the seeds of world war ii
3. Treaties were also concluded with other countries as shown below.
Austria - St. German
Bulgaria - Nevilly
Hungary - Trianon
Turkey - Sevres
4. Important political developments took place in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary and Turkey after the world war I settlements.

17.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. Clemenceau of France
2. It reduced Germany's territory by 1/8, lost 1/10 of its population, 70% of its natural resources were also lost and in short Germany was reduced to a humiliating position.
- II 1. Austria - St Germain
Bulgaria - Nevilly
Turkey - Sevres
2. Monarchy Survived in Bulgaria mainly because of the abdication of king Ferdinand in favour of his son.

17.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. State the different provisions of the Treaty of Versailles
 2. Critically analyse the treatment meted out to Germany
 3. What was the character and the effects of the antecedent revolutions that were experienced in Central Europe?
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. Write about the representatives that attended the Congress of Paris
 2. Narrate the main provisions of the Peace Treaties concluded with Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.
 3. What was the role of Woodrow Wilson in the deliberations of the Paris Congress?
 4. How did the Polish Republic emerge?
 5. Describe the formation of the Hungarian Republic

17.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Grant and Temperley | <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries</i> |
| 2. Hazen C.D. | <i>Modern Europe upto 1945</i> |
| 3. C.J.H. Hayes | <i>Contemporary Europe since 1870</i> |
| 4. James Joll | <i>Europe since 1870-An International History</i> |
| 5. John and Gwenneth Stokes | <i>Europe and the Modern world, 1870-1983</i> |
| 6. L.E. Snellgrove | <i>The modern world since 1870</i> |
| 7. Thomson David | <i>Europe since Napoleon</i> |
| 8. Weg | <i>Europe Since 1945</i> |

– I. VENKATA SWAMY

UNIT-18 : THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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18.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this Unit should enable you to

1. Analyse the circumstances leading to the establishment of the League of Nations
2. Explain the aims, functions and the organisation of the League
3. Estimate the achievements and failures of the league and
4. Analyse the causes for the failure of the league

18.1 INTRODUCTION

The league of nations was an attempt to give organisational expression to the pursuits of peace loving statesmen to resolve international problems through negotiations and to create conditions in the world which would be conducive to the creating of world peace. In this unit an account of the origin, objectives, functions and organisation of the League of Nations are described. The achievements and failures of the league are also discussed in this unit.

18.2 EARLIER ATTEMPTS-THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCES

The Hague Peace Conference of 1899 was, perhaps, the first major global attempt to promote world peace. The Czar Nicholas II of Russia with the concurrence of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, convened this international peace conference at the Hague in 1899. "The preservation of peace", the Czar said, "has become an object of international policy". 26 sovereign states of Europe and Asia, besides the U.S.A. and Mexico, were represented at this conference. No agreements could be reached on any general limitation of armaments. However, steps were taken to restrict the use of certain weapons in the event of war and to establish a court of arbitration.

President Theodore Roosevelt of the U.S.A., and the Czar Nicholas II of Russia, were responsible for holding the second International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907. This time, 44 governments including 19 from America, were represented. Practically nothing was done at this Conference to stop the armed race, and the growing strength of the armies and navies, but certain rules of war were adopted. For instance, the nations agreed not to use poison gas in warfare, and to follow certain rules for the treatment of wounded prisoners of war. In addition, a permanent Court of Arbitration was established at the Hague. This Court was intended to help in settling international disputes, which nations might be willing to present to it. The Court, however, could not compel nations to present such disputes, nor could the Court require the Nations to accept its decisions. It recommended the holding of similar conferences at regular intervals.

Optimistic pacifists imagined that the establishment of the Court of Arbitration marked the coming into being of an organised International Community, with its capital at the Hague. Instead, this Court did settle several international disputes between 1901 and 1914. A third Hague Conference was slated for 1915 to take a big step forward towards international cooperation and peace. But, unfortunately, outbreak of the Great War in 1914 not only undermined all peace efforts, but had also put an end to its activities.

18.3 WILSON'S 14 POINTS

During the World War I, the idealistic-minded Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U.S.A., in a famous speech in January 1918, appealed for support to the Allied War aims, which he declared, consisted of 14 points. Of these the most important are :

- (1) Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, and in future no secret diplomacy.
- (2) Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas.
- (3) Removal as far as possible, of the economic barriers to international trade,
- (4) Reduction of national armaments.
- (5) The subject populations enjoying the right to self-determination and
- (6) Formation of a general association of nations for the preservation of international peace. This is the 14th point.

18.4 ESTABLISHMENT, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

On the basis of the fourteenth point, an International Organisation, called the League of Nations was established in 1920. The Great Powers agreed to its establishment, at the Paris Peace Congress. The purpose of this League was to ensure the political independence and territorial integrity of all the nations. The member states of the League should resolve their

disputes through peaceful means. In short, it was to prevent recurrence of war, and to promote world peace.

18.5 MEMBERSHIP

The membership, to start with, was limited to the Allied countries, and their supporters, the countries that agreed to the Paris Treaty, and a few neutral countries. Thus, in 1920, the strength of the League was 42, and it rose to 62 by 1931. It was ironic that the U.S.A., the initiator of the very idea of the League, had to keep out of the league, since the majority of the U.S. Senate was opposed to its being a member of the League. While Brazil, Costa Rica, Germany, Japan, Peru, and Uruguay withdrew from the League, between 1931-36, Afghanistan, Ecuador, and Russia joined the League.

18.6 ORGANISATION

The League had four main agencies *viz.*,

- (1) The League Assembly
- (2) The Council
- (3) The Secretariat and
- (4) The Court of international Justice

18.6.1 The League Assembly

The Assembly was the supreme body. It consisted of the representatives of the member states. Every member state could send not more than three delegates, enjoying one vote only. All its decisions were required to be unanimous. The Assembly held discussion on international, political and economic matters which were likely to undermine or endanger world peace. It advised the members on several other issues. However, it was not empowered either to formulate laws for the member states or to make them implement its decisions or resolutions. It was also to revise the budget prepared by the Secretariat. Further, it was to supervise the work of the Council as well. Admission of new members into the League, and election of non-permanent members of the Council, were the other important powers enjoyed by the Assembly. It was to meet every year in Geneva.

18.6.2 Council

The Council was a smaller body with 9 members. It was the executive of the League. It consisted of permanent, and non-permanent members in addition to ad-hoc representatives. Japan, France, England, Italy and U.S.A. were permanent members. Since the U.S.A did not join the League, the strength of the permanent members stood at four only. Additional permanent members could be admitted with the approval of the Assembly and the Council. There were as many as eleven non-permanent members of the Council. It was to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments by various states. Ways and means of avoiding the manufacturing of weapons of war were to be set forth by the Council. It was to plan and protect the member states from aggression. It was to arbitrate in the disputes between the member states. It was also to monitor and review the working of the mandatory system.

It would meet thrice a year in Geneva. The Council should meet at least once a year. It could hold emergency sessions. But, all its important decisions should be unanimous.

18.6.3 Secretariat

The Secretariat with Geneva as its headquarters, was responsible to the Assembly and the Council. It consisted of the Secretary-General who was appointed by the Council with the

approval of the Assembly. The staff was appointed by him in consultation with the Council. The member states were required to meet the expenses of the Secretariat in certain proportions. It worked all through the year. The officials enjoyed certain privileges and immunities, while performing the work of the League. It is required to make available, adequate information on international affairs, register the treaties concluded, and to make arrangements for the effective functioning of the Assembly and the Council.

18.6.4 The Court of International Justice

The permanent Court of International Justice was set up by the Council at the Hague in 1922, and it continued upto October, 1945. A team of 15 Judges served on it. They were elected by the Assembly and the Council for a nine year tenure. They could not be removed from office once they were elected. The Council and the Assembly were empowered to seek the advisory opinion of the Court.

The decisions of the Court were binding only on the parties in dispute, and in respect of the particular cases referred to it only. There was no provision for appeal. However, the Court could review its own judgements in special circumstances.

18.6.5 Other Agencies

The International Labour Organisation was also set up, with Geneva as its headquarters. Its object was to improve the condition of labour in various parts of the world. Its governing body consisted of the representatives of states, employees and workers. Important decisions were taken in its annual meetings. Many International Unions and organisations were also set up to better the economic conditions of poor countries, to enlarge the communication and transport net-work, and also to promote the education of the people of the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Why was U.S.A. not a member of the league of Nations?

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2. Which was he headquarters of the league?

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18.7 FUNCTIONS OF THE LEAGUE

The chief function of the League was to avoid war, and to maintain peace in the world. It was required to do everything it could to achieve this noble ideal. A check was to be placed on armaments. Provision was made for collective action to enforce the provisions of the League by means of economic sanctions against aggressor countries.

18.8 MANDATE SYSTEM

Provision was made for the introduction of Mandate System. The territories captured from the Central Powers and Turkey, were not to be restored to them. They were also not to be given to any victorious country in full sovereignty. The mandatory territories were inhabited by sacred trust. Therefore, the mandatory powers were required to administer the mandatory territory in such a way as to help the political, social and economic enterprise in respect of international supervision over backward areas.

18.9 WORK OF THE LEAGUE

18.9.1 Its initial successes

The League of Nations was belittled by calling it as a league of nations, a league of robbers and a league of procrastinators. It was also said that it could only bark, but not bite. However, in spite of its being called all sorts of names, the League did accomplish a great deal during its existence for about twenty years between 1920 and 1940. It solved several political, economic and social problems in a peaceful manner. It examined about 40 disputes in all. Some of the earlier disputes included :

- (1) the one between Italy and Greece over the murder of several Italians on the Greek soil;
- (2) between Turkey and England over the Mosul border dispute;
- (3) between Finland and Soviet Russia over the treatment of the inhabitants of Eastern Karelia;
- (4) between Greece and Bulgaria over border clashes;
- (5) between Finland and Sweden;
- (6) between Italy and Greece over Italian occupation of Corfu Island;
- (7) between Paraguay and Bolivia over armed clashes in Chaco dispute.

But, it could not prevent German occupation of Austria, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Russia dropped out of the League. A few of the great powers resigned from the League. Thus, its peace efforts were rendered ineffective because of the attitude of certain member states.

18.9.2 Disarmament

The League initiated several measures for disarmament. But, all these were in vain, since no nation was prepared to effect a cut into its armaments. In 1932, the Geneva Disarmament Conference was attended by as many as 64 countries, including the Great Powers, and many laudable proposals for reducing the armaments to 1/4th, and desisting from the use of submarines and aeroplanes in the war, were made. But, all these remained on paper only, since the signatories were not sincere about implementing them. The Washington, Geneva and London Conferences, which were held to limit the naval forces, provided no tangible results. By 1939, all efforts at disarmament proved futile. On the other hand, there was stock-piling of armaments, which were much more than those accumulated on the eve of World War I.

18.9.3 Other Achievements

Although the League failed in the field of disarmament, it achieved significant results in initiating several economic and social welfare, and humanitarian measures. It laid the foundation for international cooperation and understanding. Austria and Hungary were saved from economic

distress and famine. The refugees from Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey were given financial aid, and were thus saved from agony and distress the League also worked for the welfare and well-being of the majority of the peoples of the world.

The achievements of the League also include its special efforts in ensuring the welfare and development of the mandate territories. The German, and the Turkish colonies entrusted to France and England under the mandatory system, were enabled to overcome their problems, and register appreciable development or progress. In fact, the League made frequent assessment of the working of the mandatory system. In particular, it did quite a good deal for the development of backward areas.

In addition to all these, the League made considerable contributions to the social welfare, health and hygiene of the poor and backward countries. Its work in respect of the abolition of slavery, prohibition of women and child labour, illegal trafficking in narcotics, was commendable. It also promoted the spread of scientific knowledge, and enlarged the communication and transport net-work.

18.10 THE FINAL FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE

The League during its twenty years' existence, had no doubt succeeded in solving certain problems. But, it could not prevent the outbreak of World War II. It also failed in establishing a peaceful world order. But, these failures were caused by a variety of factors. They can be summed up as follows :

A great power like the U.S.A. did not join the League. Another major power like Russia joined it late, and left it early, after having been a member for about 4 years. These two Great Powers did not offer wholehearted support to the League. Further, the Great Powers were not inclined to make even marginal adjustments in respect of their interests. The League could only object to the aggression by Japan, Italy and Germany, but failed to halt it. It was not to blame, since it did not have the machinery, authority or the military power needed for it.

The stipulation that all the important decisions should be arrived at unanimously, was quite impractical, and so, came in the way of its functioning. The working of the League was not only dependent on the cooperation between member states, but also on their financial contribution or assistance, which was not forthcoming easily, or in any adequate and needed measure. There were also sharp differences among the member states on the functions and responsibilities of the League. It was, perhaps, for this reason that the League of Nations was discontinued as the League of Nations. England and France dominated the League, and so, the other states lost confidence in it. England looked upon the League as a means for perpetuating the balance of power, whereas France considered it a means for encircling Germany. Narrow nationalism prevented the states from making any sacrifices to promote the functioning of the League.

The rise of dictatorship in Italy, Japan and Germany weakened the League. For instance, Japan was determined to acquire fresh territories, and since the League criticised her on the question of Manchuria, she left the League. Thus, the states continued to be members as long as their national interests were in no way endangered or sacrificed.

But, it should be noted that the League represented the very first major step ever taken in promoting international understanding and cooperation, maintenance of world peace, and peaceful settlement of international disputes. In fact, the League of Nations held out the promise of ushering in a new era of peace and a new world order.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Explain briefly what is meant by the mandatory system

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2. Mention two important causes for the failure of the League of Nations.

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18.11 LET US SUM UP

1. To prevent recurrence of war and to promote world peace, the league of Nations was established in 1920, mainly due to the efforts of woodrow wilson, president of U.S.A.
2. The Assembly, council, secretariat and the court of International Justice were the chief organs of the league. Its headquarters was Geneva.
3. Though the league was able to solve minor international disputes, and made some attempts to achieve disarmament it was not able to prevent the outbreak of world war II
4. The lack of support of the major powers like the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to the League, the Utilisation of the League for selfish national purposes by powers like England and France, the rise of dictatorship, in countries like Italy, Germany and Japan, were the important causes for the failure of the league.

18.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. U.S.A. could not become a member of the league because the US. senate did not approve the entry of the country in the league
2. Geneva
- II 1. Supervision of the welfare and development of countries nominated by the League over territories which were captured by the central power during the world war was known as the mandatory system.
2. a) the loss of support of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R for the organisation
b) Rise of dictatorship in Italy, Germany and Japan

18.13 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. Trace the efforts made by the Hague Conferences for preserving world peace.
 2. State the organisation of the League of Nations.

3. What were the successes achieved by the League of Nations?
4. Where and why did the League of Nations fail?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. What were the 14 points of Wilson?
2. Describe the composition and powers of the Council.
3. Narrate the initial successes gained by the League of Nations.

18.14 GLOSSARY

Armed Peace	:	Peace, but with nations keenly engaged in arming themselves against suspected danger or threat from others.
Carte Blanche	:	Blank cheque or full freedom.
Chauvinism	:	Excessive and narrow nationalism leading to the hatred of other nations or countrymen.
Commissar	:	Head of a Government Department in Russia
Cordiale	:	Agreement or treaty of friendship
Kaiser	:	Designation of the ruler of Germany
Mandatories	:	Nations which received administrative authority over colonies in other continents or countries under trust or mandate from the League of Nations
Mark	:	German currency unit
Plebiscite	:	Ascertaining the opinion of the people on a matter of the State by means of voting at large
Submarine	:	Warship employed for destroying enemy ships down under the sea
Reparation	:	Compensation for the loss or damage that was caused

18.15 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Baker P.J.N. : *The League of Nations at work*
2. Gooch G.P. : *History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919*
3. Grant and Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*
4. Hayes C.J.H. : *Contemporary Europe Since 1870*
5. Hazen C.D. : *Europe Since 1815*
6. Howard Ellis : *The Origin, Structure and working of the League of Nations*
7. Taylor A.J.P. : *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918*
8. Walters F.P. : *A History of the League of Nations*

— K.V.S. NARASIAH

UNIT-19 : FRANCE - SEARCH FOR SECURITY

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19.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to explain

1. the concern of France for security after world war I
2. France's efforts for international security
3. Her efforts for disarmament
4. the efforts of U.S.A. and the League of Nations towards disarmament and
5. the reasons for the failure of the efforts for international collective security.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

Though France emerged as a victor-ally in the First World War, she was too bruised to be elated with the triumph. The War proved to be a big drain on her man-power and economy. In the initial half of the War, it was France that bore the brunt of resistance to German attack, and in the second half she shared the burden with Britain and the United States. The War squeezed the life blood of a whole generation, and left the industrially developed northern districts of France devastated. It goes to the credit of France that she was able to achieve economic recovery by the year 1925, though partly with the reparations obtained from Germany.

The ravages of the War conclusively pointed that formation of an international controlling agency was utmostly expedient. The issue was given great consideration in the post-War deliberations that took place in Paris. The principle of balance of power came to be discredited in favour of the new principle of international cooperation. A search was on for international peace and security.

19.2 FRANCE'S CONCERN FOR SECURITY

France wanted the deliberating Allies to guarantee her security, as they disagreed to her proposal of separating the western bank of the Rhine from Germany—a proposal that stemmed from the fear of a possible remilitarization of the Rhineland by Germany. The French unsuccessfully argued that in the event of such militrazation and attack by Germany, it would not be possible for Britain and the United States to come to the aid of France. (This apprehension of France came true in 1940). France was also sceptical of the efficacy of the League of Nations as a device for the maintenance of international peace and order, in the absence of any inbuilt operative mechanism. (Again in this special instance, France was to prove prophetic.) The United States for her part, could not ratify either the Treaty of Versailles or the Covenant of the League of Nations due to the ideological wrangles between the Republican and the Democratic parties. Britain also followed suit by refusing to guarantee the preservation of the redrawn frontiers. Thus, France was left to make her own efforts for her security.

19.2.1 Reasons for Concern

The anxiety and fear of France were understandable. The crushing defeat at the hands of Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 was fresh in her memory. In retrospect, she could see how the European countries had failed in thwarting the onset of German aggrandizement, the main thrust of which fell on France. Naturally, she was afraid of a recurrence of German onslaught. The spectre of danger was highlighted by two facts—post-War France lay limp, whereas there was no significant diminution in the industrial potential and military strength of Germany. Also, the generous attitude of Britain towards Germany went against the interests of France. Germany was also found to be playing fast and loose with her currency with the intention of outwitting the Allies in the payment of reparations.

Belgium and Czechoslovakia also found themselves in the same predicament as France, as regards the security of their existence.

19.3 EFFORTS TO FIND A SYSTEM OF SECURITY

In conclusion, it would be seen that the years following the Versailles settlement were destined to be a testing time for France. During this time she intensified her efforts to find an international security for her interests. The results of her efforts were the military agreements with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

In the year 1920, France concluded a military alliance with Belgium. Poland was the nex ally of France. The largest of the newly formed nations, Poland came to be formed by the joining together of the dismembered parts of the Russian, German and Austrian empires. By a treaty with her, France agreed to arm her. In 1924 she entered into a similar treaty with Czechoslovakia, which had already formed a "little entente" in the company of Rumania and Yugoslavia. In 1926 France enlarged her military alliance to include both Rumania and Yugoslavia. But, these alliances were not of much consequence to France in terms of military strength, since France herself had to make big armament-loans to the East European countries. After all these efforts, at the end of the decade, France, to her chagrin, found that East European countries were flocking with Germany for economic considerations.

In the year 1923 France occupied the Ruhr-valley, on the failure of Germany to honour her reparation commitments. The events that ensued there, worsened the Franco-German relations.

19.4 COLLECTIVE EFFORTS FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY - MUTUAL AID PACT, 1923

While the aforesaid military alliances were the solo efforts of France to find an international security for herself, there were also made collective efforts at the forum of the League. Article 10 of the League stipulated that member countries should come together for the maintenance of freedom, security and territorial integrity of the nations. The member countries should actively aid the victims of aggression. Article 16 enjoined upon the members to sever the economic and cultural ties with the aggressor, and render military aid to the victims. But, by an amendment, these provisions were so altered as to make the nature of obligations voluntary and optional. These amendments weakened the principle of collective security. These deficiencies in the League were sought to be remedied by France, simultaneously as she went ahead with her programme of military alliances. These efforts of France resulted in the formulation of Mutual Aid Pact of 1923. The Pact declared military aggression to be an international crime, to be met with sanctions imposed by the League's Council. It also made military aid by the member-nations to the victims, a binding obligation. The Pact failed to secure the consent of a majority of the nations. Britain, while opposing the Pact, favoured the idea of raising the material powers of the League.

19.4.1 Geneva Protocol

By the year 1924, the atmosphere became more congenial for the attainment of international security system. French Ruhr-expedition had been neutralized, the issue of reparations had been largely settled through the Dawes Plan, and the liberal-minded Herriot succeeded the anti-German Poincare, as the President of France. At Geneva, the representatives of Greece and Czechoslovakia prepared the draft of what is known as the Geneva Protocol. The Protocol proposed that every kind of effort was to be done to secure international security. It was proposed to convene an international conference in 1925 to check the arms race. International issues were to be settled through negotiations and arbitration. Disputes involving legal principles were to be taken to the International Court of Justice, while political issues were to be discussed at the League's Council. States not accepting the international arbitration should be declared as aggressors, to be subjected to economic and military sanctions imposed by the League's Council. Reparations were to be imposed on the states held to be responsible for the war.

The Conservative Government of Britain and also her dominions rejected the Protocol on the plea that the provisions were tantamount to interference in a nation's internal affairs. Provisions making the arbitration binding on the nations, irked many members. Britain also opposed the idea of compelling the member countries into giving military assistance to the victim. France was dissatisfied with Britain's attitude.

19.4.1.1 Importance

Despite its failure to secure acceptance, Geneva Protocol stands as a milestone in the evolution of international security system. It made an attempt to fill the lacunae in the League's provisions. Besides pronouncing war as an international crime, the Protocol proposed the principle of arbitration as a solution to international disputes, and declared it to be binding on the nations.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. What was the chief reason for France's concern for security?

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2. Mention two reasons for the importance of the Geneva protocol of 1924.

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19.4.2 Locarno Treaties

Though the attainment of an international security system proved to be elusive, it was realized by the European nations that some such system was vitally needed for the continued existence of the nations. It was left to Germany to understand the apprehensions of France and come out with bold proposals. Through these proposals, Germany assured to respect the Franco-German boundaries as drawn by the Versailles settlement, and offered her hand for the formulation of treaties for regional security. The Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo, 1922 caused much apprehension in the minds of British statesmen of the possible extension of Communist influence into Germany. France, for her part, agreed to negotiate on the condition of including Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy in the deliberations. As a result of this, treaties were signed in the year 1925 at Locarno in Switzerland. These treaties have been hailed by Winston Churchill as the "high water-mark of Europe's restoration". One of the treaties concluded among Germany, France, England, Italy and Belgium provided for mutual guarantee as between the different members. By four arbitration treaties among Germany, France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia, the boundaries between France and Germany, and Belgium and Germany became secure. Agreement on Rhineland's demilitarized character was became secure. Agreement on Rhineland's demilitarized character was confirmed. By the two treaties of guarantee, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia agreed upon the security of the trilateral boundaries. The signatories agreed to the principle of disarmament under League's auspices. Germany became a member of the League.

The Locarno Treaties achieved for France, the much-sought security. Germany was assured of revision of the provisions of Versailles Treaty. Above all, the treaties ushered in a spirit of international understanding, referred to as "Locarno Spirit". The treaties have also been criticized as being unrealistic, and as having weakened the Versailles Treaty by reviving the trend of bilateral treaties. Locarno treaties accorded to Germany, status of equality with the other European nations.

19.4.3 Kellog-Briand Pact

In the year 1927, two momentous resolutions were agreed upon; one in the League's Assembly, and the other in the sixth Pan-American Conference. Both of them unequivocally condemned

the practice of resorting to war in the settlement of bilateral issues. In response to a suggestion to U.S.A., by the French foreign minister, Briand for a bilateral agreement against the practice of war, Kellogg, the American Secretary of State came up with the ideal of a multilateral agreement. Britain agreed to join in the treaty, subject to the condition that she would retain the freedom of military action in the regions of vital concern to her. In all, fifteen countries signed on this document of Kellogg-Briand Pact, in the year 1928. The number of signatories rose to 61 by 1930.

The signatories to the Kellogg-Briand Pact solemnly avowed not to have recourse to war in settling international disputes, but to follow a course of peaceful nature. If any signatory resorted to war, she would be construed to have broken the pact, action would in effect release the signatories from obligations under the Pact.

Kellogg-Briand Pact came in for wide acclaim for its anti-war note. In a way, it is a landmark because it initiated the Russo-American dialogue on international treaties. It set the trend for a few more friendship treaties and no-war pacts between different nations. However, the Pact was more in the nature of a moral obligation, and had no effective binding on the signatories. The Pact created no machinery either for the interpretation of its terms or for their enforcement. The Pact did not totally uphold the principle of renunciation of war by acquiescing in wars undertaken for the preservation of colonies. All said, the Pact should be regarded as an important event in international relations. The Pact also is a watershed in international affairs as it marked the end of American policy of isolation.

The General Act, formulated by the League in 1935 provided for arbitration committees to go into bilateral disputes, and for the submission by the nations to the decisions of International Court of Justice in matters affecting international law. The efforts were in vain.

19.5 ATTEMPTS FOR THE REVISION OF VERSAILLES TREATY

Parallel to these efforts went on the efforts of the nations, vanquished in the World War I, known as the Revisionist Group. These countries, which included Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, all of whom had lost chunks of territory that went to form the newly emerged nations of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, sought a revision of the terms of the Versailles Treaty. Italy joined this group to gain supremacy in Central Europe and influence in the Balkan region. The German militancy after 1934 herded the various countries together by means of the Balkan Pact, 1934.

The Scandinavian countries and the Balkan countries also attempted to evolve a system of regional security from the aggressive designs of Germany. In 1933 through the efforts of Mussolini, the Pact of Rome was concluded with Britain, France, Italy, and Germany as signatories. The Pact aimed at the preservation of peace for a time. As against the Pact of Rome, Russia entered into an agreement for mutual military aid with her neighbouring countries and East European countries. These agreements, known as the London Treaties of 1933, are part of the efforts made for or regional security. In 1935, France entered into treaty relations with Russia, Italy and Czechoslovakia with the main intention of thwarting Germany's designs. But, these regional security systems were counter-productive, as they tended to increase tension, and thus lead to another global war.

19.6 PROBLEM OF DISARMMENT

In the late nineteenth century, a rat-race began among the European nations in the acquisition of arms on a big scale. Militarism has been agreed as being one of the main causes for the World War I.

Wilson in his Fourteen Principles underlined the need for a reduction in the national armaments.

When, as part of Versailles settlement, German armaments were strictly subjected to a ceiling, it was hoped that the other nations would voluntarily follow the principle of arms limitation.

The problem of disarmament engaged the utmost attention of the European nations in the period intervening between the two World Wars, since the problem of security, for which search was on, hinged upon disarmament. Article 8 of the League's Covenant ordained upon the member nations to limit their armaments only to the degree required for their security, while Article 9 envisaged a permanent commission to implement reduction in the military, naval and air forces. In fulfilment of these provisions of the Covenant, the League made efforts to implement disarmament. Similarly, Britain, America, Japan and Italy also tackled the issue of naval disarmament.

19.6.1 League's Efforts toward Disarmament

In its initial phase, the League was too engrossed with the problems of international security, reparation issue and other international disputes to turn its attention on to the issue of disarmament. In 1920, the League appointed two commissions to advise and help the League on issues of disarmament. Though some desultory work was done by the League, it was only after the Locarno Pact that atmosphere became more conducive for the disarmament movement. The preparatory commission, set up by the League, met for the first time in Geneva; but, the meeting was marked by the divergence of views among the members on basic issues. In 1932, the League convoked the first International Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Owing to the differences between France and Germany, England and France, and America and England, not much significant work could be achieved by the Conference. By the year 1933, Japan withdrew from the League, Nazi government was in power in Germany, and France once again raised the issue of her security. In this context, the British Premier MacDonald formulated a plan, according to which, on a violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, an international conference should be convened. Every nation should reduce her armament, and a permanent disarmament commission should be set up to review the international scene. MacDonald Plan was rejected by the Conference. Then followed a proposal by France providing for an international supervision of the armaments of the nations, and this plan was rejected by Germany. In 1933, Roosevelt of America proposed that member nations should conclude no-war pacts, and should refrain from excessively arming themselves. Once again, France demanded a guarantee of security from German aggression. Germany withdrew from the Conference, and the League as well. Subsequently, France and Russia made the issue of security their main plank, whereas England, the United States and Italy stressed on the issue of disarmament, which divergent stands only brought about a stalemate.

Lack of international cooperation was the main cause for the failure of disarmament conferences. The bitter rivalry between Germany and France was another cause. While France was obsessed with the idea of her insecurity, Britain and America emphasized more on disarmament than on France's security.

19.6.2 America's Efforts in the Direction of Disarmament

Apart from the efforts of the League, America also contributed to the cause of disarmament in her own way. American interest in the Pacific region were threatened by the growing naval strength of Japan. At the initiative of the American President Harding, a conference was convened in Washington in 1921-22, wherein besides settling Sino-Japanese disputes, the naval arms race between America and Japan was sought to be stopped. The Conference fixed the ratio of naval armament among the five nations of America, Britain, Japan, France and Italy; but, even here, due to the opposition of France, the tonnage of the destroyers and other warships could not be limited. Even then, the moderate success achieved by the Washington Conference could be termed as a stray silver lining against the ominous clouds of armament. Other events such as Geneva Conference (1922), London Treaty (1930), were not greatly successful due to the mutually inimical stances of the nations.

19.7 CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE EFFORTS FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The following factors may be summed up as the chief causes for the failure of efforts to achieve the Collective Security system. There was a lack of mutual trust between the different nations of Europe. The European nations lost the mood and spirit of cooperation, and relapsed into adherence to the principle of balance of power. Member countries were reluctant to place their forces at the disposal of the League for the enforcement of security. Nations were not inclined to fight for the victims. The various regional security systems planned by France and the other nations, worked at cross purpose, and in that setting the efforts of the League could not make much headway.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Who were the two main signatories of the Kellog-Briand Pact?

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2. Mention the chief reason for the failure of the attainment of collective security after world war I.

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19.8 LET US SUM UP

1. In the post world war I period, France was chiefly concerned with her own security due to the fear of German aggression
2. As a result of her concern for her security, France concluded military alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia
3. France made efforts through the league of Nations also for international collective security. The Mutual aid pact (1923) and the Geneva protocol (1924) were the out come of those efforts
4. The Locarno treaties of 1925 and the Kellog-Briand pact of 1927 were also the result of France's concern for her security.

19.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The fear of German aggression.
 2. a) It declared war as an international crime and
 - b) proposed arbitration as a solution to international disputes.

- II. 1. France and U.S.A.
2. Lack of Mutual trust among the important powers.

19.10 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
1. What was the condition of France at the conclusion of the World War I? Why was France concerned about her security?
 2. Describe briefly the collective efforts that were made to evolve a system of international security.
 3. Trace the problem of Disarmament and discuss the efforts made by the League of Nations in the direction of Disarmament.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
1. What efforts did France make to achieve security for herself?
 2. Discuss the Geneva Protocol and its significance.
 3. Under what context were the Locarno Treaties concluded?
 4. Bring out the significance of Kellog-Briand Pact in international relations.

19.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Grant & Temperley | : <i>Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries</i> |
| 2. Hazen, C.D. | : <i>Modern Europe up to 1945</i> |
| 3. Hayes, C.J.H. | : <i>Contemporary Europe since 1870</i> |
| 4. James Joll | : <i>Europe since 1870 A. International History</i> |
| 5. John and Gwenneth stakes | : <i>Europe and the Modern world 1870-1983</i> |
| 6. Lipson, E. | : <i>Europe between the two world wars</i> |
| 7. Snellgrose, L.E. | : <i>The modern world since 1870</i> |
| 8. Thompson, David | : <i>Europe since Napoleon</i> |

– M. NARASIMHA RAO

UNIT-20 : NAZISM IN GERMANY - ADOLF HITLER

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20.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to

1. analyse the causes for the rise and growth of Nazism in Germany
2. trace the career of Adolf Hitler analyse his policies and estimate his achievements.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

In many countries of Europe after world war I, totalitarianism came in to existence. The Growth of totalitarianism in Germany took place in the shape of Nazism under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. The growth of Nazism and the dictatorship of Hitler had far reaching consequences for Germany and the rest of the world. In this unit the circumstances leading to the growth of Nazism in Germany; the career, Policies and achievements of Hitler are explained.

20.2 FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACIES IN EUROPE

The end of the First World War was also the end of the multi-national empires of Austria, Russia, Turkey and Germany. On the ruins of these empires arose republics, all of which were not totally national but had a national slant. Some of these republics were the revived forms of their old selves, while some were completely new. In the beginning, democracy sprouted on these new grounds, but as time went on, its growth came to be vitiated in some areas.

The age-old Austro-Hungarian empire collapsed, and what remained of it (only some eight provinces) was transmitted into the Republic of Austria, with Dr. Michael Hanisch as President, and Dr. Karl Rainer as the Chancellor.

In the erstwhile imperial provinces of Russia and Germany, there now appeared four new states, described as 'Succession' states. They are Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

Hungary, separated from the Hapsburg empire, became a republic in the year 1918 with Count Michael Karloyi as President. The government of Karloyi was a short-lived one, and barely within four months, Communists captured power through a revolution. Bela Kun directed the affairs of the state and tried to implant Communism by obliterating the existing political and economic system, and through acts of terror. At this time, Hungary was passing through war with Rumania. As the Rumanian forces occupied Budapest, there started a counter-revolution under Admiral Horthy's leadership. On March 1st, 1920 he set up a new government.

Czechoslovakia was a new state formed by the addition of the north Hungarian region of Slovakia to the historical Kingdom of Bohemia. Formed into a republic in 1919, Czechoslovakia is not a uni-national state. There is a fair sprinkle of non-Slovak races in her population; but, the racial minorities have been given a fair deal in this progressive republic. In fact, Czechoslovakia is one of the few countries in central and east Europe, where democratic government took firm roots.

Poland with its long history of chequered existence, appeared as a republic in 1919 with Pilsudski as President. Endowed with man-power and natural wealth, Poland could have emerged as a front-ranking nation in Europe; but, she was beset with the composite character of her three territories, each of which had been under a different regime. Undaunted by the variety and magnitude of the problems facing her, Poland went ahead with the task of rebuilding the nation under the competent leadership of President Pilsudski and Premier Paderewski.

Another new state that sprang up in the Balkans was Yugoslavia, comprising of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzgovina, Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. In this state, political, religious and economic problems among the Serbs, Croats and Slovans led to bitter quarrels in the parliament, culminating in the murder of a Croatian leader and his followers. Prompted by these events, king Alexander dissolved the parliament, and set himself up as a dictator.

Another east European state - Rumania - was troubled by the bitter animosity between the peasants and landlords, and the problems of royal succession. In 1930, the Rumanian throne was captured by Carol who with the support of army officer, became an arbitrary ruler.

20.3 THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

The defeat of Germany in the First World War sounded the death-knell of the Hohenzollern empire. Emperor William abandoned his throne and fled for life, to Holland. After a few months of tumult and violence, Germany settled for a republican form of government in Nov. 1918. Provisionally set up under the Presidentship of Friedrich Ebert, a Social Democrat, the new government signed the armistice. A National Constituent Assembly was convened in February, 1919 at Weimar with 423 members elected on universal suffrage. The Assembly drafted a constitution under which the Federal Republic of Deutsches was proclaimed. The Weimar constitution provided for a President for the republic, elected for 7 years. Under him there would be a Chancellor and other ministers responsible to the national legislature, called the Reichstag. A National Council was provided for the representatives of the federal units of the republic. The constitution also incorporated a liberal bill of rights, and provided for initiative, referendum, recall and proportional representation for the different political parties.

The Weimar Republic was burdened with problems. The Monarchists as well as the Leftists despised it. The Versailles settlement imposed on Germany many penalties, which appeared to the Germans as unjust and oppressive. Soaring inflation threw the German economy into chaos. The *mark*, valued at four to one *dollar* in 1921, dropped to seventy five in the summer of 1921. While in 1922 it took four hundred *marks* to buy a *dollar*, in 1923 it took 18,000, in July 1,60,000, in August 1,000,000 and the figure raced to billions and trillions.

In 1920, the Rightists' bid for a *coup* (the **Kapp Putsch**) was foiled by the front of resistance raised by Socialists and trade unions. In 1922, France occupied the Ruhr Valley in an attempt to enforce the honouring of reparation commitments.

However, things began to improve for the Republic in 1924, in which year France withdrew from Ruhr, and Dawes Plan proposed economic freedom and a foreign loan of 800 million gold *marks* to Germany. The Locarno Pact of 1925 eased the tension between Germany and France. Between 1924 and 1928, it was a coalition of Centrists, Democrats, Socialists and the People's Party that ran the republic.

The Nationalist Party, supported by the Prussian aristocrats (Junkers) attempted a second *coup* at Munich (known as the **Beer Hall Putsch**) in which General Ludendorff and Adolf Hitler played a part. In 1925, after the death of President Ebert, the Nationalists successfully fielded Hindenburg for the Presidentship; but Hindenburg, despite his leanings towards empire, aristocracy and army, stood true to his oath in upholding the republic, and was reelected in 1932, as Republican candidate against the Communist contender, Thamlan, and National Socialists' nominee, Hitler.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Why was the 1919 constitution of Germany known as the Weimer Constitution?

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2. Mention the main cause for the failure of the social Democrats.

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20.4 FAILURE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS - CAUSES

The Democrats of the Weimar Republic fell into disfavour due to certain developments for which they were not to be blamed. The Versailles Treaty, harsh to the German sentiment, placed full responsibility for the war on Germany, and imposed indemnities. The Weimar Republic had to accept them, and when it did, the Germans became embittered. The payment of reparation worked much hardship on Germany, and the economic situation - now in inflation, now in depression-worsened it all for the Democrats. It appeared as though they were responsible for these historic ironies and economic aberrations.

20.5 ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 1929

The economic crisis of 1929 was a world-wide phenomenon; but, having an unstable economic system and saddled with reparations and reconstruction tasks, Germany suffered most. After 1924, American loans were the principal source of recovery to Germany, and when the Wall Street Stock market fell, it had a crumbling effect on Germany.

For the import of industrial raw material and food stocks, Germany had been raising money through industrial exports. As the internal trade slumped now, her export trade was badly hit. As a consequence the German factories came to a state of standstill, and millions of people lost employment. In July, 1931, National bank collapsed, thus forcing the closure of all the banks. The number of registered unemployed rose to six millions.

20.6 HINDENBURG AND CHANCELLOR BRUNING

In this situation, Herman Mueller, the Social Democratic Chancellor, resigned. President Hindenburg then appointed Heinrich Brüning of the Catholic Centre Party as Chancellor. Brüning was a man of honest and unselfish nature. When he failed to secure the consent of the Parliament to the measures proposed by him, he asked for a Presidential decree-in-emergency, approving the financial bill. The Parliament wanted the decree to be repealed. A clash ensued between the Chancellor and Reichstag. To solve this problem, Brüning requested the President to dissolve the Parliament, and order fresh elections. This crisis-ridden situation was the golden hour Hitler had been awaiting.

20.7 ADOLF HITLER (1889-1945)

20.7.1 Career - Rise

Adolf Hitler was born in the year 1889 at Braunau am Inn, a town on the Austro-German frontier. As a child, Hitler attended the Benedictine monastery at Lambach, sang in the choir, and aspired to take holy orders one day. Later, he attended a High School at Linz, and was just average in studies. He thought of the pursuing the career of an artist, and tried twice, in vain, to secure admission into the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. For a few years, he did a few odd jobs. It was in these years that he picked up the traits of anti-Semitism and Pan-Germanism. It was also here that he was convinced of the efficacy of mass movement, propaganda and the value of the exertion of spiritual and physical terror on the masses. These ideas were to be the nucleus around which he would build up his political organization and strategy. In the year 1914, he got enlisted in the army. He was wounded twice in the war; was awardee Iron Cross Second Class, and as Corporal was decorated with Iron Cross First Class. When the armistice was signed by the Social Democrats of the Weimar Republic, Hitler, like the millions of Germans, thought that Germany was 'stabbed in the back' by the Socialists. It was at this point of time that Hitler decided to join politics.

In 1919, Hitler was sent by the army's political department as an observer to the meeting of the German Workers' Party. Later, he was admitted as a member into the Party, and soon he became its chief. As a key member of the Party, Hitler announced to a big gathering a programme of twenty five points. Creation of a greater Germany, anti-Semitism, abolition of incomes unearned by work, nationalization of trusts, were the more important of them, while other points included the abrogation of the Versailles and St. Germain treaties. In 1920, the Workers' Party was organized as National Socialist German Workers' Party. A red flag was prepared with a white disc inset, with a black Swastika. In Hitler's idea, the red colour showed up the Social idea of the movement, the white the nationalist idea, and the Swastika represented the might of the Aryan. The Party was strengthened by the association of some prominent men like Hess, Goering and Rosenberg.

In 1923, Hitler and his associates raised an unsuccessful *coup* (known as the Beer Hall Putsch), as result of which, he was imprisoned. He wrote an autobiographical account, 'Mein Kampf' (My Struggle), while in prison. With the failure of the *coup* and arrest of the leaders, the Nazi Party suffered a brief eclipse. Another opportunity came their way in 1929, the dark period of Depression.

Different cross sections of the people supported Hitler - the lower middle class, the wealthy merchants and even the aristocrats. From the year 1928, Nazi Party steadily grew in number and strength.

20.7.2 Hitler Captures Power

During 1932-33, there was political uncertainty in German-Bruning, Von Papen and Schleicher becoming Chancellors in succession. In this situation, the German President Hidenburg acceded to the suggestion of the Conservative Nationalists by appointing Hitler as Chancellor.

However, Hitler had no lasting love for the Nationalist, whom he considered only as partners of convenience. Within a short time, he terrorized his political opponents by using the Nazi storm troops and the police. In the elections held in March, 1933, the Nazis won a majority of seats, but they polled less than 44% of the total vote. Together, the Nazis and the Nationalist won 340 seats in the Reichstag; but, that did not come up to 2/3 majority, needed by Hitler to drive home his ambition.

Hitler's idea was to make the Reichstag pass an 'Enabling Act' by which Hitler would be invested with overriding legislative powers for a period of four years; but, the passage of this Act required the consent of two thirds of the House.

The passage of the Enabling Act was a high drama directed by the Nazis. The opening of the Reichstag was arranged at the Garrison Church, Potsdam, associated with many glorious memories of Prussian Imperialism. The date of the convention was 21 st March, the annual day of the opening of the Reichstag of the second Reich in 1871. To add to all this, were the publicity stunts deftly managed by Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda. Quite a few members were detained, the absence of some was secured, and then, the menacing presence of the brown-shirted storm troops in the aisles did the rest. The Act' was passed by a vote of 441 as against 84 dissenting votes.

20.7.3 Dictatorship of Hitler

Thus, set out the Chancellor Hitler on the path of unrestrained dictatorship. On 7th April, Nazi Governors were appointed to all the states with powers even to dissolve diets, appoint or dismiss state officials. The federal powers of the states began to vanish. This was consummated when, by the Law for the Reconstruction of the Reich, the Reich abrogated to itself all the powers of the states, which were henceforth to be mere administrative divisions of the Third Reich. The non-Nazi political parties either dissolved themselves or were suppressed, the National Socialist German Workers's Party being by law, declared to be the only political party in Germany.

The trade unions were the next target of Hitler. The government declared the 1st May as a national holiday, and celebrated it in a grand manner. 'Honor, Work and respect the Worker' was the proclaimed slogan; but, on 2nd May, offices of the trade unions were captured as were their funds and leaders. Strikes were banned.

For a time, the Nazi storm troopers played havoc with public life, creating a lot of tension. When Hitler foresaw the danger involved in the continuance of the storm troopers, he wanted them to be kept in cold store. But Roehm, the chief of the storm troopers and a few others, had plans to defy Hitler. Promptly, Hitler with Party guards, and Georing with his Police, killed about 150 storm troop leaders. The chief of the storm troopers Roehm, General Schleicher,

Gen. Von Bredow and strasser were among those killed in that 'bloody summer week end' of June 30th. Men, who opposed Hitler, and who knew much, had to die for what they did, or know. Storm troopers a para-military body, which helped Hitler up the ladder of leadership, was disbanded.

20.7.4 Hitler as Fuehrer

President Hindenburg died on 2nd August, 1934, and after his death, the office of President was done away with. Hitler became the head of the state and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, to be known as Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor. Notable among those who helped Hitler were, Oskar Von Hindenburg, son of the late President Hindenburg, and Von papen.

20.7.5 Pan-Germanism and Anti-Semitism

Two main traits of Hitler's character were pan-Germanism and anti-Semitism. While both of them were among the principles of pan-German Nationalist Party, to which Hitler had earlier professed allegiance, his anti-semitism was well pronounced even in his school days. In Vienna, he fed his anti-Semitism from anti-Jewish literature he read. In his formed opinion, every kind of vice such as prostitution and slave trade, had at the root, the involvement of the Jews. Thus, his revulsion towards the Jews got deepened. Jews were weeded out of public life in all walks. Storm troops and Party guards and men grabbed whatever possessions of the Jews they could lay their hands on. Many Jews were picked and made to do menial work. Wealthy Jews sold off their firms, mills and other business concerns to the Nazis, and purchased their way out of Germany, and the emigration agency set up to permit the Jews to leave the country, became an agency for extermination of the Jews. They were not spared even in fine arts. Plays by Jewish play-wrights and directors, and the music of Mendelssohn and Paul Hindemith were banned. In the later part of the Third Reich, countless Jews were massacred in cold blood.

20.7.6 Relations with the Church

The Nazi government arrived at a concordat with the Vatican, and allowed freedom to Catholics in matters of the Church and religion. Barely within a few months, a sterilization law, offensive to the Catholic Church, was passed. A closed follower of Hitler, Ludwig Mueller founded 'The German Christians Faith Movement', which supported the Nazi theories of race. Opposed to it was the 'Confessional Church' led by Niemoeller, who vehemently opposed the Nazi theories. Those of the German Christians, who did not subscribe to either of them, favoured Hitler's intervention in Church affairs. Taking advantage of this situation, Hitler got his follower Mueller elected Reich Bishop, with intention of realizing his ideal of 'one people, one Reich, one faith'. He wanted the Church to owe allegiance and segregate the anti-Semitism and racialism of the Nazis, hundreds of Pastors were arrested, and deported to concentration camps. By 1938, the Nazis, through methods of terror achieved the submission of the Protestant clergymen, who then took oath of allegiance to the Fuehrer.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What was Hitler's policy towards trade-Unions?

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2. What were the two fundamental principles on which Hitler's policies were based?

20.8 LET US SUM UP

1. After world war I in many European countries like Germany, Italy, Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, dictatorship arose
2. Germany became a republic in 1918 and the weimar constitution was later drafted. The constitution provided for a national legislature known as the Reichstag.
3. The failure of the social Democrats, paved the way for the rise of Hitler.
4. Hitler captured power through unscrupulous methods and finally in 1934 became the C-In-C and head of the state known as Furehrer.
5. Pan-Germanism and anti-semitism were the fundamental principles on which Hitler's policies were based.

20.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
 1. Because it was framed at weimar.
 2. The feeling among the people that the social Democrats were responsible for all the ills of post-war Germany was the main cause for the failure of the social Democrats.
- II.
 1. Hitler was opposed to trade unions. He banned strikes and suppressed the trade Union movement.
 2. Pan-Germanism and anti-semitism.

20.10 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. Examine the functioning of democracies in Central and Eastern Europe after World War I.
 2. Give an account of the Weimar Republic.
 3. Sketch the career and rise of Adolf Hitler.
 4. What are the main aspects of Nazi ideology?
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
 1. What are the salient features of the Weimar Republic?
 2. How did Hitler capture power?
 3. Examine the ways and methods by which Hitler assumed dictatorial powers.
 4. Explain the concepts of Pan-Germanism and anti-Semitism.

20.11 GLOSSARY

Aisles	:	Church Divisions
Anti-Semitism	:	Hostility towards the Jews
Deutsches	:	Units of the Federal Republic
Fuehrer	:	Title assumed by Hitler as head of the German State which means <i>leader</i>
Putsch	:	<i>Coup</i> or rebellion.

20.12 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Grant & Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*
2. Hazen, C.D. : *Modern Europe up to 1945*
3. Hayes, C.J.H. : *Contemporary Europe since 1870*
4. James Joll : *Europe since 1870 - An International History*
5. John and Gwenneth stakes : *Europe and the Modern world 1870-1983*
6. Lipson, E. : *Europe between the two world wars*
7. Snellagrose, L.E. : *The Modern World since 1870*
8. Thompson, David : *Europe since Napoleon*

- M. NARASIMHA RAO

UNIT-21 : RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY-BENITO MUSSOLINI

Contents

- 21.0 Objectives
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- 21.2 Disillusion and Disaffection in Italy
- 21.3 Economic Difficulties
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- 21.5 Benite Mussolini (1883-1945) - career and rise
- 21.6 Fascists capture power
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- 21.8 Control over constitutional machinery and party
- 21.9 Fascist Ideology
- 21.10 Corporative state
- 21.11 Concordat with the pope
- 21.12 Imperialism
- 21.13 Let us sum up
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- 21.16 Books for further reading

21.0 OBJECTIVES

After a study of this unit you should be able to

1. Analyse the circumstances which paved the way for the growth of Fascism in Italy
2. Give an account of the career and achievements of Mussolini
3. Explain the fundamentals of fascist ideology

21.1 INTRODUCTION

The story of the emergence of fascism in Italy under the leadership of Benite Mussolini, after world war I is a fascinating and instructive study. This story of the rise of Fascism in Italy is described in this unit. The career of Mussolini the architect of Fasism and his policies and achievements are also explained in this unit.

21.2 DISILLUSION AND DISSATISFACTION OF ITALY

At the time of the outbreak of the First World War, Italy was bound with Austria and Germany in Triple Alliance, but when the war ensued, Italy remained neutral on the excuse of the War not being defensive in nature. In 1915, Italy entered into a secret treaty with the Allies at London. By the treaty, the Allies promised Italy not only financial aid to enable it to participate in the War, but also a substantial share in the post-War spoils. The Allies consented to give Italy, after the successful conclusion of War, Trentino and Southern Tyrol, Istria and the city of Trieste and a few Dalmatian islands in the Adriatic Sea. In the event of partition of Turkey, Italy was to get Adalia in Asia Minor. Her entry into the War might not have been as

much to the advantage of the Allies as they expected; but her losses in men and money were staggering about seven lakhs armed men and twelve million dollars of money. After all these trials and tribulations of War were borne by her, Italy was ill-requitted. The Treaty of Versailles was thoroughly disappointing to her. Her northern territory was extended from Trentino to the Brenner Pass; but on the Adriatic front, her gains were minimal. She got Lagosta islands and only the coastal town of Zara in the Dalmatian regions. Farther down, the port of Valone in Albania was not put in her control as she has expected. The much coveted Fiume was lost to her. The promises of the London Treaty were not kept. Naturally, Italy felt dissatisfied and disappointed. For all her efforts, Italy still remained a "prisoner of the Mediterranean."

21.3 ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

The post-War situation in Italy was equally dismal. Soaring inflation and unemployment, aggravated by the presence of disbanded army men, slump in her international trade, scarcity of essential goods and industrial unrest, afflicted Italy. Following a poor harvest, food had to be rationed. Short supply of labour hampered her industries and also farming. In the year 1917, Turin witnessed strikes. There was a continued clash between the farm labourers and landlords. Remittances by the immigrant Italians in America, Britain and France were closed by the anti-immigration laws passed by those countries. Earlier, each year about five lakh Italians had migrated to the Americas. Thus, with the removal of a safety valve, Italy had to look elsewhere to accommodate her surplus population.

21.4 POLITICAL INSTABILITY

The post-War political scenario was equally depressing. The liberal government was perched on a tiny majority, while the number of Social Democrats and Catholic Population Party men swelled. The government was under constant pressure. The rightist elements blamed the government for its failure to secure territorial extension promised by the Allies. The Leftists were under the influence of the Bolsheviks, and indulged in organized violence and strikes. Owners were eased out of their factories. Government could not function effectively. In a short period of three years, a succession of six governments was witnessed.

After 1920, it became evident that Italy as a state could be saved only by a strong man. Political instability in the country was also resulting in lawlessness and economic chaos. It was in this situation that Benito Mussolini appeared on the scene, fired the imagination of the people with his demogogy and captured power.

21.5 BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883-1945) - CAREER AND RISE

Mussolini was born in 1883 at Forli, in a blacksmith family. In his youth, he was an ardent socialist, and edited its paper 'Avente'; but when, at the outbreak of war with Russia, the German Socialists voted the military account, he realized the primacy of patriotism. Soon, he left the Socialist Party, upheld the declaration of War, and joined the Italian army. He got wounded in the War, and back home, he took up the publication of another daily 'Il Popolo d'Italia'. After the War, he entered into the vortex of Italian politics and formed a political party, which he called the Fascist Party. Initially, the party had a slender strength of 150 old soldiers. The party derived its name from the word 'Fascio' (club). The historical emblem of the magistracy—that of the Roman rods-carried by the victors before the magistrate, was chosen as the party symbol. The Fascist Party emphasized strict discipline and patriotism. Soon, the number of Fascist followers increased. They wore black shirts, adopted the old Roman salute, and harassed their political opponents.

Mussolini was a gifted orator, and his speeches cast a spell on the people. He promised them everything - efficient government, revival of Italian economy, restoration of order, and eradication of corruption.

Fascist Party gained many adherents among the unemployed youth, ex-soldiers, landlords and even capitalists, who were drawn in by the Party's anti-communism. With astonishing rapidity, the Fascists grew in number. By 1921, there were about half a million of them. As their number increased, clashes between them and the Socialists became more frequent.

21.6 FASCISTS CAPTURE POWER

In 1923, the Italian Leftists attempted to bring about a revolution. They dispossessed the owners from the factories, occupied them, and organized proletarian Soviets. They also forcibly occupied the landlords farms. The government of Giolitti failed to act effectively. The parliament was dissolved in April 1921, and fresh elections were held. In the elections, the liberals again gained numerical majority, but they had no unity. Once again, a weak coalition was in power. IN 1922, there was a general strike in Italy, and during this strike, the Fascists gained control of Milan, Genoa and Leghorn. They drove out the Socialists from the town hall of Milan, and thus secured the sympathy of the industrialists and landlords. In October 1922, Mussolini threatened to march on Rome if he was not entrusted with the government. About thirty thousand blackshirted Fascists filed into Rome, and took charge of the strategic areas. Mussolini had, at this time, the backing of most of the bureaucrats, besides that of the aristocrats and industrialists. He assured the king of his loyalty to him and reverence to the Church. On 30th October, the king, Victor Emmanuel II acceded to Mussolini's demand, by appointing him the new premier. The predominantly non-Fascist Chamber of Deputies gave him dictatorial powers for one year.

Once in power, Fascists did everything to entrench themselves. The Chamber of Deputies was overruled, and with the reduction of franchise in 1928, it became a shadow of its former self. It survived until 1938, merely in name. In order that public sentiment might not be outraged, Mussolini allowed the nominal supremacy of the king to continue.

21.7 FASCIST TERROR

Important positions in the government were filled with Fascists. Propaganda was geared up to bolster the popularity of the Fascist Party. Opposing political parties were suppressed. Dissenters were subjected to crude treatments, such as administering castor oil. Some were deported to the inhospitable Lipari islands. When in 1924, the Socialist Deputy, Matteotti brought out a book, entitled 'The Fascists Exposed', he was murdered. With the murder of Matteotti, the last embers of liberalism were extinguished.

21.8 CONTROL OVER CONSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY AND PARTY

By various parliamentary enactments, non-Fascist political parties were banned, strict censorship was imposed, and any trace of sedition was disposed off expeditiously. After a fourth attempt on his life, Mussolini got the 'anti-national' parties - Socialists, Communists and Republicans dissolved, and forbade the secret organisations. As premier and head of the Fascist Party (Duce) he concentrated all the powers in his hands. From 1928 onwards, the Chamber of Deputies lost all its power, and became a mere vestigial organ. Elections were limited to the choice of one candidate from a given group of Fascists. Alongwith the 'show' of parliament, the affectation of constitutional monarchy was kept on; but, behind the show and affectation, it was the Fascist Party that ran the government. Organized at the local and provincial levels on the same lines as the Russian Communist Party, the Fascist organisational structure tapered into a grand council, which was presided over by the leader, Mussolini, who wielded unlimited power over all the branches of the government and over the para-military troops of the Party.

21.9 FASCIST IDEOLOGY

Historian H.A.L. Fischer has summarily described the Fascist Party as being Catholic, national, anti-feminist, authoritarian and opposed to liberalism. Mussolini himself states that the Fascist Party was a non-party organization formed by him to save Italy from the anti-progressive moderates and leftist extremists. The material and spiritual upliftment of the Italians was the sole consideration of the Fascists.

Fascist Party wanted the individual to be subordinated to the state, which as the sole repository of power. There was no issue, nor any power, outside or counter to the state. Like Nazism and Communism, Fascism also stood for totalitarian organization. Another aspect of Fascism was its opposition to the system of democracy. The Fascists felt that democracy had been the bane of Italy. National interests were best served when the state was ruled by a few competent men.

Fascism was also bitterly anti-Socialistic, but conversely, its opposition to unbridled capitalism is also quite as much bitter. While individual rights to property were respected, entire foreign trade was reserved for the state. By regulations, trade unions were brought under state control. Wages were fixed by the state. Strikes and lockouts were banned.

Like the Nazis, Fascists were also anti-pacifists. Mussolini glorified war as a natural activity of human pursuit, and praised the virtues of war. Related to this love of war was the Italian imperialism.

21.10 CORPORATIVE STATE

Fascists claim to have implanted in Italy, a new species of a state called 'Corporative State', in place of the old liberal state. Mussolini was proud of this invention of his, which, he thought, was an alternative to communism and capitalism. As told above, strikes and lockouts were forbidden, and thirteen National Confederations were formed. Out of these six were for the unions of the employers, and six were for the unions of the employees, while one was for the professional men, the rights of workers were defined by a Labour Charter, and only Fascist Labour Unions made to be recognized by the employers. The party promised the employers that there would be no strikes, and that all issues would be settled through negotiations and arbitration.

The government did not interfere in private industry except supervising it; but when necessity arose, it had a right to intervene. Banks and other financial institutions lent credit to the needy industry, while the unviable ones were liquidated. Special labour courts were established to arbitrate over issues arising between the employer's and employees syndicates. There was a National Council of Corporations. A Council of 22 Corporations regulated and supervised the individual branches of production. Mussolini presided over the entire system. He envisioned the replacement of parliament by the National Council.

Mussolini introduced measures like fertilizer production, soil reclamation, and agricultural banking to make Italy self-sufficient in food grains. Hydroelectric projects were set up. In the field of shipbuilding and automobile industry, Italy made rapid progress. Education was brought under strict state vigilance. Youth of 18-33 age group were given compulsory Military training.

21.11 CONCORDAT WITH THE POPE

Since 1870-71, the year which had seen the completion of unification of Italy, the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state of Italy had been strained. The loss of Papal territories and the erosion of the temporal power of the Pope, were not quite palatable

to the Church. Since 1870, successive Popes had been regarding themselves as captives in the Vatican. Though not primarily interested in effecting a rapprochement with the Church, Mussolini negotiated a settlement with the Pope Pius IX in 1929, in order to soften feelings of the Italian Catholics. By this treaty, known as Lateran Treaty (1929), the government recognized the Vatican as sovereignly independent. The Papacy in turn, recognized the Vatican as sovereignly independent. The Papacy in turn, recognized the state of Italy. By another accord, known as Concordat, the relations between the Church and the state were regulated.

21.12 IMPERIALISM

Mussolini shook Italy from the slumber of fatigue and stupor of disappointment by his aggressive policy. His write-up of action for Italy was underscored by militarism and imperialism. The nation was still under the spell of disappointment at the denial of coveted territories. Her designs of expansion into the Adriatic had been thwarted by the selfish attitude of the Allies. She was further embittered for having had to recognise the new Adriatic state, Albania. Similarly in North Africa, Italy had hoped to acquire the German colonies; but Britain, France and Belgium shared the same among themselves. She wanted to undo these injustices done to her by embarking on a course of aggrandizement, particularly in North Africa and Eastern Europe. There was an air of desperation in the moves of Mussolini, since by the time Italy's hunt for colonies began, European countries had nearly exhausted the scope for colonization.

For economic considerations such as procurement of raw material, Italy had to be on the lookout for colonies. With the anti-immigration policies of America and France, other venues were required to absorb the spill over of Italian populace. Mussolini declared that the Italians were hungering for land. Another constituent of Italy's international policy was, playing one nation against another-France against England, England against France.

Mussolini also argued that Italy had a responsibility for the civilization of the barbarian countries of Africa and Asia.

Above all, Mussolini was fired by the ambition of making Italy a front-ranking nation of Europe.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Mention the important principles of Fascism

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2. What were the chief aims of Mussolini's foreign policy?

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21.13 LET US SUM UP

1. Economic difficulties, political instability and the disillusionment and disappointment caused by world war I led to the growth of Fascism in Italy.
2. In 1922 Mussolini became the Prime Minister of Italy, by adopting a combination of parliamentary, violent and pressure tactics methods.
3. a) subordination of the individual to the state b) authoritarianism, c) opposition to communism and capitalism, d) support to staunch nationalism, e) anti-feminism are some of the principles of Fascism.
4. Mussolini created what is known as the 'Corporative state' in the place of the liberal state.
5. By a concordant with the pope in 1929, Mussolini regulated the relations between the state and the church.
6. Mussolini followed an aggressive foreign policy with the intention of making Italy a first rate power in Europe.

21.14 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. There was political and economic disillusionment and dissatisfaction in Italy after the war. Though a victor in the war, Italy gained nothing from the war. The economic pressures like soaring prices, and unemployment and political instability paved the way for the growth of Fascism.
 2. Monarchy was not abolished in Italy by Mussolini to respect the popular sentiment in favour of monarchy.
- II 1. a) subordination of the individual to the
b) opposition to communism
c) support to nationalism
d) support for totalitarian Government
2. a) to make Italy a first rate power in Europe
b) securing colonies for Italy in Asia and Africa.

21.15 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. What were the psychological, economical and political difficulties faced by Italy after the World War?
 2. Sketch the career and rise of Mussolini to power in Italy.
 3. Examine the salient features of Fascist ideology and how was 'Corporative State' projected as an alternative to Communism and Capitalism?
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
 1. How did Mussolini gain control over the constitutional machinery and Fascist Party?
 2. Sketch the career and rise of Mussolini to power in Italy.
 3. Examine the salient features of Fascist ideology and how was 'Corporative State' projected as an alternative to Communism and Capitalism?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. How did Mussolini gain control over the constitutional machinery and Fascist Party?
2. Write about the significance of the Concordat with the Pope.
3. What were the considerations that prompted Mussolini to embark upon a policy of imperialism?

21.16 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Grant & Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*
2. Hazen C.D. : *Modern Europe up to 1945*
3. Hayes. C.J.H. : *Contemporary Europe since 1870*
4. James Joll, : *Europe since 1870 - An International History*
5. John and Gwenneth stakes : *Europe and the modern world 1870-1983*
6. Lipson, E : *Europe between the two world wars*
7. Snellgrose. L.E. : *The modern world since 1870*
8. Thompson. David : *Europe since Napoleon*

— M. NARASIMHA RAO

UNIT-22 : EVENTS LEADING TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ITS RESULTS

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22.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to

1. Explain the circumstances leading to world war II
2. Describe the character and different stages of the war
3. Explain the provisions of the peace treaties concluded after the war and
4. Analyse the results of the war.

22.1 INTRODUCTION

With in twenty years of the conclusion of the first world war, the second world war started, involving directly or indirectly almost all the countries in the world. The second world war caused incalculable loss of life and property in the world. In this unit the causes for the second world war, its character and cause and its consequences are explained.

22.2 CAUSES

22.2.1 Failure of the democracies

In the preceding lesson, it has been that democracy as a system failed to take firm roots in Germany and Italy. In a way, this failure was a factor that conduced to the outbreak of the Second World War. The Weimar Republic in Germany was a short-lived affair, and was followed by a totalitarian dictatorship of Hitler. The aggressive policy of Hitler was faced with militarism, imperialism and ethno centricism, which ran counter to the interests of France, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

In Italy also, after an initial flourish, democracy collapsed, yielding the place to totalitarian dictatorship, similar to that in Germany in many ways. The dictator Mussolini was to launch his nation on a course of imperial aggrandizement. The policies of Italy were inimical to France, Yugoslavia and Greece.

This failure of democracy as a system, in Germany and Italy, was not due to its inadequacy or any inherent defect. The Allies, who at the time of formulating the terms and conditions of the Versailles Settlement were more bent upon sharing the spoils, failed to take into account the sentiments of the vanquished Germany as well as their own ally. This offended the sentiments of the Germans and Italians, and the same were subsequently aroused by the Fuhrer, Hitler and the Duce Mussolini.

22.2.2 Failure of the League

The League of Nations, formed in fulfilment of one of the 14 Principles of Woodrow Wilson, proved itself unequal to the task. The Fourteenth Principle called for the formation of an international organization to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of small and big nations of the world. This object was totally unfulfilled. The League failed to protect territorial integrity of China when Japan occupied Manchuria (1931). Similarly, when Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1934, League's sanctions and strictures were opposed and defeated by England, France and America. Again, during the Civil War in Spain (1936-39), the League remained a helpless spectator when France, assisted by Italy and Germany, was pulling down the democratic government. The League remained the same passive onlooker at the time of Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland, which precipitated the Second World War. Similarly, the League also failed to achieve the object of disarmament.

22.2.3 Inflaming of nationalism by Fascists and Nazis

Benito Mussolini, the Fascist dictator of Italy cleverly exploited the national resentment at the Versailles treaty. He inspired the Italians with the promises of reviving the glories of the Roman Empire. By his carefully planned upkeep of the historical national monuments, and constant propaganda, he sustained the tempo of zealous nationalism. Adolf Hitler played the same role in Germany. By a well-orchestrated propaganda, he infused among the Germans ethno-centric rationalism, pan-Germanism, imperialism and anti-Semitism. By circulating stories of atrocities on German minorities in Poland and Czechoslovakia, he inflamed intense nationalism.

22.2.4 Occupation of Manchuria by Japan

When in 1880 members of a Japanese delegation studied the various European constitutions, they packed up, as if by some divine plan, the German Constitution as being the most suitable to be implanted in Japan. Ever since, Japan's history has followed a course somewhat similar to that of Germany's and later on embarked on a course of imperialism. The strength of her army and navy increased, and with that strength, she set out to annex Manchuria. Tanaka, the Japanese Premier, declared in 1929 that Japan had special interests to protect in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia. In 1929 Tanaka's government resigned; but, the policy spelled by him was pursued by the Japanese militarists in an aggressive way. In 1931, Japan sent her troops into Manchuria on the excuse of protecting her railways, and created there a satellite state of Manchu Kuon 1932 under a puppet regime. When the League charged Japan with aggression, on the basis of Lytton Commission's Report, Japan withdrew from the League in 1933. She then proceeded to occupy many parts of China proper. In 1936, she joined hands with Germany in an Anti-Cominterns Pact, which Italy joined 1937, thus forming Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

22.2.5 Occupation of Ethiopia by Italy

Another event that hastened the War the occupation of Ethiopia by Italy. Italy's raw material requirements, need for colonies to absorb her surplus population, and her self-imposed missions promoted her to build up an empire bordering the Mediterranean. Her attack on Ethiopia (Abyssinia) was in fulfillment of the same scheme. Earlier in 1928, Italy and Ethiopia had entered into a pact of friendship; but, in 1934 a dispute arose as to the right of ownership on the basis of Walwal. League's suggestion to settle the issue under the pact of 1928 about the movement of Italian troops. On 3rd October 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia. On 7th October, the League declared Italy as aggressor, and imposed sanctions. Economic and military sanctions, resolved upon by the League, did not deter Italy, and by May 1936, Ethiopia was annexed to Italy. In 1939, she also annexed Albania.

22.2.6 Formation of Axis

Halfway through the Ethiopia adventure, Italy realized that her interests were more securely linked up with Germany (who had by now begun remilitarising the Rhineland) than with Britain and France. Germany also recognised Italy's interests in, and annexation of, Ethiopia. Japan, who withdrew from the League in 1933 following her Manchurian adventure joined Germany in an Anti-Comintern Pact, aimed at resisting Communism. Thus, Italy and Germany, who shared an intense dislike for the League and Communism, and also opposition to France and Britain, joined in October 1936, Japan joined by concluding an Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany. Thus, the Rome-Tokyo Axis was formed.

22.2.7 Intervention in the Spanish Civil War

In Spain, one of the few countries which had not participated in the First World War, trouble flared up in 1936. In 1931 a revolution took place, in which King Alfonso was dethroned, and Spain was declared a republic. Though the republic continued upto 1936, Spain was plagued with a civil strife between the Leftists and the Rightists. In 1934, the Leftists organized an unsuccessful revolt. In the elections held in 1936, a Leftists coalition of Socialists, Syndicalists, Radical Republicans and Communists gained power. Their programme was one of pacifism, socialism and state control over the Church. A group of army officers, whose chief was General Francisco Franco, made a bid to capture power. They failed, but a bloody Civil War ensued between the popular Left-front government on one side, and the Rightists comprising of Monarchists, Conservatives and Fascists on the other side. This Civil War had international significance. Very soon, Germany and Italy were actively aiding the forces of General Franco, while Russia

helped the popular front government. Britain and the United States appealed to the European states to desist from intervening in the Spanish Civil War; but this appeal had little effect on the Fascist powers, who continued to aid General Franco, who finally captured power in March 1939. The successful setting-up of military dictatorship by Franco was an ominous sign for the liberal democratic nations, while it was a morale-booster for Italy and Germany.

22.2.8 German aggression

Since his coming to power, Hitler began to act to a set plan in order to realise his goal of annexing to Germany, all the German populated territories such as, Austria, Danzig, Memel and Sudetanland. His first effort to annex Austria failed, as the *coup d'etat* misfired. Italy, France and Czechoslovakia took a serious view of this development, and declared to go to war if Germany tried to annex Austria. For once, Hitler had to retrace his steps.

In the year 1935, as per the terms of the Versailles treaty, plebiscite was conducted in the Saar Valley. The people there opted for union with Germany, by an overwhelming majority. After this event, the Nazis began to propagate their ideal of pan-Germanism with redoubled vigour.

In March 1935, Hitler announced that Germany was repudiating all the checks and curbs put on her armament by the Versailles treaty. Alarmed at this, Britain and France, with Italy joining them, declared in a conference at Stresa, in April 1935, that they would do their best to uphold the Versailles treaty and the League. France, Russia and Czechoslovakia came together in a defensive military alliance.

At this juncture, Italy set out on its Ethiopian adventure. This act of Italy was denounced so much by the public in Britain and France, that both the countries had to vote for sanctions against Italy. This led to the estrangement of Italy from Britain and France. Precisely at this point, Hitler came out with open sympathy for Italy, and even offer of military help. This was the starting point of endearment between Germany and Italy, which culminated in the Axis formation.

In 1936, Germany proceeded to remilitarize the Rhineland, which act was in violation of the Locarno Pact to which Weimar Republic had been a signatory. Pacifist trend at home and indifference of European nations rendered France helpless against the remilitarization. League's condemning resolutions were a cry in the wilderness. The year 1936 saw the formation of Axis.

22.2.9 Anschluss

Germany drew Austria in 1938 into an agreement, whereby Austria consented to German hegemony. In disregard of treaty provisions, Germany began to intervene in Austrian affairs through the Austrian Nazis. When the Austria government tried to suppress the Nazi movement, Germany tightened its hold further by compelling Austria to accept Seyss-Inquart as the Chancellor, and revoke the anti-Nazi measures. Once this was done in 1938, the German army marched into Vienna, and Austrian Parliament was dissolved. This Union of Austria with Germany, known as *Anschluss*, caused a flutter in the Fascist camp in Italy, as also in Russia and Poland. England for her part, took it as a vindication of the principle of self-determination. Italy had, by now, become a German ally.

22.2.10 Munich Pact-Appeasement Policy

Next, Hitler turned his attention towards Czechoslovakia where there were about four million racial German's known as Sudetants. Hitler raised the bogey of ill-treatment of those Germans by the Czech government. The Students were instigated by the Nazis to demand outright annexation of Sudetanland to Germany. Hitler threatened to go to war with Czechoslovakia if

Sudetanland was not ceded to Germany. Czechoslovakia sought help from France, Russia and the Little Entente, who were hesitant to act against Germany for fear of inviting war. The tension was defused only when France, Britain and Italy assembled and met Hitler also grabbed parts of a helpless Czechoslovakia. This act of Britain and France, known as Munich Pact, was the height of appeasement. In the next ten months, Bohemia and Moravia were made dependencies of Germany. Lithuania was forced to cede Memel.

Later, Hitler charged Poland with mal-treatment of German minority, and demanded Danzing and rectification of the Polish Corridor.

By now, Britain and France realized the futility of attempts to appease Germany. They were, now with their back to the wall, and in a belated bid to check Germany, they announced that they would go to war, if necessary, to uphold the independence of Poland. This declaration did not have any chastening effect on Germany.

22.2.11 Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939

At this juncture, Britain and France tried to draw Russia into an alliance with them. However, Russia was sulking under the rough treatment meted out to her by Britain and France in their anti-Communist stance. At the same time, Russia received an offer from Hitler for a non-aggression pact. Russia accepted the offer, in order to avoid a confrontation with Germany. The Russia-German Non-Aggression pact (August 1939) is a pointer to the lack of foresight on the part of the Britain and France, and the quick sightness of Hitler. By the pact, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Bessarabia were recognised as the Russian sphere of influence, while Lithuania including Vilna was recognized as the German zone of influence. Set to last for a period of ten years, the terms of the Pact enjoined upon the signatories to remain neutral, when either of the countries was attacked by a third power. The signatories also bound themselves, by the pact, not to join any group of powers inimical to either of the countries.

In March 1939, after annexing Memel from Lithuania, Germany reiterated her demand that Poland should cede Danzing to Germany and allow Germany to build a railway and road across the Polish Corridor. Poland refusing the German demands, on 1st August, the German Storm troopers acting as Polishmen, attacked a German station on the boarder to give Germany an excuse to attack Poland. Next day, the German troops marched into Poland.

Britain and France demanded that Germany should withdraw from Poland forth with, and when Germany paid no heed, they declared war on Germany on 3rd September, 1939. The Second World War was right under way.

22.3 CHARACTER OF THE WAR

The Second World War differed in many respects from all previous wars. It was a "total war" in which all the resources of the states and the whole activity of the nations were mobilised for war purposes. The state took control of the activities of every sphere of life, and subordinated them to the exigencies of the war. In a sense, everybody was made to contribute to war efforts. Secondly, the scope of the War was World-wide and so was its strategy. Its battles were fought in all the quarters of the globe, in the ice lands of the Arctic region, in the deserts of North Africa, in the jungles of Burma and New Guinea, in the Atlantic Ocean and in the islands of the Pacific in the Far East.

Thirdly, this War differed from the First World War in both strategy and method. The First World War was static, its most important feature being trench warfare. The Second, on the other hand, was characterised by unexampled mobility. Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* or lightning war struck down six nations within 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 use of aeroplanes as a dominant weapon. Air power shattered old traditions of attack and defence and wiped away the distinction between combatants and non-combatants.

Lastly, it was a war of ideas as well as of nations. The Nazis were motivated by their philosophy of the "master race" and so looked upon themselves as men of superior type. Such men, they argued, must live on a very high level, and so must have inferior races to work for them. It is this philosophy which was at the root of their unscrupulous aggression on other states. Besides, Nazism and Fascism stood for a totalitarian state in which there was no room for individual freedom of any kind. Hence, these proved a challenge to the democratic ways of life prevalent in Western Europe for which the Allied Powers remained committed and also contrast to that of the Axis Powers. It became clear that more than just political liberty was at stake. It was civilisation as it has grown up in Europe that was threatened.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Mention the names of the three countries whose aggressions were responsible for the second world war.

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2. Mention three important features of world war II.

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22.4 STAGES OF THE WAR AND CHIEF EVENTS

The War began with the German's invasion of Poland in September, 1939. It was there that the new German Strategy of Blitzkrieg or lightning war was first demonstrated with the result that the Polish capital, Warsaw, fell in about a fortnight, and in six weeks all resistance collapsed. Russia also invaded Poland in accordance with her pact with Hitler, and the two aggressors partitioned Poland between themselves.

Hitler next attacked Norway in order to secure iron mines for his war production. Next followed in quick succession the subjugation of Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France. The German army entered France on June 5th, 1940 and in less than three weeks the French General, Marshall Petain, made an unconditional surrender. The World stood aghast at the success of Hitler's Blitzkrieg. Italy, under Mussolini, now joined the War on the side of Germany.

Had Hitler immediately invaded Britain, the outcome of the whole War might have been different. But, after knocking out France, he waited for two months in order to break down civilian morale in England by heavy aerial bombardment, and large-scale sinking of British ships. The industrial areas, the ports and London itself was heavily bombed, and numerous civilian lives were lost. But, the English fought on with grim determination and despite enormous losses,

the British morale remained unshaken, and Britain held on with admirable tenacity against the conqueror of Western Europe. The failure of the Germans to force Britain to surrender during 1940-41 (known as the Battle of Britain), was one of the major reasons for the ultimate German defeat.

Mussolini's object in entering the War after the fall of France was to take advantage of Britain's critical position and snatch away the British colonies in North Africa and especially, Egypt and the Suez Canal. The Italians had some initial success, but were soon turned back by General Wavell who took possession of most of the African colonies of Italy such as Eritrea, Abyssinia and Cyrenaica. The Italians surrendered in large numbers, and about 1,40,000 prisoners were captured. The German army under Rommel appeared in North Africa to come to the rescue of Italy, and he came within 80 miles of Alexandria and threatened the Suez Canal. But, the situation was saved by General Montgomery who defeated Rommel's army at Elalamein in October, 1942, and sent it back across the desert Westwards. This British victory is one of the turning points of the War. Mussolini's African gamble had failed, and the Allied victory in North Africa proved to be the prelude to his fall.

The year 1941 was a very critical for the Allies. Germany had conquered Greece despite British opposition and was then in a position to threaten the Middle East. Hitler next threw his grand army against Russia, and in the beginning obtained spectacular success. Japan had signed the Anti-Communist Pact with Germany and Italy in 1940, and thus the Berlin-Tokyo axis came into existence. She now provoked the United States into war by bombing the U.S.A fleet at Pearl Harbour. She started the world by a series of amazing successes. Thus, danger thickened round the Allies on all sides.

Hitler made elaborate preparations for the invasion of Russia. The German army advanced on a thousand-mile front. Three spectacular drives were made one towards Leningrad in the north, another towards Moscow in the middle, and the third towards Stalingrad in the South. The Germans advanced within the striking distance of Leningrad and Moscow, but were held up by the resistance of Russia. The Russians retreated before the advancing German army, taking care to destroy all bridges and factories, to tear up railways, and to damage the standing crops. The Russians made a desperate attempt at Stalingrad where an epic struggle was waged for about six months. In September, 1942, the Russians struck back. The German army, reduced to 12,000 from its original strength of 3,30,000 surrendered. This was the beginning of the end.

Meanwhile in the Pacific, the Allies had a succession of disasters. There days after the bombing of Pearl Harbour, the Japanese sank two British battleships, *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* in the Gulf of Siam. They captured in quick session Hongkong, Wake, Malaya, Singapore and Burma. The Dutch East Indies were overrun and the Phillipines surrendered after four months of stubborn fighting. By October, 1942, the Japanese were hammering at the Eastern gates of India and the Northern gates of Australia.

From the beginning of the year 1943, the prospects of the Allies had brightened up in the West. The two victories of Alamein and Stalingrad had foiled the gamble of Hitler. The success of the Allies was assured, but Hitler was a tough enemy, and it required two years of hard fighting before he was overcome.

While Montgomery's Eighth Army was pursuing Rommel, a large British and American force under the American General Eisenhower landed in Northwest Africa near Algiers. The two Allied armies after a good deal of fighting joined in Tunisia and compelled the whole enemy force to surrender (May, 1943). North Africa was thus cleared of the enemy. The Allies next invaded and took Sicily. From there, they crossed over to the mainland of Italy and began to march upon Rome. Mussolini fell from power, and Italy surrendered unconditionally. But, the German army in Italy offered a tough resistance, and held up the Allied army for five months. Rome was taken in June, 1944. Before this, Mussolini was shot dead by the anti-Fascists.

Meanwhile, the Allies were preparing for an invasion of Germany from the West. As a preliminary to that, they subjected Germany to constant and fiercer bombing. The Ruhr and other industrial centres, the railway and canal systems – all felt the destructive effects of heavy aerial bombardment. Thus, the stage was set for the final assault on Germany. On June 6, 1944, big Allied armies under Eisenhower landed in Normandy. The Germans were pushed back everywhere, though they put up a stiff resistance. In August, Paris was liberated. Soon after, the Germans were expelled from Belgium and Holland. At the end of 1944, the Allied troops were drawn up along most of the Western frontier of Germany. Next, they crossed into Germany, forced the Rhine and marched towards Berlin. Meanwhile, the Russians had opened their great offensive through Poland, and were fighting in Berlin. Hitler committed suicide, and on May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered unconditionally.

Although Germany and Italy had surrendered, the War was not yet over, Japan continued to fight. A British and Indian army fought Japan steadily in the jungles of Burma, while the Americans diverted their attacks upon Japanese bases in the south-west Pacific. Slowly but steadily, the Americans captured the islands nearer and nearer to Japan which now began to suffer heavily from air attacks. The Solomons and the Mariana islands were captured, and the Philippines reconquered in January, 1945. The next target was Okinawa within 1,000 miles of Tokyo. After a hard fought contest in which both sides suffered heavy casualties, Okinawa was taken. The Allies there issued an ultimatum threatening Japan with prompt and utter destruction if she did not surrender. The Japanese Government turned down the proposal. Thereupon, the Americans dropped two small atom bombs, one Hiroshima and the other upon Nagasaki. The two cities were completely destroyed, and Japan realising the hopelessness of the situation surrendered on August 14, 1945. This marked the end of the War on all fronts.

22.5 PEACE TERMS

After the surrender of Germany and Japan, the victorious Powers were confronted with the very difficult problems of peace-making and post War reorganisation. In view of the immense complexities of the situation and serious disagreements at numerous "top level" conferences, it was found to depart from the traditional method, and to approach the problems piece-meal and in gradual stages. Political realism demanded the recognition of the fact that a workable settlement would depend in the last analysis on the wishes of the Big Powers—Russia, Britain and America. Hence, in 1945 a Council of Foreign Ministers was established at Potsdam to deal with the outstanding problems of peace-making.

In 1947, peace treaties were concluded with Italy and with former Axis satellites viz., Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

22.5.1 Terms of Peace with Italy

Italy was deprived of her colonies in Africa, viz. Libiya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. She agreed to respect the sovereignty and independence of Ethiopia and Albania which had been freed from Italian control during the War. To Greece she gave the Dodecanese islands. Her European frontiers were modified in the north-west in favour of France, and in the north-east in favour of Yugoslavia, which also got some Adriatic islands. The Adriatic city of Trieste, which had long been a bone of contention between Italy and Yugoslavia was made a Free Territory to be administered by a governor appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations. Her army was limited to 2,50,000 men and she was required to pay reparations amounting to 360 million dollars.

22.5.2 Treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary

All these treaties provided for the limitation of armies, payment of reparations and guarantees of 'human rights' and 'fundamental freedoms'. With the exception of Bulgaria, all these countries

had to suffer territorial loss. Rumania lost Bessarabia to Russia and Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria. Hungary had to return Transylvania to Rumania and some Slovakian lands to Czechoslovakia. Finland had to surrender the Karelian Isthmus and the Petsamo district to Russia.

22.5.3 Arrangement regarding Germany

At a conference of Allied Powers held at Yalta in 1945, plans were drawn up for the occupation and control of Germany. It was agreed that after the end of the War, Germany should be divided into three major zones, one to be allotted to each of the three powers (Britain, America and Russia) and that a minor zone was to be created for France. It was also decided that Germany should be completely demilitarised and de-Nazified.

When the War was ended, the whole of German territory was occupied by the Allies within the zones agreed upon at Yalta. The Commander-in-chief of each occupation army was to exercise supreme authority in his country's specific zone, but for purposes of coordination, an Allied Control Council consisting of the four Commanders-in-chief was set up to exercise supreme authority over Germany as a whole. The Allied military officers took prompt steps to disarm Germany and to eradicate Nazism from every sphere of German life. They also took the unprecedented step of setting up an Inter-Allied Military Tribunal at Nuremberg for the trial of the leading Nazi War criminals. Ten of the Nazi stalwarts were executed, including Ribentrop, the Nazi Foreign Minister, and Rosenberg, the philosopher of the Nazi Party. Goering committed suicide by taking poison a few minutes before he was to be led to the gallows.

The Allied powers, however, failed to reach an agreement on the terms of the treaty to be imposed on Germany. The Soviet leaders wanted to set up a strong central government with a single dominant political party in which the Communists would play a leading part. The U.S.A. and Great Britain, on the other hand, favoured a federated Germany with competing political parties and great deal of local autonomy. Further, Russia wanted heavy reparations in the form of German goods and so demanded quick industrialisation of Germany. Britain and America were unwilling to see Germany quickly rebuilt as a great industrial machine. In view of these wide differences of view, separate action was taken by Russian on the one hand and the western powers on the other. This resulted in the formation of two German states viz., the Federal Republic of Western Germany with its seat at Bonn, and the Democratic Republic in the East, with its seat in the Russian sector of Berlin. Berlin itself is excluded from both the Republics. In fact, Germany was partitioned. The two states, however, were not sovereign states as their military affairs and foreign relations were controlled by the occupying powers.

Treaty with Japan

Japan after her surrender was occupied by the Allied forces under general Mac Arthur. To him was assigned the task of implementing the policy which the Allied Powers had already decided to pursue with regard to Japan in several of the Allied conferences during the War. Japan was deprived of all her conquests in the Pacific since 1914, and she restored to China all the territories which she had taken from her. Mac Arthur abolished the old imperial constitution and set up in its place a new one, more liberal and democratic. Monarchy was retained, but the Emperor was shorn of the halo of divinity with which till then he was surrounded. State support of the Shinto cult was forbidden. Mac Arthur disarmed and demobilised the Japanese army and the navy, scrapped or turned over to the Allies weapons, naval vessels and air equipments, and abolished Conscription. As in Germany, many top-ranking military leaders like General Tamashita and Tojo were executed as war criminals. After a protracted negotiation extending over six years, a peace treaty with Japan was signed in 1951. Russia did not sign it.

22.6 RESULTS OF THE WAR

The Second World War profoundly modified the relative positions of the powers in Europe. The fall of the Axis Powers and their satellites enabled Russia to consolidate for herself a position of great influence in Eastern Europe. Soviet influence became paramount in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. In each of these countries, "Peoples Republics" have been set up in which Communist minorities, backed by Moscow have come to exercise political control and have gradually put into effect economic and social systems based on the Soviet model.

In Czechoslovakia, the Communists seized power with Russian assistance by the *coup d'état* of 1945, and since then the country had been assimilated into the "Slav bastion". Through a temporary non-aggression pact concluded with Nazi-Germany, Russia had utilised the early days of the War in acquiring most of the territory lost as a consequence of the First World War. The territories thus recovered comprised Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and portions of Poland and Finland. Thus, from the Baltic Sea to the Aegean, a long line of states were brought under Russian protection and control.

There is, however, one defection behind the "iron curtain" of Russian dominance. Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Marshal Tito, rebelled against the complete subservience which Russia demanded of her satellites, and remained outside the sphere of the influence of Moscow. In Eastern Europe, only two other states-Greece and Turkey-have been kept out of the orbit of Soviet Union by American economic and military assistance. Thus Russia, which immediately after the First World War an impoverished and shrunken state, a virtual outcaste from the family of nations, emerged from the Second World War as the dominant power in Europe. In Western Europe, both the greater and lesser states began to turn their eyes for aid and protection towards America. Thus, the balance of power had shifted with the emergence of these two Super Powers in Europe as well as the world.

Though the Second World War destroyed the most dangerous forces that threatened the very existence of mankind - Nazism and Fascism - it unleashed in its aftermath a "cold war" atmosphere in the different regions of the globe, being spearheaded by Super-Power rivalry-military, economic and political. This went on intensely for over two decades, culminating in the process, in the birth of non-aligned movement that tried to keep itself away from either of the two power blocs. A balancing force has thus emerged to keep the forces of war away and under check.

Another welcome result that followed from the War was the liberation of many countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, from centuries of colonial rule. This became possible and easier due to the fact that Britain, France and other colonial powers of Europe, being exhausted by the War, have agreed to grant independence to their colonial people. India is one such nation that became liberated under such conditions.

Most significant outcome of the War-both for the contemporary world and posterity-is the birth and the formation of United Nations Organisation on 24th October, 1945. Conceived as the child of the persevering efforts of Roosevelt and Churchill, it commits nations, new and old, to the preservation of peace and international cooperation. The United Nations was formed on lines different from those of the League of Nations, and emphasis was placed on social, humanitarian, cultural and scientific aspects calling for a new world order, based on the freedom, equality and progress of all. It stands as the last hope of the mankind for peaceful cooperation and civilised life.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. How did two Germanys come into existence after the war ?

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2. Explain how the second world war helped the liberation of the countries in Asia and Africa

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22.7 LET US SUM UP

1. A number of factors were responsible for the outbreak of the second world war. The aggressions of Germany, Italy and Japan were the chief factors which brought about the war.
2. The second world war was a 'total war' and 'a war of ideas'. It differed in many respects from the previous wars.
3. The war ended in 1945. Japan surrendered after the Americans dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
4. The war had many important consequences. Apart from the terrific destruction it caused, it facilitated the spread of communism, and the liberation of many colonies. The birth of the U.N.O. is also an important result of the second world war.

22.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
 1. Germany, Italy, Japan
 2.
 - a) It was a 'total war'
 - b) It was a 'war of ideas'
 - c) Air power played a predominant role in the war
- II.
 1. Two Germanys came into existence after the second world war because of the ideological differences between Russia on the one hand and U.S.A., Britain and France on the other hand.
 2. Due to the second world war the colonial powers like Britain and France became weak. That facilitated the liberation of the Asian and African countries.

22.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each

1. Briefly describe the factors that contributed towards the outbreak of the Second World War.
2. How was the aggression of the Axis Powers responsible for the starting of World War II ?
3. Critically examine the pattern and the impact of different acts of German aggression.
4. Trace the important stages and the main events in the course of the Second World War.
5. State the main provisions of the peace treaties that concluded the Second World War.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each

1. How did the failure of democracies in Central and Southern Europe contribute for the outbreak of the Second World War ?
2. In what way was the league of Nations responsible for the starting of World War II ?
3. Describe the significance of occupation of Manchuria by Japan.
4. Examine the occupation of Ethiopia by Italy.
5. Bring out the international importance of the Spanish Civil War.
6. Describe the character of the Second World War.
7. State the results of the Second World War.

22.10 GLOSSARY

Ethno-centrism	:	Belief or theory that indulges in or propagates racial superiority.
Duce	:	Title assumed by Mussolini as Premier and head of the Fascist party, which means <i>leader</i> .

22.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Grant & Temperley : *Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*
2. Hazen C.D. : *Modern Europe up to 1945*
3. Hayes C.J.H. : *Contemporary Europe since 1870*
4. James Joll : *Europe since 1870 - An International History*
5. John and Gwyneth Stokes : *Europe and the modern world 1870-1983*
6. Lipson, E : *Europe between the two world wars*
7. Snellgrose, L.E. : *The modern world since 1870*
8. Thomson David : *Europe since Neapolean*

– M. NARASIMHA RAO

UNIT-23 : STALIN ERA

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- 23.14 Let us sum up
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23.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to

1. describe the political developments in Russia between the Russian Revolution and the rise of Stalin to power
2. analyse critically the political economic policies of Stalin
3. analyse and explain Stalin's foreign policy and
4. estimate the achievements and failures of Stalin.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

After the death of Lenin, Stalin became the ruler of Russia. Under his stewardship many significant political and economic changes took place in Russia. An account of his domestic and foreign policies is given in this unit.

23.2 FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Lenin's programme for Russia, as contained in his 'April Thesis' had three important constituents *viz.*, immediate peace, nationalization of land, and investing the Soviets of Workers' deputies with full powers. The word 'Soviet' means council, and the idea of Soviet was first translated into action in the year 1905. The popular favour, then acquired by the Soviet, accounts for its revival in 1917. These Soviets, thus revived, had a non-Bolshevik majority in them; but Lenin, by his rhetoric, and slogan of 'the land for the peasants', and call for 'peace' and 'the second revolution', outwitted the Social Revolutionaries. Overthrowing the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks,

captured power, and as People's Commissars became powerful, the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed, and peasants occupied the land. Industries were nationalised.

A Civil War rocked the state for over two years. However, it was put down by the **Bolsheviks**, but in the process, a trend emerged leading to party dictatorship. A Secret Police, the 'cheka', was formed. It nabbed many of the leftist Social Revolutionaries, branding them saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries. Ultimately, a constitution sanctioning the single party rule was approved. The royal family was executed, and thereafter a mass terror was unleashed against the critics of the **Bolshevik** regime. The machine of industrial economy was kept going by improvisations such as forced requisitions and dictatorial control; but once the Civil War was over, Lenin had to devise a new economic policy to help the nation recover from war exhaustion. Food was scarce, trade was at a standstill, and industries went into doldrums as the labourers migrated to rural areas in search of food. Drought added to the misery.

23.3 DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of 1918 named the State, Russian Federated Socialist Republic, which comprised of most of European Russia and Siberia. Soviet Governments were formed, following the Civil war, in the Ukraine, Bylo-Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which joined R.F.S.R. by concluding treaties. However, the Red Army was the main prop of their existence, thus bringing them under the control of the Communist party. In 1922, the first congress of Soviets met in Moscow, where the formation of the Union was confirmed. The new Constitution provided for division of powers, the division was preponderously in favour of the centre. The most important and unmentioned feature of U.S.S.R. was the concentration of controlling power in the Communist party. The Constitution was revised once again in 1936. It was democratic only nominally. In fact, the Communist party exerted total control. Representatives to regional Soviets were chosen by the local Soviets, and the regional Soviets in turn, sent representatives to the Congress of Soviets for the federal units, and to the All Union Congress of Soviets, which, with about two thousand delegates, was theoretically the supreme governing body; but, in practice, the All Union Congress elected a Central Committee to which the Council of People's Commissars was held to be responsible.

23.4 COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROL

The Communist Party was organized at local, regional and union levels on the same pattern. Other than the Communist party, no other political organisation was permitted since the Marxian elimination of class war demanded the reduction of political parties to only one. Membership in the Communist party was open to only those professing unquestioning faith in the principles of Marx and Lenin, and abiding by the party discipline. There was a period of probation in which the steadfastness of their faith, and abiding nature were tested. Thus, numerically the Party was small, and even in 1939, in a population of twelve crores, there were only about ten lakh Party members.

Party units from the factories and other areas sent representatives to the regional committees, which sent deputies to an All Union Party Congress, which elected a Central Committee. The Central Committee chose a body, known as 'Politburo', which formulated major policies, and through the Party machinery supervised their implementation. The Party controlled the Red Army, censored the press, and through a tribunal, called 'cheka' (later on OGPU) tried and executed the tough opponents. The opponents included not only counter-revolutionaries, but also communists, who strayed from the 'party line'.

23.5 LENIN'S DEATH

Lenin's death in the year 1924 was a big blow to the Soviet Union. There arose the problem of finding a successor. In his will, Lenin is said to have been critical both of Stalin and Trotsky, who were the serious contenders. Stalin had been the General Secretary for two years. For some reasons, Lenin's observations were not made public. In the Struggle for succession, Stalin emerged the winner.

23.6 INNER - PARTY RIVALRY

Apart from the personal qualities of the two contenders, their ideological bearings also seem to have weighed heavily in the issue. Stalin was of Georgian peasant stock, and had intimate knowledge of the Russian masses. He was less of a theoretician, and more practical-minded. An Advocate of the goal of 'Socialism in a single country', he did not favour the idea of simultaneous international revolution. He had been the General Secretary of the Central Committee of Communist Party, and used that strategic position to good advantage. Senior party leaders-Zinoviev, President of the Communist International, and Kamaney, one of the three members of the Central Management of the party - supported him. Stalin did not think of Russia as a satellite to Europe, but as the centre of a new civilisation.

Leon Trotsky (Levi Bronstein), on the other hand, hailed from the gentry, and was exiled to Siberia for quite some time. Ideologically, he was a protagonist of world revolution. To him Russian Revolution was only a prelude to international revolution. He argued that every opportunity and effort should be made to bring about revolution in Europe since, in his view 'events occurring in Europe had a decisiveness of their own. Positionally, Trotsky had been the president of Petrograd Soviet, held the office of Commissar of War and had played a key role in the organisation of Red Army.

23.7 STALIN COMES TO POWER - DICTATORIAL POLITICAL CHANGES

In 1925, Trotsky was divested of the office of Commissar of War, and Stalin outwitted his opponents in the Party Congress also. The clash between Stalin and Trotsky assumed the tone of a conflict between two doctrines, one nationalistic, and the other, internationalistic and revolutionary. Stalinism, with its accent on nationalism and peace, had struck a note of appeal among the people, who were war-weary and sentimentally prided themselves in national glory. When Trotskyites failed to infuse revolutionary spirit into the general strike that was organised in Britain, the credibility and validity of their doctrine suffered heavily. Taking advantage of these developments, Stalin got Trotsky and Zinoviev expelled from the Politburo. In 1927, both were expelled from the Party. Trotsky was exiled, but carried on his fight from Turkey, Sweden and Mexico, where finally in 1940, he met his end at the hands of an assassin. Stalin held no state office until 1941; but, as he remained the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party, his power was absolute and unquestioned.

23.8 STATE SOCIALISM OF STALIN

Stalin disagreed with the idea of 'Permanent revolution', advocated by Trotsky and his associates, whom he called dangerous adventures. Ideologically, he was a lineal descendant of the 19th century Slavophiles, who had deep faith in the creative genius of the Russians. Though he had limited education, and was not much of a theoretician like his rivals, Stalin showed greater realism and sharper foresight in developing the concept of 'Socialism in one country'. The failure of the German Communists in 1923, and the isolation of Russia from West Europe, convinced Stalin to the idea of State Socialism. He asserted that Russia, with her vast natural resources and manpower, could create a Socialistic Society, all by herself. He disagreed

vehemently with Trotskyites' plan of involving the State in international revolution on the one hand, and continuing the Socialist policy on the domestic front, on the otherhand. He flavoured his principle with patriotism, which came to have much appeal for the new crop of organisers, whom Stalin himself had reared.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. What is the politburo?

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2. Stalinism laid stress on _____ and _____

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23.9 FIVE YEAR PLANS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

The New Economic Policy, devised by Lenin, achieved limited success in reactivating the Soviet economy, which had come to a standstill during the Civil War. In 1923, there arose an economic aberration known as the 'Scissors' crisis. Two good agricultural seasons of 1921 and 1922 brought about a plenitude of food stocks, and the prices of agricultural products came down. On the other side, the industrial production did not rise enough to meet the demands of a twentieth century society. As a result, the prices of industrial goods soared. Caught in this conflicting situation, the peasants preferred consuming the produce or storing them, until a favourable price came their way, to delivering them to cities. Thus, the Soviet Government could not cope with the problem of feeding the urban masses. To feed the urban people and to develop the industry, Stalin decided to use the Government organs of planning and control to good effect, by removing the bottlenecks. The first measure in this direction was the collectivization of agriculture, which began in the year 1928. The Party machinery was geared up to the task of merging the industrial land holdings into large collective farms. The resisting Kulaks were forced to surrender. Those who refused to surrender, were sent to Siberian fields to cultivate as well as they could. They adopted before leaving, the 'scorched earth' tactics- by destroying the farm tools, burning the crops, and killing the livestock. This slowed the pace of collectivization temporarily. In 1932, a crop failure worsened the situation. The Government permitted the peasants to hold small farms upto a couple of acres, and keep a few domestic animals. With the waning of Kulak resistance, things improved, and by the thirties, 95% of land holdings were collectivized. One important consequence of collectivization measure was the diversion of the surplus farm labour to be engaged in heavy industries.

The second measure, complementary to farm collectivization, was rapid industrialisation, for which the State Planning Commission was utilised. The First Five Year Plan (1928-33) aimed at the development of basic industry and power generation. The targets set for the First Plan were high. In spite of impediments, such as shortage of labour, and scarcity of food grains,

considerable progress was made in the area of basic industries, and hydro-electric power plants. The Second Plan (1933-37) aimed at a more balanced development of the economy. With the rise of Hitler, heavy industry retained its top priority.

Despite the phenomenal industrial development, living standards of the Russian masses remained low. Housing was inadequate. Consumer goods were in shortage. For the labourers, working hours were long, and wages were sufficient just to buy the essentials. However, the overall picture shows that during the first two Plans, production targets in capital goods were overfulfilled, while those of consumer goods suffered. Apart from that, Russia emerged as a front-ranking industrial power in the world. This development was achieved without any significant aid from outside.

23.10 PROPAGANDA

In 1936, a new constitution (Stalin Constitution) was promulgated. This constitution ended the period of dictatorship in Russia, and introduced many liberal trends only ostensibly. Universal franchise was introduced. A Supreme Soviet took the place of All Union Congress of Soviets. Civil liberties were revived, but in effect, they were not substantial. All these changes were intended to placate the critics of Soviet system. In 1934, Soviet Russia joined the League of Nations, and in the international arena, the Comintern Congress of 1935 espoused the idea of 'popular fronts', wherein the Communists worked with the moderate potential parties.

23.11 PURGES

Even as the constitutional window-dressing was going on, there went on in Russia a series of trials of people - 'unreliable' and 'socially dangerous'. Known as the 'Great Purges', these trials were set off by an incident in which Stalin's close associates, Sergei Kirov, Party chief of Leningrad, was assassinated in 1934. Later revelations suggest that Stalin himself had engineered the murder. Earlier, there had been trials between 1928 and 1933; but, these latest were trials for treason. Whereas in the earlier trials, the victims had been technicians, capitalist enemies and Trotskyites, the latest trials involved senior leaders of the Party, who had been the comrades of Lenin and Stalin, and top-ranking generals of the Red Army. In 1935 Zinoviev, the First President of Comintern and Kamanev were sentenced to a ten year term, and five year term respectively. In 1936, the trial was reopened by the Supreme Military Tribunal, and they were executed. In 1947 Radek, a leader of the Third International, Sokolnikov, former Soviet ambassador in London, Piatakov, Vice-Commissar for heavy industry, Marshall Tukachevsky, and a few more Red Army generals, were tried for treason. In 1937, thousands of people from different walks of life were arrested who included Bolshevik leaders of yester years like Borodin and Belakun. In 1938 Rykov, one-time President of the Council of Commissars, Bukharin, Editor of 'Pravda', Yagoda, a chief of the Secret Police and a host of others, were brought under trial. It is estimated that about eight million people were arrested. Among them, those executed are said to have numbered between two and six millions. Some historians have opined that, the Great Purge was an unmistakable pointer to deep-seated dissent against Stalinism. Others attribute the purges to Stalin's universal suspicion, and neurotic fear of opponents, which drove him to the decision to cleanse the party of all dissenters, real and imagined. There is also another interpretation that the purges were intensified in 1936, out of the necessity of preventing a collusion of internal opposition with external enemy of Hitlerite Germany. In 1939, the announcement came that the purges were over.

Mass media like newspapers, radio and cinema, and centres of education came under strict control of the Communist Party, which assiduously censored any criticism of the Soviet system. Political parties, other than the Communist Party were banned. Dissemination of political ideas differing with Communism, were prohibited. The ideological base of education was Leninism and Stalinism. Communist ethics, patriotism, and love towards fatherland and Soviet leaders, were

laid down as the tasks of education. Some older institutions of Tsarist time were maintained, but scholars opposed to Communism were weeded out. Strict vigilance attended the artists and other public men in their movements.

23.12 ANTI-RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN

The materialistic character of the Communist Party affected its relations with the Church and other similar organisations. Since 1917, Orthodox Church had been treated with disdain by the Soviet Government. In Stalin era, however, the Communist Party began and carried on an anti-religious campaign which was managed by a publishing house, 'The Godless'. Mock processions and services were organised in an anti-religious seminary, on the occasions of Christmas and Easter. With the setting-up of the League of Militant Atheists, anti-religious propaganda acquired a severe tone. In the late thirties, many priests and other Churchmen were arrested, and some were sent to concentration camps. 1943 onwards, the Soviet Government adopted a policy of tolerance. However, the church stood separated from the State, and religious instruction continued to be prohibited in schools. Atheism was one of the main criteria in the admission of members into Communist Party.

23.13 FOREIGN POLICY OF STALIN

Stalin's foreign policy during 1928-41 shows three phases. In the first phase, Soviet Russia acted as an ally of Germany, supporting the latter's demand for disarmament as against the French thesis of security. Her attitude towards France and Britain was one of antagonism and distrust. Her attempts to aggravate the general strike in Britain, and her collaboration with the Kuomintang nationalists in China, further embittered her relations with Britain, eventually leading to the suspension of diplomatic ties from 1927 to 1929. In the second phase, Soviet Russia became a spokesman of the principle of collective security and anti-Fascism. This change in her policy was caused by the rise of aggressive and anti Communist Nazism in Germany. Soviet Union's entry into the League of Nations synchronized with the exit of Germany in 1934. Also in this phase, Soviet Union encouraged, through the Comintern, the formation of United fronts in France and Spain, thus temporarily toning down the revolutionary activities. However, she actively supported the Spanish Republicans in the Civil War. The year 1939 saw a *volte face* in the stance of Soviet Union. Abandoning the theme of collective security, Soviet Union entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany on the one hand, and on the other hand, made territorial demands upon the Baltic States and Poland. Pursuing an aggressive policy, Soviet Union wrested parts of Poland, the isthmus of Karelia, and formed Soviet Republics in the annexed Baltic regions of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. In the Far East, she concluded a non-aggression pact with Japan. However, when in 1941 Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the situation was completely changed. During the War, defence of the nation assumed great importance, towards which end Soviet diplomacy aimed at influencing the Allied powers to open up a second front to lighten her burden. In this period, Soviet Union concluded a number of treaties with the Allied powers, and also the Government-in-exile of Poland, to safeguard the post-War interests of Soviet Russia. After the conclusion of the Second World War, the differences between the Soviet Union and the West surfaced. The issue of disarmament lay unsettled. Even in the matter of post-War recovery of Europe, the differences between the two persisted. Western Europe received aid from U.S.A., whereas Eastern Europe got help from Russia.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What were the chief aims of the first five year plan of Russia?
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2. What was Stalin's policy towards religion?

23.14 LET US SUM UP

1. In 1918, after a period of civil war the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics came into existence.
2. The communist party controlled all affairs in Russia from the time of Lenin.
3. In the struggle for succession after the death of Lenin in 1924, Stalin became the winner.
4. Stalin implemented 'State socialism'. During his dictatorship, life in Russia became regimented and every thing was communist oriented.
5. Stalin followed an anti-religious policy.
6. Stalin at first supported the German demand for disarmament later he became a champion of the idea of collective security. His foreign policy was finally guided by the principle of safeguarding Russian or communist interests in the world.

23.15 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
 1. Politburo was the committee created to formulate major policies and supervised their implementation.
 2. *Nationalism, Peace*
- II.
 1. Rapid industrialization and power generation.
 2. Atheism is a cardinal principle of communism. As such Stalin followed an anti-religious policy.

23.16 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. Describe the inner party rivalry in Russia after Lenin's death and its outcome.
 2. Examine the Five Year Plans and the economic growth during Stalin era.
 3. What are the 'Great Purges'? Explain them.
 4. Trace the different phases in the foreign policy of Stalin.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
 1. How was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formed?
 2. Write about the structural organisation of the Communist Party.
 3. Explain the concept of 'State Socialism' of Stalin.
 4. What was the anti-religious campaign of Stalin era?

23.17 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. J. Robert Wegs : *Europe Since 1945*
2. John & Gwenneth Stokes : *Europe And the Modern World, 1870-1983*
3. Hayes C.J.H : *Contemporary Europe Since 1870*
4. James Joll : *Europe Since 1870*
5. David Thomson : *Europe since Napoleon*
6. Hazen C.D : *Modern Europe upto 1945*

Glossary

Kulaks : Landlords

– M. NARASIMHA RAO

BRAOU

BLOCK IX : EUROPE, 1945-1964

This block has two units. Unit 24 gives a detailed account of the U.N.O. The last unit (Unit 25) gives an analysis of the political and economic developments in Europe between 1945 and 1964.

UNIT-24 : UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS - AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

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24.4	Important organs of the U.N.O
24.4.1	General Assembly
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24.4.3	Economic and social council
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24.4.5	International court of Justice
24.5	The work of U.N.O. Achievements
24.6	Failures and Reasons
24.7	Let us sum up
24.8	Check your progress : Answers
24.9	Examination model questions.
24.10	Glossary
24.11	Books for Further Reading

24.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this Unit should enable you to

1. explain the circumstances leading to the establishment of U.N.O.
2. describe the aims and organisation of the U.N.O.
3. analyse critically the achievements and failures of the U.N.O.

24.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the beneficial effects of world war II was the birth of the U.N.O. It is an organisational expression of the desire of the people all over the world for international peace. The U.N.O is an improvement over the League of Nations. In this unit, the circumstances leading to the birth of the U.N.O, its aims and organisational set up are described. The achievements of the U.N.O. its failures and the causes for its failures are also discussed in this unit.

24.2 PREPARATORY WORK - ATLANTIC CHARTER

The plan for an international organization for the maintenance of global peace and security was being conceived even as the Second World War was in progress. In the month of August, 1941, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the British Premier Winston Churchill met aboard a ship in the Atlantic Sea, off the coast of Newfoundland, and signed what was known as the Atlantic Charter. The Charter listed eight points of agreement between the two

leaders. The signatories agreed on non-aggradisement, reorganization of international frontiers as per the wishes of the people, affirmation of the Principle of self-determination in the choice of a government, economic progress of the nations, amelioration of the lot of the working class with international cooperation, creation of an atmosphere of peace by removing the fear of war, achievement of freedom from want, equal right for all the nations in the navigation of the seas, and disarmament. By the beginning of 1942, as many as 26 nations signed a joint declaration, subscribing to the Atlantic Charter. Since 1942, the Charter has been known as "the declaration of the United Nations".

Subsequent to the Atlantic Charter, many leaders of the Allied Powers met at different conferences (at Casablanca, Moscow and Teheran); but, in the deliberations therein, the war strategy figured more heavily.

24.2.2 Dumbarton Oaks Conference

The conference held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington in 1944, is an important step in the history of U.N.O., since it was in this Conference that the draft copy of the Charter for U.N.O. was prepared by the representatives of America, Britain and Russia. It was also provisionally agreed that in order to prevent wars in future, a Security Council with eleven members should be created.

In the conference held at Yalta in February 1945, the Big Three of the world leaders met, and agreed to the formation of an international organization for the maintenance of world peace. It was decided to convene an international conference in America to prepare a constitution for U.N.O.

As decided an international conference was held in San Francisco from 25th April to 26th June of 1945. Representatives of fifty one nations participated. Decisions were taken, after though discussion at two-thirds majority. Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt concurred among themselves about the necessity of recognizing the predominant role of the Great Powers in international affairs. The provision of veto came in for much criticism, and the issue threatened to disrupt the proceedings. Fortunately for the world, an agreement was reached, and the Charter of U.N.O. was approved unanimously.

24.3 BIRTH AND AIMS OF U.N.O

After ratification by the parliaments of most of the nations, the United Nations Organisation formally came into existence on 24th October 1945. The preamble to the Charter of U.N.O. mentions the aims and objectives of the organisation-affirmation of the Human Rights, adherence to the principles of International Law in international treaties and covenants, attainment of better living standards and social progress, eradication of the fear of war etc. it also exhorts the members to cultivate a spirit of international unity and tolerance, and good neighbourliness with contiguous nations. Nations are advised to refrain from resorting to war, and to make use of the forum of U.N.O. for the settlement of disputes, and also for the socio-economic progress of the people. The Charter of U.N.O. enjoins upon the member nations to abide by the Charter in right earnest, to settle bilateral issues through peaceful negotiations, to desist from the use of force or threat directed against the territorial integrity or independence of another nation, and to assist and support the organisation in action taken against an erring nation. The Organization does not propose to interfere in the internal affairs of a nation, except in cases of breach of international peace caused by that nation's aggression.

The Charter of U.N.O. also sets forth socio-economic objectives, such as improving the living standards, achieving socio-economic progress, promotion of international understanding and cooperation in the fields of education and public health, according the right of self-determination to the people of the colonies.

The membership in U.N.O. is open to any nation professing faith in the aims and objectives of the Organisation. At present, the strength of membership is about 157. The costs of establishment and maintenance of the Organisation are borne by the member nations.

U.N.O. has its own flag, which shows the globe, flanked by olive branches on either side, set against a blue background.

24.4 IMPORTANT ORGANS OF THE U.N.O.

There are six main organs of the U.N.O. They are: 1 General Assembly 2. Security Council 3. Economic and Social Council 4. Trusteeship Council 5. International Court of Justice and 6. Secretariat.

Besides, the Organisation has specialised agencies, working under the main organs. Some of them are I.M.F, I.B.R.D, W.H.O, F.A.O, UNESCO, UNICEF etc.,

24.4.1 General Assembly

The General Assembly is the broad base of Organisation. Each member nations may send five delegates to the General Assembly. However, each member has only one vote. The sessions of the General Assembly take place in the month of September; but, special and emergency sessions may be held at the request of the Security Council. In matters involving international peace and security election of members to other organs, admission of new members, and trusteeship affairs, a two-thirds majority is required.

The General Assembly can discuss any issue covered by the Charter; but, when an issue is under the examination of the Security Council, the General Assembly does not discuss the same. It may draw the attention of the Security Council to an emergent situation.

24.4.2 Security council

The Security Council is the pivotal organ of U.N.O. since it deal with international peace and security, and also acts as the executive body of the Organisation. There are five permanent members in the Security Council, and ten members are elected by the General Assembly for a two year term (five members from Afro-Asian countries, two from Latin America, two from Western Europe and one from Eastern Europe). Immediate reelection is barred. The Security Council meets at least once in a fortnight. The Chairman of the Security Council is chosen once in a month from the members, by rote, an alphabetical order. Standing and adhoc committeses are formed for the discharge of assigned functions. An important provision affecting the Security Council is the permanet member's right to veto a resolution, which renders any resolution inoperative.

Any member nation, involved in an international dispute, may submit the same to the Security Council, or the Security Council may itself take the initiative in such matters, and take steps to settle the dispute. States which disregard the directinve of the Security Council, may be subjected to sanctions or even armed intervention. All affairs, relating to the strategic areas in trusteeship territories, are under the supervision of the Security Council.

24.4.3 Economic and Social Council

Economic and Social Council works under the auspices of the General Assembly. There are twenty seven members in this organ, each elected for a term of three years with provision for reelection. It meets twice in a year, besides the special sessions. Improvement of the living standards, creation of atmosphere suited to socio-economic progress, promotion of international cooperation in the fields of education, culture and public health etc. upholding of the human rights unfettered by distinctions of race, creed and religion, are among its important functions.

It conducts surveys on the issues mentioned, and sends reports to the General Assembly and to the member nations. There are four regional economic commissions, attending to the work of the Economic and Social Council one each for Europe, Asia and Far East, Latin, America and Africa. Besides, there are some nine special commissions dealing with population, human rights, narcotic drugs, minorities, international trade etc. It functions through such specialized agencies as W.H.O. I.L.O, F.A.O, USECO, UNICEF, I.M.F, ICAO, UPU, WMO, IAEA, GATT etc

24.4.4 Trusteeship Council

Trusteeship Council is an improved counterpart of the League's mandatory system. Trusteeship Council aims at the promotion of international peace and security, improving the socio-economic and political lot of the people in trusteeship territories, so as to enable and qualify them for independence and self-rule. Members in the Trusteeship Council are of three categories: i) Nations in charge of administration of territories-in-trust; ii) Permanent members of the Security Council; and iii) Members elected by the General Assembly for a three year term. The Council examines the reports of the nations in charge of administration of Trust-territories and also the memoranda of the people thereof; visits the Trust-territories and associates the Economic and Social Council with its work. It meets twice in a year. Provision is there for special sessions.

24.4.5 International Court of Justice

Another important organ of the organization is the International Court of Justice, with its headquarters at the Hague. The Court has fifteen judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, each judge holding office for nine years. They are chosen from among eminent jurists. The court goes into disputes between the member nations. No appeal lies over its decisions.

Secretariat is the office of U.N.O. with the Secretary-General as its chief administrative head. The present Secretary General is Perez de Cueller.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. Which documents are the aims of the U.N.O. enumerated?

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2. Which is the executive body of the U.N.O.

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24.5 THE WORK OF U.N.O. - ACHIEVEMENTS

Since its inception U.N.O. has had to deal with many political issues, most of which the Security Council could solve. One such problem concerned the Russian forces in Iran. While British and American forces which had gone into Iran during the Second World War, withdrew after the War, the Russian forces remained in Azerbaijan. Iran complained of it to the Security Council. At the instance of the Security Council the Russian forces withdrew. A similar complaint, regarding the British and French forces, came to the Security Council from Syria and Lebanon. They also withdrew. In 1947, when Holland resorted to armed action in Indonesia, Security Council intervened to stop the armed action, and appointed a Commission consisting of American, Australia and Belgium, which eventually paved the way for Indonesian independence. In 1956, when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, France and Britain petitioned to the Security Council. Following Israel's invasion, Britain and France also attacked Egypt; but U.N.O. sent an international force, and succeeded in stopping the Civil War. Barring these conflicts, no major war threatened the world, since the formation of U.N.O. Yet, it should be conceded that these conflicts in all about a hundred, have taken the lives of about ten million people.

U.N.O. has done significant work in the economic field through the Economic and Social Council and other specialized agencies. The International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) have made useful contributions. The aid of 1250 million dollars given to the war-hit nations through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and the loans advanced by the IBRD, were of great help in the construction of railways, roads, telephone and telegraph etc. India is a major beneficiary of the IBRD's lending programme.

The Economic and Social Council with specialized agencies working under it, has been contributing much towards the socio-economic progress, by pooling up the resourceful information and technical knowhow and transmitting the same to member nations. The work of the World Health Organisation in the eradication of epidemics and endemic diseases in various countries, and the work of Food and Agricultural Organisation in the dissemination of technical information pertaining to the field of agriculture, are commendable. Similarly, the work of UNESCO in the development of primary education, soil reclamation, and conservation of ancient monuments in Egypt, Cambodia and India, is worth mentioning. Likewise, the UNICEF has been rendering great service in the field of child health and maternity care.

24.6 FAILURES AND REASONS

The failures of U.N.O. are not less notable. As was the case with the League, U.N.O. has been ineffective while dealing with issues involving the Big Powers. The issues of Palestine, Berlin-blockade, Korea testify to the ineffectiveness of U.N.O. More recently, even Argentina has ignored the order of U.N.O.s to withdraw from the Falkland islands (1982). The veto Powers, conferred upon the permanent members of the Security Council, has been a stumbling block in the way of U.N.O's smooth functioning. The Big Powers tend to use the right of veto in the furtherance of their narrow interests and those of their allies. The ideological difference between the Big Powers have been obviating the possibility of consensus of vital issues, not only between themselves, but between the ranks of their supporters also. While on one hand the rhetoric of disarmament is kept running, on the other hand, the rat race in the making and stockpiling of fatal arms is kept going. The zone of possible hostilities now stands extend to the space.

Another issue, where U.N.O. has failed, is the pernicious practice of apartheid. With all its strength as an international organisation, it has not been able to tame the racially arrogant South Africa.

However, the failures should serve as pointers to the deficiencies in the organisation, and those deficiencies should be removed. Some feel that the Charter itself, drafted in a different context, should be modified to suit the needs and problems of the present times. Suggestions have also been voiced to remove the provision of veto. In the interest of world peace and security, the organisation should be strengthened by giving it greater powers to assert itself as an international organisation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. What are the important aims of the Trusteeship council.

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2. Why is the veto power of the permanent members of the security council considered as a stumbling block for the smooth functioning of the U.N.O.

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24.7 LET US SUM UP

1. The Atlantic charter signed in 1941 by the American president Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the Dumbarton oaks conference (1944) the Yalta conference (1945) and the san Francisco conference (1945) paved the way for the birth of the U.N.O.
2. The U.N.O. was established on 24 th October, 1945 to save the world from wars and to promote the welfare of mankind.
3. The General Assembly, Security council, Economic and social council, International court of Justice, are some of the important organs of the U.N.O.
4. The U.N.O. has to its credit many achievements in the political social, economic and cultural spheres. The fact that a major world war has not broken out after 1945 is itself a great credit to the U.N.O.
5. However it has failed in settling many international conflicts. The veto power to the permanant members and other organisational defects are mentioned as important reasons for the failure of the U.N.O.

24.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. U.N. Charter
2. Security council.

- II. 1. a) Promotion of international peace and security.
- b) Improving the socio, political and economic conditions of the people in trusteeship territories, in order to qualify them for self-rule.
2. Because the veto power is exercised by the permanent members to further their self interests and also because the veto power is blocking the efforts towards settlements of international problems.

24.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following question in about 30 lines each.

1. How was the preparatory work for the U.N.O. done by the Atlantic Charter and Dumbarton Oaks Conference?
2. Describe the important organs of U.N.O. and their functions.
3. What are the achievements of U.N.O.?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. State the aims of U.N.O.
2. Write about the composition and functions of Economic and Social Council.
3. Examine the failures of U.N.O.

24.10 GLOSSARY

Kulaks : Landlords

24.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

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|---------------------------|--|
| 1. John & Gwenneth Stokes | : Europe And the Modern World, 1870-1980 |
| 2. C.J.H. Hayes | : Contemporary Europe Since 1870 |
| 3. C.D. Hazen | : Modern Europe upto 1945 |
| 4. James Joll | : Europe Since 1870 |
| 5. David Thomson | : Europe since Napoleon |
| 6. J. Robert Wegs | : Europe Since 1945 |

– M. NARASIMHA RAO

UNIT-25 : EUROPE BETWEEN 1945 AND 1964

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25.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to

1. describe the political and economic conditions in the European countries after world war II
2. Analyse the factors which prompted the efforts towards European integration, and
3. explain the various attempts at European integration between 1945 and 1964.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, the political conditions which emerged in the various European countries, after the second world war are discussed. One of the important developments in Europe after the second world war was the attempt at European integration. The factors helping that integration, and the various attempts for integration are also discussed in this Unit.

25.2 WEAKENED POWERS OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Western and Central European nations, which willingly or unwillingly had taken part in the Second World War, found themselves in a sorry plight at its close. They had to confront diverse problems-economic, administrative and political. The rehabilitation of the population after foreign evacuation posed a formidable problem. Farmers lacked tools, machinery, livestock, fertilizer and even seed. Factories experienced lack of raw materials and coal. People had no food, fuel or clothing. Transportation and foreign trade were paralyzed. There was a runaway inflation and the prices of available goods soared high.

Added to these chaotic economic conditions was the problem of settling of millions of demobilized soldiers and prisoners of war. There was also the problem of restoring internal order and removing "Collaborationists" through the reorganization of the police and the civil service. Politically, the most significant developments were the return of "Governments in exile" to their respective and original seats of power, and the holding of elections which could not take place during the War. The elections significantly showed a distinct trend to the "left" everywhere.

25.2.1 France

France came out of the Second World War in a very weakened condition, and it was no longer a great power as it used to be before the War. Its morale was low and its finances were in a chaotic condition. Its people were despirited and badly divided. Though the constitution of the Fourth French Republic was finally ratified in October 1946, the coalition Governments were torn by partisan strife and class conflict. Orderly democratic progress was made difficult by the militancy of the Communists who had a big following and also of the nationalist counter movement which General De Gaulle organized in 1946 under the name of "Reunion of the French People" (R.F.P.).

Nevertheless, the centrist parties managed to retain the control of the government and, with financial assistance from the United States, to improve the economic condition of France. Some improvement was also achieved in its status abroad, thanks chiefly to the efforts of the enlightened and able Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman. Another significant development was that the Parliamentary elections of 1950 showed a distinct popular drift from the "left" towards the "right". Both Communists and Socialists lost seats in the National Assembly, whereas De Gaulle's R.F.P. made notable gains. However, a sufficient number of seats were gained by the democratic parties of the Centre and the Moderate Right to enable them to form a coalition Government.

25.2.2 Great Britain

In Great Britain, there was destruction of towns and dislocation of life during the War, though not on as extensive a scale as in France. It became economically and politically weak. The Labour Government with Clement Attlee as its head, which came to power as a result of the elections held in July 1945, proceeded to put into effect a programme of socialization. Through a series of enactments in 1946-47, the State took over the Bank of England, the coal mines, the steel industry, civil aviation and the railways. Wages were regulated and social legislation was extended, which included a system of socialized medicine.

But, Britain faced serious difficulties. The War had gravely affected the productivity of the British industry as a result of the destruction of many plants and its not being able to adequately maintain or modernize. Britain had liquidated most of its overseas investments to pay for the War; its heavy burden of taxation was made still more unbearable by the post-War socialization. In spite of a loan of $3\frac{3}{4}$ billion dollars from the United States in 1946, it could not pay for

all the needed imports of food and raw materials, with the result the British people continued to be subjected to a rationing as severe as that of war-time. Even abroad, the prestige of the Government declined. It was forced to reduce its spending on the army and navy, and to grant practical independence to the major portions of the British Empire.

The British people and three major political parties,-the Labourites, Conservatives and the Liberals-however, exhibited the same equanimity and determination in meeting the post-war difficulties as they did during the War. Though there were differences of opinion with regard to specific or particular questions like the extent of socialization, reduction of military expenditure, *etc.*, they were all committed to the maintenance of the traditional British Constitution with its nominal monarchy and Parliamentary democracy. The regular functioning of their Parliamentary Government could not be disrupted even by the extremists, whether Communist or "Rightist" who were of a considerable number.

25.2.3 Norway, Denmark and Finland

The countries of Western Europe other than France and Great Britain showed similar trends in the immediate post-War period. All faced economic and social difficulties and most of them attempted recovery through democratic processes. Those which had been subjected to German occupation - the Low Countries of Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxemburg, and the Scandinavian countries of Denmark and Norway - welcomed back their Governments-in-exile and quickly restored their pre-War Constitutions. As one of the means for speedy economic recovery in the Low Countries, a tariff union, styled "Benelux" from the initials of the three countries comprising it - Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxemburg-was established. Politically, the occupation of Denmark by the German troop during the War led to the separation and establishment of an independent Iceland Republic in May 1944.

Finland, though forced to make important territorial concession to the Soviet Union and to act very carefully in dealing with its powerful Communist neighbour, clung stubbornly to democratic and national independence. The Government was carried on by a coalition of Socialists, Agrarians and Liberals, and Julio Paasikivi, a Socialist, was elected President in 1945 and again in 1950.

25.2.4 Italy

Italy and Germany were the hardest hit of all the countries in Western and Central Europe and suffered most due to the War. They could no longer be regarded as great powers. Both were disarmed, subjected to foreign occupation, and burdened with the gravest kind of economic and political problems. In the case of Italy, while the course and outcome of the War had thoroughly discredited Mussolini and his Fascist Party, there was conflict between Royalists and Republicans, and again within the latter, between Communists, Socialists, radicals, and Christian (Catholic) Democrats. In this post-War power struggle, the Republicans finally emerged successful in June 1946 by getting Italy proclaimed a republic. After reluctantly ratifying the humiliating treaty with the Allies, and securing the withdrawal of the Anglo-American occupation forces, the anti-Communist Coalition Cabinet, headed by Alcide De Gasperi, was successful in making the National Assembly adopt late in 1947 a Democratic Republican Constitution.

The first General Election under the new Constitution was held in April 1948 and resulted in victory for De Gasperi and his Christian Democrats. In May, a prominent Liberal, Luigi Einaudi, was elected President. De Gasperi continued to be Prime Minister. There was decreasing, though still powerful opposition to the Democratic Republic from the "Rightists" comprising the disappointed monarchists and humiliated nationalists, and from the "Leftists" consisting of Communists and Socialists who bitterly attacked the Government for siding with the Western powers against Russia and for its slowness in effecting land reforms and improving economic

conditions. Nevertheless, with financial help from the United States and consistent Catholic support at home, the Republic gave promise of overcoming its worst difficulties.

25.2.5 Germany

Germany, in the post-War period, was merely weak, but was totally at the mercy of the victorious Allied Powers-Communist Russia and the Western Democracies of Britain, France, and the United States. It was disarmed and dismembered, and many of its industrial plants were destroyed. What remained of it was under continuing military occupation and foreign control and yet forced to take care of millions of Germans displaced from their homes in lands which had gone into the possession of Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

The differences among the occupying powers prevented the conclusion of a general peace treaty and the establishment of a national Government. In 1946, the Allies dictated the abolition of the historic State of Prussia and the redivision of Germany into 17 States, of which 12 were in the military zone of the Western democracies and 5 within that of the Soviet Union. But, differences of aim and ideology between the two occupying power groups prevented the emergence of any federation of the 17 states and led to the partition of the country into West Germany and East Germany. Commercial and political barriers had also been erected between them. While a Federal Republican Constitution was adopted in the Western part in 1948 in accordance with which a Coalition Cabinet headed by the Christian Democratic leader, Dr. Conrad Adenauer, as Chancellor was formed in 1949, no such free elections were held in the Eastern part which, after the Soviet model, was styled as the "German Democratic Republic". In 1961 the Berlin wall was constructed by the East German Authorities cutting of links between the two Germanys.

25.3 MARSHAL PLAN AND EUROPEAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Three months after the momentous announcement of the Truman Doctrine, *i.e.*, in June 1947, the American Secretary of State, General George Marshall, proposed a plan for extending American financial aid to European countries in order to speed up their economic recovery from the War and thereby to strengthen their individual and collective capacity to resist Communism or Soviet aggression. At a conference in Paris, the plan was condemned and rejected, as might be expected by Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister; but, it was gladly accepted by the Foreign Ministers of France and Great Britain, and shortly afterwards it was agreed to by fourteen other European nations - Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Eire, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Norway, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. Spain was not invited to participate in the plan, and invitations to the conference were declined, under Russian pressure, by eight countries - Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The division was very much along the line of what Winston Churchill (in March 1946) called the "iron curtain" between the Soviet-dominated lands of Eastern Europe and the democracies of Western and Southern Europe.

"The Marshall Plan" countries, in accordance with American advice, established an "Organization for European Economic Cooperation" (O.E.E.C.) to pool their resources and allocate funds that they might receive. The United States in April 1948, gave them an initial grant of 5-1/2 billion dollars. Large additional grants came to be given in the following years.

The Marshall plan well served the intended purposes. It served the American policy of containing Communism. It also served the interests of the American economy; by 1952, billions of dollars worth of American machinery, fertilizers, transport equipment and so on were supplied to the member nations; and the plan was followed by a successful attempt to reduce European trade barriers against United States's imports. But, at the same time, the Marshall Plan undoubtedly made the recovery of Western Europe possible, and began the process of spectacular growth which came to characterise the West European economy over the next twenty years.

Having rejected the Marshal Plan, the U.S.S.R. later in 1947 made trade agreements with her satellites and in 1949 offered them assistance under the "Molotov Plan". Her refusal of Marshal Aid and her counter Molotov Plan, clearly marked the division Eastern and Western Europe. Communism was no longer confined to one country, but had been extended to one bloc of states.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

1. In which year was the Berlin wall constructed?

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2. What were the chief aims of the Marshal plan?

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25.4 EFFORTS AT EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

25.4.1 Reasons for efforts at European Integration

The efforts at European integration - economic, social, political as well as military - gained great momentum during the post - 1945 period, mainly due to the following causes. In the first place, as a result of six years of struggle between the Axis powers and the Allied powers, the countries of Europe suffered heavy losses in men and money. The people of Europe tended to blame the prevailing political system based on narrow nationalism for the great havoc caused twice in Europe within a space of two decades. All the countries - the victorious as well as the defeated - were economically exhausted, and were determined to prevent the outbreak of another war, which, they felt was possible through integration.

Secondly, the shattered economies of the countries of Europe and the consequent political instability resulted in a power vacuum which encouraged U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to intervene to gain political advantage. The European countries realized that the only way to be freed of the influence of outside powers was to unite. Thirdly, the European statesmen felt that their economic difficulties were due to divisions in Europe, and that once the countries of Europe formed a free trade area following free flow of capital, labour, raw materials and finished products, there would be increase in production, better distribution and ultimately, improvement in the living standards of their citizens. No wonder, they strove for the formation of wider European organizations or unions so that they could attain jointly or collectively what they could not achieve individually.

In the fourth place, the upsurge of Cold War between Soviet Union and the United States as leaders of communist countries and Western democracies respectively, had also encouraged the West European countries to come together for mutual protection and cooperation. The growing

influence of the Communists in France and Italy made them fear that the Communist might come to power in those two countries and thereby help the expansion of Communist control in Europe. The drawing of the Iron curtain by Russia over Central Europe further strengthened this fear. Fifthly, the emergence of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as the Super Powers of the world naturally led to the decline of the influence of Europe on world politics. The European States could not become reconciled to their changed position and the loss of the power that they had in the past several centuries. The European statesmen were determined to reassert the importance of Europe in world politics which would be possible only if Europe was strong and united.

Finally, the military considerations also prompted the European States to work for some sort of unity. The presence of two opposing Super Powers on the continent - the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union convinced them that if the two were to clash, it would be Europe which had to bear the brunt of it and suffer greatly. To prevent such an eventuality, it was felt desirable and essential that they should give up their narrow national interests and cooperate with one another in the larger interests of security and survival.

It is essential to note that only the West European powers made efforts for bringing about European integration, and not the States of Eastern Europe, which were under the control of Russia.

During the post-War period, a number of steps were taken by the European powers to achieve economic, political and military integration of Europe. The degree of success obtained or the results that followed varied from one measure to another as briefly discussed here under.

25.4.2 Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)

The formation of the organisation for European Economic Cooperation was an important step towards the economic integration of Europe. The U.S.A. which offered enormous financial assistance to the War affected European nations under the Marshal Plan was keen on doing so on a continental rather than on a bilateral basis. It, therefore suggested that the European Government should form some organisation for this purpose. The idea was greatly appreciated by Britain and France which took the initiative in setting up the Organisation. A conference was held at Paris after July 1947 in which sixteen West European countries excepting Spain took part. The Eastern European countries led by the Soviet Union declined to participate in it on the plea that it would lead to interference with the national sovereignty of the State. Ultimately, on the 16th April, 1948 the Foreign Ministers of sixteen European countries signed the convention for European Economic Cooperation. The membership of it later rose to 18. As per this convention, each member government undertook.

- a) to promote with vigour the development of production through efficient use of the resources at their commad.
- b) to develop in mutual cooperation the maximum possible interchange of goods and services, achieve as soon as possible a multilateral system of payments among themselves, and cooperate in relaxing restrictions on trade and payments in relation to one another.
- c) to study the possibility of 'Customs Unions' or analogous arrangements such as free trade areas;
- d) to reduce tariff and other barriers to the expansion of trade,
- e) to achieve or maintain the stability of its currency and of its internal financing position, sound rates of exchange and generally confidence in its monetary system, and
- f) to make the fullest and most effective use of available manpower.

The organisation of the OEEC consisted of the Council, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat. The Council consisted of representative of all the member States. It took all decisions by unanimous vote which were binding on members. But, the responsibility for the implementation of these decisions rested with the member governments. The Executive Committee was a subordinate organ of the Council. It had to act according

25.4.3 Benelux

The formation of the Benelux in 1948 was another important step in the direction of European integration. It was a type of customs union formed by Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg whereby they agreed not to charge any tariff on goods imported from one another.

25.4.4 The Council of Europe

The formation of this body in 1949 was aimed at achieving unity in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative spheres. It was based on the inter-government pattern preferred by Britain rather than supra-national system desired by Belgium and France. The Statute of the Council of Europe was ultimately signed on the 5th of May, 1949 by ten European states including the Brussels Treaty Powers (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom), Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Norway, and Sweden. The objective of the Council as stated in Article I is "to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress. This aim should be pursued through the organs of the Council by discussions of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and fundamental freedoms". It is significant that the State did not use the word, 'political', anywhere, even though the Council was clearly intended to be a political body. Further, matters relating to national defence have been specifically excluded from the scope of the Council.

25.4.5 The European Economic Community (EEC) or The Common Market

Usually called the Common Market, the European Economic Community is the most comprehensive form of integration that Western Europeans have managed to attain. It was based on the sectoral or functional approach. It has an immediate goal - an integrated European economy - and an implied or long-range goal - Political Union. Three years after the establishment of the European Community for Coal and Steel, the Benelux countries proposed to West Germany, France and Italy similar arrangements to cover trade and industry in general. The Foreign Ministers met at Messina, in June, 1955 and finalised the agreements for the creation of the Common Market by signing the Treaty of Rome in 1957. It was ratified by the parliaments of the Six countries - France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg - and came into effect on January 1, 1958. In 1973, after long deliberation and much vacillation, three more European states were admitted - England, Ireland, and Denmark. On January 1, 1981, yet another member - Greece - was formally admitted. It will become fully integrated into the Community after a five-year transitional period. The popularity and utility of the Common Market are evidenced by the fact that the applications of Portugal and Spain for membership have been under serious consideration, and strong economic ties have been developed with Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

25.4.5.1 Objectives

The Treaty of Rome stipulated that its purpose was "to establish the foundations of an ever-closer union among the European Peoples"; "to ensure social and economic progress of the countries"; "to improve the living and working conditions of the peoples"; and to provide a

"harmonious development of economic activities". These objectives are resolved to be attained by "establishing a Common Market and progressively approximating the economic policies of the member states" (article 2). Efforts at European integration and Common Market.

25.4.5.2 Functioning

With a view to eliminating competition among the members, each member was expected to concentrate on the production of particular commodities for the entire community. As each member would concentrate on the production of those goods in which it has the greatest advantage and produces them in bulk, it would automatically lead to reduction in the cost of production and improvement in quality. A European Investment Bank was formed to help the member states to overcome the temporary setbacks due to the formation of the EEC. It advanced loans to the member states with a view to fostering the development of less advanced areas such as Southern Italy. The capital of the Bank was supplied by the signatories to the Treaty of Rome. The total subscription envisaged was 1000 million dollars. The Bank also assisted the members in industrial expansion and other allied problems. It may be noted that at this stage also, the Six tried to bring Great Britain into the EEC, but she refused to join the organisation on the ground that it stood against her longstanding ties and preferential tariff arrangements with the Commonwealth countries; her agricultural support measures and intimate relations with U.S.A.

25.4.5.3 Achievements of the EEC

The achievements of the Community have been many and significant. All tariffs have been eliminated, and a common external tariff has been put into effect so that all goods coming from outside the Community pay the same tariff, no matter which member country they enter. A common agricultural market has come into being, and agricultural goods move freely among the members. There is free movement of workers within the Community. Workers from member countries receive preference over others. Freedom of capital to move from one country to another within the Community has been guaranteed at least for the purpose of making direct investments and for the buying and selling of securities. The Community organs have been successful in working out common social policies in such areas as employment, labour legislation, working conditions, vocational training, social security, protection against accidents, medical care, and collective bargaining. Of particular interest is the establishment of a Community Social Fund to provide direct help to workers who move from one job to another for resettlement and vocational retraining.

In the field of taxation, every effort has been made to eliminate discriminatory or differential indirect taxes. In order to strengthen the unity of the Community and to promote harmonious development by reducing differences existing between regions, a European Investment Bank was set up. More than a billion dollars has since been made available to various member states. In 1973, further, a Regional Development Fund was established to provide direct aid to some of the backward areas of the Community - notably southern Italy, parts of Ireland and England, and south-western France. The Community has been able to overcome economic difficulties arising from the energy crisis and the skyrocketing of oil prices. It has managed to impart order to its trading policies by empowering the Commission to sign trade agreements on behalf of all the members. It seems to be on the verge of installing a European monetary system that may in turn lead to a common European currency. Above all, it has established good trading relations with some fifty Third World countries, and provides developmental aid to many of them. These are not small achievements in a world of turmoil in which national interests continue to dominate.

25.4.5.4 Failures

The Common Market has failed to become a political institution claiming the loyalty of the citizens of the various nation states comprising it. There are no indications of its being

able to achieve it. Conceived as an economic integrative mechanism, it has not extended its power beyond the economic, although its founders had hoped that it would. It has confined its attention to the making arrangements for solving other economic problems. Europe had never been anywhere near its becoming a federation. But, after the Community members have over the years achieved a great degree of economic integration, the time has come for realizing some kind of institutional arrangements which stops short of a genuine federation, but which is something more than an intergovernmental arrangement. Unless there is a common political will, the most original and promising political experiment of the post-World War II Western Europe would have to face powerful disruptive forces. The enlargement of the Community from six to twelve (if Spain and Portugal are admitted), the delay involved in the operation of six official languages, the preponderance of administrators in place of popular participation, economic recession of the 1970's and foreign policy complications, have all come in the way of realizing it.

Significant flaws or shortcomings have also been noticed in the functioning of the Common Market affecting even its economic unity. Major decisions and guidelines on all matters, political and economic, are made at the European Council summit meetings. They are then communicated to the Commission for implementation. Thus, the heads of state have become the dominant decision-making organ - a development that emphasizes the intergovernmental approach, while strengthening the position of each state to the detriment of the Commission and Community policies. Further, though the Treaty provided an equal status to all the original Six members, in reality, France has been able to acquire a dominant position. She has greatly influenced the decisions of the Organisation. For instance, it was mainly on account of French insistence that an Overseas Investment Bank was set up. Again, she was able to secure the interests of her overseas colonies in the EEC because of her dominant position. Moreover, the return of European prosperity has led to the division of the Atlantic Community into rival trading blocs. The French refusal twice before 1973 to admit Britain into the Common Market in spite of American patronage and assent of the other members brings out this division in the Atlantic community clearly. The result is that as economic interests clash, political agreement - even, if small - will recede even further. As things stand, "Europe", in the words of Roy C. Macridis, "may continue to consist of 'fragments' too solid to merge into a large whole and too weak to stand alone".

25.4.5.5 Difficulties in the way of effective European integration

Efforts at European integration have been made through centuries. But, the goal has yet to be reached. As a result of the efforts made after World War II, only the countries of the Western part of Europe could come together. Even these could succeed in achieving to the extent of only economic unity and cooperation. Political integration involving super-national and a federative set-up, seems as remote possibility as ever before. Some of the difficulties that stood in the way of total integration, as outlined below, deserve special attention.

First, the states of Europe have not been able to overcome their narrow nationalism and surrender their sovereignty to a supranational body. They are keen on having a Union without sacrificing their independence. But, no movement for an effective European integration can succeed if the people of different countries of Europe are not in favour of it. The two leading Western European States - the U.K. and France - have stoutly opposed the idea of supranational organisations and surrender of state sovereignty.

Second, the public opinion as well as the leaders holding responsible positions in various European states have not paid sufficient attention to the question of European unity. Leaving aside Germany which seems to have formed some idea about the working of the federation, the other European countries have not given much thought to it.

Third, the dominant economic interests or groups in different European countries are also opposed to the idea of a European Federation. They fear that the creation of a common economy would adversely affect their individual interests and that they may be forced to find out new methods of business and marketing. Instead, they would prefer to cling to the present system and insist on protectionist policies for the further strengthening of the existing system. As these economic interests dominating the economies of the various European countries maintain a close liaison with the political leaders of their countries, they have been able to prevail upon them to desist from striving for closer economic cooperation.

Fourth, the lukewarm attitude of Britain towards the European Unity Movement has also been largely responsible for its slow progress, although Britain has earlier played a dominant and synthetic role in religious as well as in economic spheres of Europe.

Finally, the lack of a common language, which could have created a better understanding among the peoples of the different countries of Europe has also proved to be an important hindrance, and greatly hampered the movement for European Unity. Multiplicity of language media has come in the way of quick understanding and deciding of things.

Despite all these difficulties and several others, the search for European integration has not ceased. The time has indeed come for Europe move from Economic Union to Political Union.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - II

1. Briefly explain the origin of the organisation for European Economic co-operation

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2. What was the aim of the council of Europe?

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25.5 LET US SUM UP

1. Political instability and economic disorder prevailed in many European countries after the second world war. Coalition Governments were formed in France, Italy and some other countries.
2. The Marshall plan, named after Gen. George Marshall, American secretary of state, was formulated in 1947, to aid European economic recovery and to contain the spread of communism.
3. The conditions after the second world war prompted some European countries to think of European integration.
4. Organisation for Economic co-operation (OEC) the council of Europe, and the European Economic community (EEC) were some of the organisational expressions of the attempts at European integration.

25.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. 1961
2. The chief aims of the Marshall plan were to extend American Financial assistance to European countries to speed up their economic recovery from war losses and to strengthen their capacity to resist communism.
- II 1. The organisation for European Economic co-operation came into existence in 1947 on the initiative of Britain and France. The organisation was set up because U.S.A. wanted to channel economic aid to European countries through an organisation.
2. The aim of the council of Europe was to achieve European unity in economic, social cultural, scientific, legal and administrative spheres.

25.7 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
 1. Briefly describe the post-war economic recovery that has been achieved in the West European countries.
 2. What were the economic and political conditions that prevailed in Post-War Italy and Germany?
 3. Trace the reasons for the growth of the Post-World War II European Unity Movement.
 4. Briefly describe the aims, organs and functioning of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.
 5. Examine the achievements and failures of the European Economic Community.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.
 1. What was Marshall plan and how did it help in European economic recovery?
 2. Give an account of formation and objectives of E.E.C.
 3. What were the obstacles for effective European integration.

25.8 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. J. Robert Wegs | : <i>Europe Since 1945</i> |
| 2. John & Gwenneth Stokes | : <i>Europe and the Modern World, 1870-1983</i> |
| 3. Hayes C.J.H | : <i>Contemporary Europe Since 1870</i> |
| 4. James Joll | : <i>Europe Since 1870</i> |
| 5. David Thomson | : <i>Europe since Napoleon</i> |
| 6. Hazen C.D | : <i>Modern Europe upto 1945</i> |

– V.R.K. REDDY

ANDHRA PRADESH OPEN UNIVERSITY

Undergraduate Programme

Faculty of Social Sciences

HISTORY

Syllabus for Third Year, B.A.(1986)

COURSE III History of Modern Europe (1815-1964)

- Block I : Introduction**
- Unit-1 : French Revolution and Napolean
- Block II : Post-Revolutionary Europe and Revolutions of 1830 & 1848**
- Unit-2 : The congress of Vienna, Concept of Europe and the Holy Alliance.
- Unit-3 : The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848
- Unit-4 : Second Republic and Napoleon's Internal and External policies
- Block III : Nationalism in Italy and Germany**
- Unit-5 : Unification of Italy
- Unit-6 : Unification of Germany
- Unit-7 : Domestic and Foreign policies of the German Empire, 1871-1914
- Block IV : The Industrial Revolution**
- Unit-8 : Industrial Revolution, its Causes and Effects
- Block V : The Eastern Question**
- Unit-9 : Origin and Development upto 1878
- Block VI : Post-Berlin Congress Developments, 1878-1913**
- Unit-10 : Dual Alliance and Triple Entente
- Unit-11 : Balkan Wars
- Block VII : Imperialism**
- Unit-12 : Imperialistic Rivalry-Scramble for Africa
- Unit-13 : Impact of Imperialism on Asia
- Unit-14 : Developments in Russia, 1856-1914
- Block VIII : Europe, 1914-1945**
- Unit-15 : Causes and Results of the first World War
- Unit-16 : October Revolution in Russia
- Unit-17 : The Treaty of Versailles
- Unit-18 : The League of Nations
- Unit-19 : France-Search for Security
- Unit-20 : Nazism in Germany-Adolf Hitler
- Unit-21 : Rise of Fascism in Italy-Benito Mussolini
- Unit-22 : Events leading to the Second World War and its Results
- Unit-23 : Stalin Era
- Block IX : Europe, 1945-1964**
- Unit-24 : United Nations Organisation, Aims and Achievements
- Unit-25 : Europe between 1945 and 1964

BRAOU

ANDHRA PRADESH OPEN UNIVERSITY
UNDERGRADUATE COURSE III YEAR
SUBJECT : HISTORY
COURSE III : HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE (1815-1964)
ASSIGNMENT NO. 1

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer from any book.
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source mention the source from which you are quoting.
 4. Use your own foolscap paper for writing the assignments.
 5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluator.
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than two hours.
-

PART - A

I. Answer the following questions in 30 lines each.

1. Critically estimate the work of the Congress of Vienna.
2. Estimate the contribution of Mazzini to Italian unification.
3. Analyse the important effects of the Industrial Revolution.

PART - B

II. Answer the following questions in 15 lines each.

1. Write about the 1848 Revolution.
2. What was Bismarck's policy of blood and iron?
3. Write about the Young Turk Movement.

BRAOU

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSE III YEAR
SUBJECT : HISTORY
COURSE III : HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE (1815-1964)
ASSIGNMENT NO. 2

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer from any book.
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source mention the source from which you are quoting.
 4. Use your own foolscap paper for writing the assignments.
 5. Leave sufficient margine for the comments of the evaluator.
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than two hours.
-

PART - A

I. Answer the following questions in 30 lines each.

1. Describe the nature and effects of European imperialism in Asia and Africa.
2. Explain the causes for the Ist world war.
3. Estimate the nature and impact of the Russian Revolution.

PART - B

II. Answer the following questions in 15 lines each.

1. Write short notes on the Agadir incident.
2. Explain the significance of Woodrow Wilson's 14 points.
3. What were the effects of the economic crisis of 1929.

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SUBJECT : HISTORY
COURSE III : HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE (1815-1964)
ASSIGNMENT NO. 3

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer from any book.
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source mention the source from which you are quoting.
 4. Use your own foolscap paper for writing the assignments.
 5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluator.
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than two hours.
-

PART - A

I. Answer the following questions in 30 lines each.

1. Explain the important results of the II world war.
2. Estimate the achievements of Lenin.
3. Critically examine the achievements of the U.N.O.

PART - B

II. Answer the following questions in 15 lines each.

1. Write short notes on the Muncich pact.
2. How was economic growth achieved in Russia after the Russian Revolution?
3. What were the efforts made by the UNO towards disarmament?

ANDHRA PRADESH OPEN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

B.A. THIRD YEAR (3 YEAR DEGREE COURSE) EXAMINATION

MODEL QUESTION PAPER

HISTORY

COURSE III : HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE (1815-1964)

Time : 3 hours

Max. Marks : 100

SECTION - A

I. Answer any four of the following eight questions in about 30 lines each.

Each question carries 15 marks.

4 × 15 = 60

1. Critically discuss the work of the Congress of Vienna.
2. Discuss the domestic and foreign policy of Napoleon III.
3. Explain Bismarck's role in German Unification.
4. Explain the important effects of the Industrial Revolution.
5. What is meant by the Eastern question? How did it lead to the I world war?
6. Analyse the results of the I world war.
7. Estimate the place of Hitler in world History.
8. Explain the circumstances leading to the II world war.

SECTION - B

II. Answer any five of the following ten questions in about 15 lines each.

9. Write short notes on the 1830 Revolution.
10. Give an account of the role of Garibaldi in Italian unification.
11. Explain the causes and results of the Balkan wars.
12. Explain how the alliances among nations were responsible for wars.
13. What is meant by neoimperialism. Explain its features with examples.
14. How was Japan europeanised?
15. What were the important defects in the treaty of Versailles?
16. How did Mustafa Kemal Pasha westernise Turkey?
17. What is meant by Fascism? How did Mussolini establish Fascism in Italy?
18. Explain the significance of the Washington disarmament conference.

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