



WORLD HISTORY, PART – 1

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World before 18th century

Understanding of the events before 18th century is important to understand the later developments. The dawn of 18th Century was characterized by:

- End of Feudalism in England (Feudalism ended much later in rest of Europe).
- Increase in the number of towns and cities.
- Increase in trade.
- Transition to a money-based economy from land-based economy of Feudalism.
- Rise of Merchant classes and Absolute Monarchs (*England had Democracy and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, there was supremacy of Parliament instead of Monarchy). Decline in power of the Catholic Church.
- Mercantile Capitalism.
- British-French rivalry at its zenith.

1] Feudalism

1.1 Introduction

The Middle Ages or the Medieval Period in Europe was the period from 600 AD to 1500 AD. During this period many social and economic changes took place, especially in Western Europe. A system of society that was very different from rest of the world developed in Western Europe during the medieval period. It came to be known by the name of 'Feudalism'.

The word Feudalism comes from the word 'feud', which means 'conditional ownership of land'. Feudalism was a new social and economic system that came to prevail in Western Europe and later in other parts of Europe in the Medieval period (600-1500 AD). Under this, society was divided into rigid classes, politically there was no central authority and the economy was based in villages, which were self-sufficient and produced little surplus for trade. Hence, it was marked by a decline in trade as well as towns.

Also, there was lack of a central political authority and it were the numerous Feudal Lords who controlled the affairs of the society. The King was not very powerful. The peasants were exploited by the Feudal Lords and 'Serfdom' became an important feature of Feudalism. Moreover, influence of the Church extended beyond religious affairs in Europe.

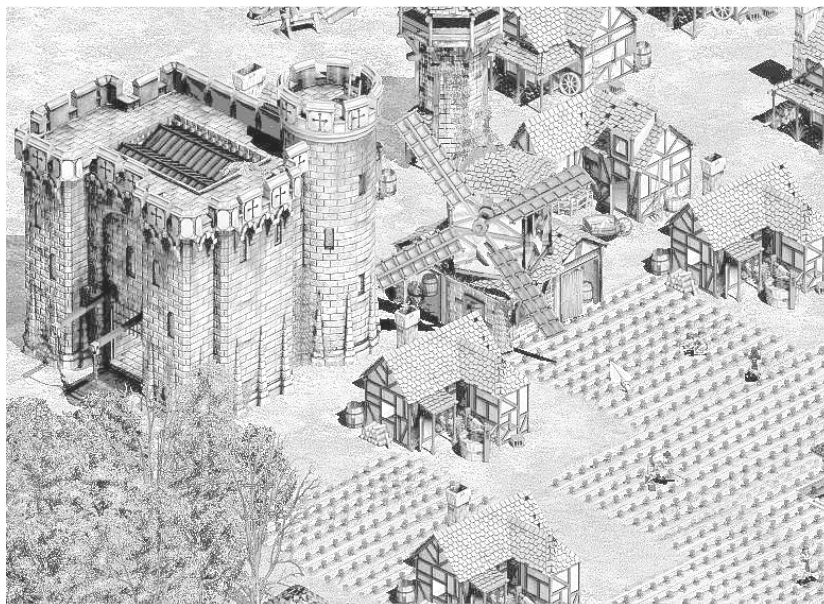
1.2 Why Feudalism developed?

Feudalism developed due to lack of a single central political authority in Western Europe as it had disintegrated into many small and big kingdoms. In such a system the local Lords became more powerful than the King and controlled the affairs of the society.

1.3 Features of Feudalism

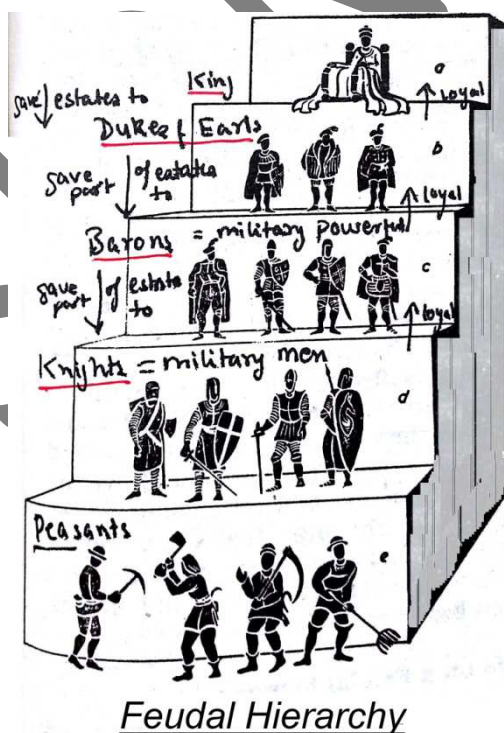
The economy in the Feudal system was village based and the villages were self sufficient. There was a decline in towns as well as trade during this period. Land, not money, was the main source of power.

The Manor:



The peasants worked on the land of the Feudal Lord, which was organized into many Estates or Manors. Each Manor had a Castle (home of the Lord), farms for peasants to work, houses for peasants to stay, workshops for peasants to produce non-agricultural goods and common woods for lumberjacks to cut. Whatever was produced on the Manor was consumed by the Lord and the inhabitants, while very little was traded. The workers on the Manor included the Serfs and the Tenant farmers. The farm was divided into strips of land. While some were given to the tenants who paid a share of the produce as tax to the Lord, rest of the land belonged to the Lord.

Social and Economic System:



Peasants

The Peasants were classified into following:

1. **Serfs:** they worked on the land of the Lord for free and had to perform all labour for him as he desired. They were not free and were tied to the land. This meant that their owners changed with the change in ownership of the land from one Lord to another. This system came to be known as Serfdom.
2. **Freeholders:** they got their lands from the Lord. They were free and only paid a tax fixed by the Lord.

3. **Villeins:** they also got their land from the Lord. For a fixed number of days they worked for the Lord but otherwise they were free and paid tax in form of a part of their agricultural produce.
4. **Freemen:** they were the Serfs freed by their Lords on their discretion.

The King and the Noblemen:

The Feudal Hierarchy consisted of the King at the top. Noblemen below the King were also arranged in a hierarchy of overlords and subordinate lords. Every nobleman was a vassal, of and only of his overlord. Being a vassal means owing allegiance or being loyal, in return of which the vassal got some formal rights. This hierarchical system was unbreachable i.e. a lower Lord would only follow commands of his immediate overlord and not of Lords further higher in the hierarchy. Thus couplets of command developed with a command having legitimacy just between two immediate levels. The King could only order the Dukes and the Earls who would then order their subordinate Lords and so on. The Dukes and Earls got military support from the Barons who were like Military Generals who further depended on the Knights, the actual warriors.

Further, any Lord himself was not the direct owner of the land under him. He held land in the name of his overlord. Thus legally, all territory belonged to the King. It was the King who only had the authority to grant Knighthood to son of a Nobleman who could then affix 'Sir' to his name.

Each Lord had his own soldiers and was the sole authority in his estate. Thus there was no central authority in functional terms and King was a central authority only in legal terms resulting in very little political unity.

Gradually, this Hierarchy became Hereditary. The sons of a Lord would become the next Lords and the next generation of their father's vassals would become their vassals.

1.4 Conclusion

It is quite evident that feudal society was divided into rigid classes with no scope for social mobility. The King had no real authority and the powerful Lords did not think about welfare of the people, majority of whom were peasants. There was economic stagnation, since most of the produce was wasted by Lords in luxurious living. There was no freedom of movement for the peasants as they were tied to the land and individual entrepreneurship was absent.

2] The Church

The Roman Catholic Church was as powerful as the institution of Feudalism. Once the rulers in Europe accepted Christianity, the Pope, who headed the Church, became the head of the Christian world in western Europe. By the 6th century, the Pope often wielded more power than the King and could make him follow his orders. Initially, the Monasteries (the places where the Monks lived) were institutes of high learning. The monks worked to uplift people's moral life and for welfare of the poor. But soon, corruption crept into the monasteries.

2.1 Church's Evils

- Tao Te Ching, the Chinese manual of Statecraft, preached two thousand four hundred years ago: *"The ancients practiced the way which did not enlighten the people ; they used it, rather to stupefy them; the people are hard to rule when they have too much knowledge. Therefore, ruling a state through knowledge is to rock the state. Ruling a state through ignorance brings stability to the state."* The Church used the same principle in maintaining its stranglehold. Also as we will see later, this power of enlightenment of people, is exactly why the American and French Revolutions are much more important for being the revolution of ideas than anything else.

In the Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) the Church's evils took the form of:

- Money for Church posts.
- Money for every ritual.
- Money for removing sins. For example, the Church started selling "Letters of Indulgence" which upon their purchase removed the need for doing pilgrimages for removal of sins.

- Pope, nuns, bishops etc. became corrupt & lived like princes.
- Church owned & amassed huge property.
- To correct the state of affairs, Wandering Monks were introduced by some Church leaders. These Monks did not have home and travelled among the masses setting an example of self-sacrifice and chastity. But soon, they also became corrupt. For example, they authenticated any marriage and would remove all sins for money.
- The Church was the only institution for education in the Medieval time but becoming a Monk was the only future prospect this education offered. They taught in Latin which was not understood by the common man.
- Church made “once in a year” confession of sins to the Father compulsory and the breach of this rule mandated punishment.
- Logic, Reason and Science were discouraged. There was no education available in the disciplines of Science and History. This is why the developments in Science and Technology that happened later are referred to as the Scientific Revolution.
- There was wide belief in witches, superstition and magic. Church became violent. It ordered burning of people who opposed its ideas about God, religion and even the physical phenomena. This was done on charges of “Heresy”. Many scientific thinkers became the victims of Church’s punishments when they proposed scientific theories which invalidated the principles (like the Earth is Flat, or, the whole universe revolves around the Earth), which the Church propagated to glorify God. Many of them were burnt after being classified as witches & as possessed by evil spirits.

3] The Changing Times

3.1 Emergence of Trade, Towns and Cities

The Crusades in the 7th century brought Europe in contact with the Arabs. This exposed them to the rich Arab civilizations and their luxury goods. The demand of luxury goods from the East increased among the Lords. Also the increase in agricultural productivity due to improvement in methods of production, allowed the peasants to become buyers of more non-agricultural goods. These factors led to an increase in trade with the east. The crafts and the Towns (where crafts were produced) also increased in importance. Especially the period from 11th century onward saw rapid emergence of Towns, Trade and Crafts.

Gradually, the peasants started to work as Artisans (i.e. Craftsmen) and the Merchants started to settle in these new towns. As the number of Artisans increased in the towns, the latter expanded to become cities. These cities developed, all across Europe, mainly along the land-based trade routes or around the sea ports. From the ports, the goods imported from Asia were transported along the overland routes to the mainland Europe. Italy witnessed the maximum development of cities (e.g. sea-port cities like Venice & Genoa) due to its location and the geographical advantage of having good natural harbours which facilitated trade with the East. The sea-ports and the inland centers of trade & commerce that developed during this time in Europe, are still its flourishing cities.

3.2 Change in Method of Production: Guilds

To cope up with the demand due to increased trade and towns as well as specialization in crafts, a change in method of production of goods was felt necessary. The Merchants and craftsmen in towns started to organize themselves in Guilds, which were specific to the good being produced, e.g. Guilds of Goldsmiths, barbers, leather-workers etc. Under the Guild system, there was a Master Craftsman with three to four workers or apprentice working under him.

3.3 Rise in influence of Merchant Class

The revival in trade and emergence of Towns resulted in emergence of a new class called the Middle Class, comprising mainly of Merchants. The towns slowly freed themselves from Feudal control. They had their own government, militia and courts. The people were not tied to the land, had freedom of occupation and could move around freely. The extent of social mobility that these towns offered attracted peasants from villages.

The Serfs were free in Towns and they provided the necessary workforce for the Merchants. The influx of more peasants provided a domestic market for the goods produced in towns. In towns, the economy was money-based and land was not the main source of power. The payment was now made in cash instead of having to perform labour for the Lord. The influence of the Merchants increased due to increase in profits from trade. Trade with the East brought goods, which were completely new to the people of Europe. Moreover, demand for such goods increased as they became popular among the masses. Gradually, the Merchants started influencing not just the social and economic, but also the political life in towns.

3.4 Transition to Capitalist Economy

A cash based economic system was introduced in towns. Here life revolved around money, rather than land. Land was used for production of cash crops, which acted as raw material for manufacture of non-agricultural goods and the peasants in towns received payment in cash. Money came to symbolize wealth, instead of gold and silver. The profits, in form of money, could be reinvested in trade and industry unlike the idle-wealth in form of gold and silver. Such wealth or money is called 'capital'. The towns became a center of production instead of the village.

3.5 King Merchant Nexus and the Peasant Revolts

A nexus between the King & the Merchants developed as both wanted power - political & economic. While Kings wanted to get rid of dependence on the Lords and desired less interference of the Church, the Merchants wanted to enjoy freedom of trade and social status, which the monetary profits brought through trade and commerce.

During the Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) in the 14th century there were many peasant revolts against the Feudal institutions as well as the Church. Many times, the rebelling peasant leaders propagated religious doctrines, which were at variance with the Church. Thus, due to all these developments, the Feudal system began to decline, though it completely ended only by 18th and 19th century.

4] Modern Era

Thus, by the end of Middle Ages the system of Feudalism was starting to disintegrate. In the Modern era, this process reached its conclusion. From 14th to 17th century some important developments like Renaissance and Reformation took place, which resulted in an end to Feudal order.

4.1 Renaissance & Reformation

4.1.1 Renaissance

The term Renaissance means 'rebirth'. The period of Renaissance began from 14th Century & lasted till 17th century. It began first in Italy because trade had brought maximum prosperity to Italian cities, which had freedom from feudal control (Italian cities had a virtual monopoly of this trade. It was after voyages of discovery at end of 15th century, that Portugal and Spain and subsequently, Holland, France and Britain started dominating trade). Later, the Renaissance ideas spread from Italy to the rest of Europe.

- It began as a movement to revisit the old scriptures and learn about ancient Greece and Rome. But soon, it turned into a movement of new ideas in art, religion, literature, philosophy, science and politics. It resulted in decline of Church's influence in the intellectual & cultural life of Europe. While the Church talked about peace in life after death, the Renaissance thinkers attacked the Church and talked about happiness on this earth.
- **Humanism** was at the core of Renaissance. It meant focus on Humanity, rather than Divinity. It manifested in a shift in focus towards study of man and nature, rather than theology. The concern for the other-worldly matters was rejected and the focus was on the living man, his joys and sorrows. Renaissance came to imply a new thinking, which was humanistic and rational, rather than superstitious. The potential of man, his dignity and his rights were stressed. Gradually, even the theme of Art & Culture became more about man and nature. E.g. Mary & Jesus were depicted as human beings rather than as

religious symbols. Artists like Da Vinci, Michealangelo and Raphael were prominent artists of the Renaissance movement. The subject/theme of paintings in Churches shifted from heaven and hell to human forms.

- Thus, Humanism was against fatalism. The impact of Renaissance can be gauged by observing the present Individualistic societies of the West where the belief in ability to change one's life is still an important part of one's value system.
- Renaissance resulted in ascendance of local European languages in literature, instead of Latin. Thus it helped in linguistic development and thus, in development of national consciousness. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli gave a new concept of state which was superior to religion and was vested supreme authority in political matters. Political matters came to be treated as separate from religion. Thus Secularism can also be linked to Renaissance.
- The invention of **Printing Press** in first half of 15th century led to further spread of education & new ideas. Though it had less impact on the poor who were illiterate.
- **Scientific Revolution** was also a product of the transformation and began towards the end of the Renaissance era (i.e. around 17th century) and continued till late 18th century. The views of the Church regarding physical events were discarded. Only those phenomena were accepted which could be explained and verified through methods of scientific observation. Thus focus came to be upon testing a hypothesis through *experiments*. Copernicus found that Earth rotated on its axis and proposed the Heliocentric (Sun-centric) theory, i.e. Earth revolved around the Sun (as against the Church's idea that the Earth was center of Universe which is also known as Geo-Centric (Earth-centric) theory. The Church condemned him on charges of Heresy. Bruno who supported Copernicus view was burnt to death. Galileo invented Telescope in 1554 and used it to study heavenly bodies. He confirmed Copernicus's observation and established that universe was an open system (Church described Universe as a closed system maintained in motion by God) and earth was only a small part of it. Galileo was also charged of Heresy and not allowed to work on Astronomy anymore. Kepler from Germany explained with help of Mathematics how planets move around the sun. Newton continued the work of Kepler & established that all heavenly bodies move as per the Law of Gravity.

Vesalius through study of dissections of human body provided complete description of the anatomy of human body. Harvey in 1610 explained blood circulation. This helped in medical science. Innovations like use of Astrolabe and Compass and development of better ships which could sail in any direction irrespective of the wind direction helped in discovery of new lands at the end of 15th century. The Scientific revolution paved the way for a new movement called Enlightenment that began in 1600s and reached its height in mid 1700s. **Enlightenment** stressed on ideas of self-rule, basic human rights and democracy. It was the driving force behind movements for establishment of self-rule and democracy in Europe and elsewhere. Thus, we shall see that Enlightenment played a very important role in the American Revolution (1776), the French Revolution (1789) and the Russian Revolution (1905, 1917).

4.1.2 Reformation

- Alongside, the 16th Century also witnessed **Reformation** which can be classified into Protestant Reformation & Catholic Reformation.
- **Protestant reformation (early 16th century)** was a movement against the practices and authority of the radical Catholic Church. It resulted in the rise of Protestantism and in their opposition, the Protestant leaders started setting up Protestant Churches in different countries of Europe. Under Martin Luther, a monk who opposed the Letters of Indulgence and other Church evils, the first Protestant Church was setup in Germany (from 1520-1545) under the King's support.
- The German rulers supported Luther due to political reasons as well. They desired freedom from authority of Pope and control on wealth of Monasteries. Soon after, the Protestant Reformation spread to rest of Europe.
- Nationalism also played a role as the people now despised the authority of Catholic Church located in Rome. In England, King Henry VII declared himself the head of the Church. Then the Queen Elizabeth I made the Church of England, the official church by declaring its independence from the Church in Rome and adopting some Reformation principles.
- Protestant churches adopted the use of language spoken by the people, rather than the elitist Latin. The

Bible was translated into local languages. (This was similar to ascendance of local languages in place of Sanskrit during Indian Renaissance) The use of local languages further increased national consciousness & thus Renaissance and Reformation can be said to be a precursor to nationalism in Europe.

- Reason was popularized as more important than Religion.
- By 17th century, half of Europe had setup their own Protestant Churches.
- **Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation (late 16th century)**
 - This was a reform process initiated by the Catholic Church in response to the rising popularity of the Protestant Churches. In Spain, the reformers formed an organization of clergymen to work as “Soldiers of Jesus”. The members of this organization came to be known as Jesuits and they went to France and Germany to win back followers. They also setup missions in India, China, Africa and America.
- After these reformations, religious wars began among the followers of both sects and many followers were killed on both the sides. The violence against Protestants in England resulted in their migration to North America where their colonies later laid foundation of USA. In England, due to the pro-Catholic religious policies of King Charles I, religious violence merged into the English Civil War (1642-51) which was fought between the Parliamentarians and the pro-Monarchy Royalists over the form of government.

4.2 Beginning of International Trade

Voyages of Discovery (at end of 15th century) also characterized the beginning of the Modern Age in Europe (*They resulted in founding of new lands of Asia and Americas by the Europeans and are discussed in the topic of Colonialism).

Italy was the first to establish virtual monopoly in trade with rest of the world. Later the trade got a boost with discovery of new lands of America, Asia and Africa at the end of 15th century. This changed the economy of many European nations. Also, with the discovery of these new lands, Colonialism began its march. The early colonial powers were Portugal and Spain. They were soon joined by, and in many cases replaced from their colonies by Dutch, Britain and France.

4.3 Rise of Absolute Monarchies

The King-Merchant nexus and the decline of Feudalism by the end of Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) helped the Kings in consolidating their hold on power. Strong rulers in form of Absolute Monarchies rose by subjugating the Feudal Lords and defying the Church’s political interference. Denmark was the first to include Absolutism in a written constitution in 1665. Also, there were strong monarchies in Prussia (present day Germany), England, Holland, Austria, France etc.

For example, Louis XIV consolidated the French empire in 17th century and by the first decade of 18th century, France became a force to reckon with.

4.4 The English Revolution

There were struggles for democracy against the rule of Absolute Monarchy in England. The English Civil War (1642-51) was fought between the Parliamentarians and the pro-Monarchy Royalists. The Parliamentarians were against the absolute rule of King Charles I who believed in the Divine Right of the King to rule. They opposed the levy of tax by the King without the consent of Parliament. The result was:

- execution of the King.
- an end to monopoly of Church of England (which was pro Catholics, had adopted only some reformation principles like allowing divorce) over Christian worship in England.
- Establishment of the principle that the King cannot rule without the consent of Parliament.

The **Glorious Revolution of 1688** in England legally established the supremacy of Parliament. It was during this revolution that the Parliament, for the first time, appointed the King. The King was removed and his son-in-law, the William of Orange from Holland was made the King. Thus, from a limited constitutional monarchy established by the English Civil War (1642–1651), England transitioned to a Democracy with supremacy of Parliament.

5] Seven Year Global War (1754-63)

5.1 Introduction

The Seven Year Global War was fought from 1754 to 1763, actually a period of nine years, between France and Britain. Other European powers like Spain, Prussia and Austria also got engaged in the war. It is **called the Global War** since it was fought on different battlegrounds including North America, Caribbean, India, West Coast of Africa and in Europe.

5.2 Reason behind the War:

The main **reason behind the war** was the quest for **hegemony over colonies** between Britain and France.

In North America, the British had 13 colonies on the Eastern coast along the Atlantic Ocean. They wanted to **expand westwards** for want of more raw materials and an increased export market in North America. But the west was under the domination of France. The French were anxious to hold on to Western North America to prevent British hegemony in the world political and economic affairs.

Britain was undergoing the Industrial revolution (1750 onwards) at that time, which was making the British goods much more competitive in the world markets. Also, Britain was emerging as a dominant sea power and its maritime trade profits were soaring. Thus, France feared that a stronger Britain in North America would soon threaten the French colonies in the Caribbean. They were right and **in Caribbean** the British fought against Spain and France who controlled the profiteering sugar plantations in their Caribbean colonies.

The **West African Senegal** had large natural resources, especially of Gum, and the French trading ports here, came under the British attack.

In India the Battle of Plassey in 1757 was fought between the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud Daula and the East India Company. The East India Company benefited from the war by getting exclusive trading rights in Bengal and the total trade control by the British reduced the influence of the French in India. Further, in 1760-61 the Battle of Wandiwash between the French and the British established the British supremacy in South Asia while the French were restricted to Pondicherry.

5.3 Result: Treaty of Paris of 1763

The Treaty of Paris of 1763 signed after the 7 Year War had the following clauses:

1. Britain got Canada from France and Florida from Spain.
2. France was allowed to retain its Caribbean sugar islands.
3. Spain's control over Cuba and Philippines was recognized.

The effect of the Seven Year War on world politics was that it reduced the domination of France, while Britain consolidated its colonial power. Also, it laid the ground for American Revolution (1765-83) and French Revolution (1789).

6] American Revolution (1765-1783)

6.1 Introduction

In North America, the British had established 13 colonies on the west coast of Atlantic Ocean. After the Seven Year War, the influence of the French in rest of North America was ended.

6.2 Reasons for American resentments against the British

While the British Mercantilism or Mercantile capitalism created an environment of resentment among the White Americans, the Seven Year War created conditions, which became the immediate trigger for the American Revolution.

6.2.1 Mercantile Capitalism

Mercantile Capitalism was the British policy in the 18th century. It was based on the idea that the Government should regulate the economy at home and colonies abroad, so as to increase the national power and achieve a positive Balance of Trade. A positive balance of trade is achieved when a country is a net exporter of goods (in value terms). This policy manifested in form of placing trade barriers on the colonies and establishing a monopoly of the British companies on trade done by the colonies. Such restrictions, which were part of the British colonial **policy of Mercantile Capitalism, prevented the Americans from developing their indigenous industry.** The colonies were barred by British law from using the non-British ships for trade. The export of certain raw material goods from American colonies could only be made to Britain. Further, a very heavy duty was levied on import of non-British goods into America. Such trade barriers are the characteristic feature of Mercantile Capitalism.

Further, the Americans were forbidden by law to setup industries like iron works & textiles. The exports of finished iron and textile goods was very profitable to the British businessmen and thus, the Americans were forced to fund the British growth in these sectors of economy.

6.2.2 Proclamation of 1763

The aim of American Revolution was to end the British Colonialism in North America. As a truce with the American Indians, who had started an armed rebellion at the end of the Seven year War, the British Parliament issued a “Proclamation of 1763” which banned the expansion by the US settlers to the west of the Appalachian Mountains, as this area was now reserved for the native American Indians. Another reason for issue of such a proclamation was the lobbying by the Aristocrats in Britain, who did not want the westward expansion. They had bought land in the American colonies and made profits from the rents they extracted from the white settlers. The American settlers, who had fought in the Seven year War along the British with the purpose of westward expansion, felt cheated and thus ignored this proclamation. Their local militia forces continued to bring the area in the west under their control.

6.2.3 Role of Enlightenment Thinkers

The Enlightenment or the “Age of reason” was a movement that began in 1600s with ideas proposed by thinkers like Hobbe and Locke on the form of government and the rights of the people. It reached its height in mid 1700s. Hobbe was pro-Absolute Monarchy and gave the concept of Social Contract which means that - because all people behave in self interest, people should give up some of their rights to the government, which in return should provide law and order to the society. On the other hand, Locke had a positive view of man and believed that man can learn from experience. He favoured the concept of Self-government. According to Locke, all people are born free and equal, with three natural rights—life, liberty, and property. The purpose of government, said Locke, is to protect these rights. If a government fails to do so, citizens have a right to overthrow it. (This right to insurrection was also made part of the Jacobin constitution in the French revolution.)

These **modern thinkers and philosophers played an important role in American and French Revolution.** Around 1750, many Thinkers were challenging the status-quo and demanding freedom and liberty for the people. They placed before the people, the idea of a democratic form of governance. They helped in development of ideas of Republicanism and Liberalism that militated against colonialism. English Philosophers like Locke, Harrington and Milton believed that men have fundamental rights, which no government can infringe. In 1690, Locke had defined the three natural rights of man. Montesquieu had described the principle of Separation of Powers in 1748. Thomas Paine of France argued that it was absurd that a continent (North America) be governed by an island (Britain). The Enlightenment thinkers in mid-1700s in France gave following ideas, which influenced both, the American Revolution and the French Revolution:

1. **Reason:** Enlightenment thinkers believed truth could be discovered through reason or logical thinking. Reason, they said, was the absence of intolerance and prejudice in one’s thinking.
2. **Nature:** To them, what was natural was also good and reasonable. They believed that there were natural laws of economics and politics, just as there were natural laws of motion.
3. **Happiness:** A person who lived by nature’s laws would find happiness. Philosophers were impatient with the medieval notion propagated by the Church that people should accept misery in this world to find joy in the life after death. They wanted well-being on earth, and they believed it was possible.

4. **Progress:** The philosophers were the first Europeans to believe in progress for society. With a scientific approach, they believed, society and humankind could be perfected.
5. **Liberty:** The philosophers envied the liberties that the English people had won in their Glorious Revolution (1688). In France, there were many restrictions on speech, religion, trade, and personal travel. Through reason, they believed, society could be set free.

6.2.4 Recovery of (Seven Year) War Expenditure:

The Seven Year War had cost a lot of money to Britain. When they decided to make up for the costs of war by taxing the people in British colonies in North America, the latter opposed it.

6.2.5 No Representation in British Parliament:

The British Parliament enacted the **Stamp Act in 1765**, which imposed stamp taxes on all business transactions in the British colonies in USA. E.g. revenue stamps of some amount were made mandatory for all legal documents. The Americans responded by boycotting the British goods and soon many uprisings in the towns followed where the tax collectors were exterminated.

Since the British Parliament had no American representation, the American leaders opposed the right of Britain to levy any taxes on them. Moreover, the Americans felt that the money thus collected was used in interest of the British and not for development of the peoples of America. In the **Massachusetts Assembly**, the leaders of all 13 colonies gathered and adopted the slogan of **No Taxation without Representation**.

The threat by the American leaders to stop the import of British goods forced the British into repealing the Stamp Act.

Further, the Americans opposed the tax on consumer goods imported by the colonies by cutting British imports by half, which coerced the British into withdrawing all taxes except on Tea. The tax on Tea was not very high but it was not withdrawn by British because they wanted to retain their right to levy tax in US colonies. The **Boston Tea Party of 1773** was a protest against this Tea tax. A ship carrying tea was anchored in the Boston port. Initially the Americans did not allow the ship to unload and this resulted in a standoff for many days. Finally, when the pro-Britain Boston Governor ordered unloading, the white settlers dressed as American Indians destroyed all the tea by offloading all the containers into the sea. The infuriated British responded by closing the Boston Port to all trade and by passing the Intolerable Acts of 1774 (They were called Coercive Acts by the British. Intolerable Acts was the term used by Americans.)

6.2.6 Intolerable Acts of 1774 & the Philadelphia Congress

The **1st Continental Congress in Philadelphia (1774)** or simply the **Philadelphia Congress**, which had representatives from 12 colonies (Georgia did not participate because it wanted British help in dealing with militancy of American Indians) was held in response to the Intolerable Acts/Coercive Acts passed by the British Parliament earlier in 1774 to punish the colony of **Massachusetts** for the incident of Boston Tea Party by taking away its right of self-government. The Americans also appealed to King George III to remove restrictions on indigenous industry, allow Americans to trade with all the countries at reduced tariffs and not to tax the American colonies without their consent. Britain interpreted these demands as a Mutiny and attacked the colonies in 1775. This led the American representatives to proclaim the **Declaration of Independence in 1776** (drafted by Thomas Jefferson), which had the following points:

- That all men are created equal.
- That they are endowed by their creation certain inalienable rights like right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.
- Republicanism, i.e. the principle that people are the source of authority and it is people's right to setup their own government.
- Independence, i.e. the American colonies are oppressed by the British government and these United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent states. (*notice here that these colonies declared themselves as "independent states". The principle of states coming together to form the US Federation can be read between these lines.)

The Declaration of Independence document did two things - it summarized the political philosophy of Enlightenment thinkers like Locke in form of “self evident truths” and it listed the grievances to justify the breaking of ties between the colonies and the mother country.

6.3 American Revolutionary War or American War of Independence (1775)

What was to follow, was the American War of Independence. The Loyalists were the British settlers who remained loyal to Britain and fought on their side. France, Spain and Dutch Republic helped the Americans secretly. In 1777, Britain tried to encircle the Americans by invading from Canada. Their failure in this Battle proved to be a turning point in favour of Americans. After this victory of Americans, France entered the war openly in 1778. Spain and Dutch Republic also fought with Britain in Europe and Asia. Spanish Army expelled the British army from Florida (Florida was with British since Seven Year War’s end. Later US bought Florida from Spain).

In 1783, the British commander Cornwallis surrendered before the army led by George Washington.

6.3.1 Second Treaty of Paris 1783

It ended the American War of Independence. Some of its important clauses were:

- Perpetual Peace between USA and Britain
- All US Colonies were recognized as free, sovereign and independent states, with Britain giving up all claims on government, property and territory.
- US would give back confiscated lands of Loyalists.
- Spain signed a separate treaty with Britain and it got back Florida (lost to Britain after the 1st treaty of Paris, 1763)

Constructive Criticism of American Revolution

In 1789, the United States Constitution came into effect. It was the first written Republic Constitution. The Bill of Rights is the set of first ten amendments to the USA constitution and includes freedom of speech, press, religion and justice under the law.

The American Revolution established the first democratic Republic in the world and the USA soon embarked on Industrial Revolution. It also **expanded its territory** within the continent of North America by westward expansion and purchase of territory like Louisiana from France in 1803 and Florida from Spain in 1819.

The new Republic of the USA was not free of biases. The Republic was not truly democratic as the women, the blacks and the Native Americans did not get the Right to Vote. Slavery was a blot on the principle of equality and it could be finally abolished, only after the **Civil War of 1861-65** between the Northern and the Southern States of USA. The Southern States were against Slavery abolition as their economy was farm based and required the cheap black labour. They also profited from the Slave Trade and even desired that slavery be expanded to the newly acquired territory.

It can be argued that the Men referred to in US constitution were Men of Property, as only those who held property were given all of the promised rights.

Still, the most important **contribution of American Revolution** was its contribution to ideas of Liberty, Equality, Fundamental Rights, Nationalism and anti-colonialism. The idea of equality with no special privileges to Nobility was radical at a time when much of the world was under Feudalism, where the Nobles were the prominent class. The idea of no taxation on property, which flowed from the Right to Property, was also novel in those times. Thus American Revolution was a revolution in ideas and system of Polity and it impacted the future events, the most prominent of them being the French Revolution of 1789.

7] French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars

The French Revolution was a product of the dysfunctional society characterized by Feudalism.

7.1 Reasons behind French Revolution

7.1.1 Three Estates

The society of 18th century France was divided into three classes or estates. The Clergy was the first estate, the Nobles were the second estate and the third estate, which formed the majority of population, included the middle classes, the artisans, the city workers and the peasants.

The Clergy was the largest landowner in per capita terms. The Nobility had a monopoly on all the important official positions in the government service, the army, and other public offices. However, the Clergy and the Nobles did not pay any taxes and did no productive work.

The Peasants formed 80 per cent of the population. Within the peasants, there were further subdivisions in the form of landowner peasants, tenants and landless laborers. The **landowner peasants** formed a very minute percentage. The **tenants** had to pay 2/3rd of their produce in rent. The **landless laborers**, on the other hand, lived on paltry wages. Although no one was a serf technically, forced labor still existed as a feudal privilege of the lord, and was put into operation frequently, especially for public works.

The middle classes were the educated people like writers, doctors, civil servants and richer people like merchants. Though economically middle classes were important, they enjoyed very little social prestige and political rights in the society. The Artisans and city workers also lived a miserable life of poverty. They enjoyed no rights at workplace and couldn't shift jobs without certificate of good conduct by the employer.

The Third Estate did not have voting rights. On the other hand, the Clergy and the Nobles did not pay any tax and the tax burden was solely borne by the Third Estate. This was a major source for the grievance of people.

7.1.2 Unpopular Monarchy & financial troubles

King Louis XVI was an inefficient ruler with poor intelligence. The people hated his wife Marie Antoinette who interfered in the appointments of officials. The King also showed favoritism in appointing officials (nepotism). Under King Louis XVI, France was in financial trouble due to costly wars like the Seven Year War. The American Revolution had pushed France to bankruptcy as France had aided the Americans against Britain. The irony was not missed by the people of France. While France supported the American Revolution (which aimed self-rule, liberty, equality and democracy for the people), the way the Monarchy ruled in France was an anti-thesis to the ideas that formed the foundation of the American Revolution.

7.1.3 Role of Enlightenment Thinkers

The revolutionary Enlightenment thinkers made the French Revolution more than just an outbreak of violence. Grounding their arguments on **Rationalism**, the thinkers argued that man was born to be happy and not to suffer as stated by the Church. This **happiness** could be achieved by removing the prejudices prevailing in society.

Further, they focused on **Secularism** as they either denied God or ignored him in their discussions. The **Doctrine of Nature** brought the Clergy under attack by the thinkers. It emphasized that there was a need to study nature's laws and religion cannot help in this, rather, it is the power of reason that is key to nature's understanding. *Voltaire* believed that all religion was absurd as it was against the logics of reason. *Atheists and Materialists* gained popularity as it was emphasized that man's destiny lay in his own hands.

The principles of **Laissez Faire** and **No Taxation without Representation** were stressed which brought the Nobility under criticism. Further, the ideas of **democracy** were propounded by thinkers like *Montesquieu* and *Jean Rousseau*. (*the student should establish the link here between the French Revolution and - the Renaissance of 14th century, the Reformation of 16th century, the Scientific Revolution from 17th century onward that helped undermine the authority of the Church, the Enlightenment that started from 1600s and dwelt upon the form of government & the rights of the people and the American Revolution (1765-83))

7.2 Events in French Revolution of 1789

In 1789, King Louis XVI called a meeting of Estate's General, which was the old feudal assembly of the three Estates, to get consent for additional funds. The Third estate representatives opposed additional funding since they were the ones who were the only taxpayers and would have to bear the tax burden from any such additional funding. Although they had demanded and secured double representation for the Assembly, they were infuriated when they came to know that all the three estates were to have equalised votes irrespective of the number of representatives. When the debates reached a dead end, the Third Estate representatives declared themselves the National Assembly, an assembly of the people rather than an assembly of the Estates (like Estates General). Soon they moved their meeting to the nearby **Royal Tennis Court**. Their goal was to draw up a constitution for France in which the Third Estate could also have voting rights. The Second Estate saw this as an attempt to do away with the Old Order, and forced the King to crush the National Assembly. When the King sent in troops to dispel the leaders of third estate, the people got enraged and they went on to break open the **Bastille Prison**. They freed the inmates and took control of the arms and ammunition stored in the prison. This was a symbolic revolt against the King and marked the de-facto end to his authority. After Bastille event, the National Assembly started legislating and it adopted the now famous document of French Revolution, called the **Rights of Man and Citizen**. They abolished Feudalism, removed the Roman control on the French Church and curtailed the powers of the Church so as to reduce their influence in polity.

Following were the major ideas enlisted in the **Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen**:

- All men are born free and equal.
- Equality before law.
- Principle of innocent until proven otherwise.
- All people were eligible to the public offices
- Freedom of speech and press.
- Right to private property unless the public welfare necessitates to infringe this right.
- The society has a right to demand accountability from each civil servant.
- The document gave the term nation its modern meaning i.e. a Nation is sum total of the people residing in a territory and not the territory itself. From the idea of Nation followed the idea of sovereignty of the people. Thus people were the source of all power and authority, and there cannot be any ruler above the people but only a Republic.

The **French revolutionary wars** were fought from 1792 to 1802, by France, against the absolute monarchies of Austria, Prussia and Savoy (Italian State) as the latter desired to protect their own hold on power from being eroded by ideas of liberty and equality. They are known as Revolutionary wars because France was trying to protect the revolution of 1789, which was under threat from neighbouring monarchies who were afraid of the French revolution spreading to their countries. Hence they wanted to reinstate Monarchy in France. The French forces tried to enlist the support of the people of the territory they gained control of, by offering them assistance and the ideas of fraternity, liberty and equality. In 1793, the King and the Queen of France were executed and then France declared a pre-emptive war against Britain, Holland, Spain and Hungary.

Jacobins & Napoleon

To qualify as a voter, a person had to have income above a certain threshold. Due to this conditional Right to Vote, majority of the Third Estate could still not become voters. The Aristocracy was now replaced by the Bourgeois and the conditions of the peasants and city workers did not improve as they had expected. Soon after, in 1793, the radical Jacobins came to power in France. They made the Right to Vote unconditional by removing the income clause.

Under the Jacobins, the revolution entered a radical phase. Robespierre, the leader of the Jacobins was the man behind, what came to be known as, the Reign of Terror, where the regime sought to execute via guillotine all those who opposed the revolution. The King and the Queen were executed in 1793. It was a naïve idea that by use of guillotine against all critics, a new beginning could be made. Soon the guillotine was used to punish anyone voicing dissent. Under the Jacobins, France descended into anarchy with little scope for the Rule of Law.

Many Jacobins were also executed. Soon the Jacobins themselves turned against Robespierre and the Reign of Terror came to an end with his execution via guillotine. The Bourgeois again came to power and their government was called Directorate. In 1795 they rewrote the constitution reinstating the conditional Right to

Vote. At the same time the power and prestige of the French Army were increasing. In 1799, Napoleon, in a coup, brought France under military rule. He declared himself the Emperor a few years later and the Monarchy was restored in France.



The years between 1803 and 1815 are known for **Napoleonic wars**, wherein the French fought against rest of Europe and brought the ideas of French Revolution to the conquered territories. Napoleon's forces abolished serfdom and modernized the administration of the conquered territories in Europe. After Napoleon's defeat at **Waterloo** (United Kingdom of Netherlands-present day Belgium), the monarchies in rest of the Europe helped the old dynasty to come to power in 1815. But the monarchy could never restore its control to the level witnessed prior to the 1789 revolution and soon France saw four waves of revolutions to finally become a Republic in 1871.

7.3 Impact/Constructive Criticism of French Revolution

Pros:

The French revolution had an important impact not just on France, but rest of the world. The wars with France weakened the European colonial powers like Spain and Portugal and their **colonies in South and Central America** declared themselves as independent republics. In Central America, inspired by the French Revolution, Haiti gained freedom from the French itself in 1804 through an armed revolt that began in 1792. Haiti gave protection to Simon Bolivar when he fled South America during his struggle for independence from France. Simon Bolivar from 1813 to 1824 liberated many South American countries and later tried to organize them into a US type federation in form of Gran Columbia. He freed Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia from the Spanish rule through an armed revolt.

The abolition of Slavery after French revolution was the first move against this repressive system and Britain followed suit in 1833 while USA banned it in 1865.

It led to **destruction of feudalism** in France as all laws of old feudal regime were repealed and lands of the nobles and church were confiscated and redistributed. The privileged classes i.e. the first and the second estate, were abolished. The anti-Feudalism wave that hit Europe in 19th century owes its origin to the events in France. Also, the French revolution ushered in the new economic system of Capitalism as against the prevalent Feudalism.

The **Jacobian constitution**, which although never came into effect, was the first genuinely democratic constitution. It gave the right to vote to all, and even the Right to Insurrection, which implies the right to revolt or rise against the government. The Government under the Jacobin constitution had the responsibility to give work to all and 'Happiness' of people was to be overarching state policy.

Under Napoleon's rule, the **Napoleonic Code** as a civil code for France, was introduced and some of its provision like merit based recruitment to government jobs and focus on clearly written law, continue to effect the present legal system in France and other nations.

The French Revolution **inspired movements against colonialism** in colonies around the world, while **movements for democracy** and self-rule rose in whole of Europe. In French Revolution, the working class had played an important role. They had formed secret societies to bring about the revolution. The **rise in workers solidarity** was later seen all across Europe especially in the industrialized Britain (as reflected in Chartist Movement in 1830s and 1840s). This helped in workers getting the right to vote and other welfare measures. The French revolution's ideas of equality and liberty helped make Britain much more democratic in the 19th century.

Cons:

But the French Revolution had limited success in achieving its objectives. In reality, post-revolution regime failed to resolve the grievances of the **workers**, who were the main force during the uprising of 1789, and only the peasants benefited (as they became owners of land confiscated from the privileged classes). The revolution failed to bring in democratic rule and the **Reign of Terror** under the Jacobians was a mass slaughter characterized by nothing but brute force and breach of rule of law.

Napoleon, due to his continuous warfare resulted in rise of nationalism in the invaded territories and he came to be perceived, not as a liberator, but a conqueror. This Nationalism was to prove advantageous to the unification of Germany and Italy in 1870s.

8] Nationalism - Rise and Impact

The rise of Nationalism, especially after French revolution, had important impact on the world including on the re-drawing of national boundaries.

Britain and France were the first nation-states to emerge.

8.1 Concept of Nation

Until the French revolution, except for Britain, the Europe was under the domination of feudal system and there was no concept of a Nation. There were empires with scattered territories ruled by Monarchs, there existed feudal lords with their estates and there were towns and cities, but no Nation, as we understand it today. The French revolution gave the concept of a Nation, which was sum total of people and in whom lay the sovereignty. Thus, Nationalism came to be represented as self-rule due to the French and American revolutions.

8.2 Misuse by Absolute Monarchs

Further, when Napoleon invaded the rest of Europe, stoked by the monarchs of Europe, nationalism manifested in form of the desire to protect the territory against foreign invasion. Thus the Monarchs used nationalism to consolidate their hold on power and the 19th century Europe witnessed aggressive Absolute Monarchies with focus on extension of territory and expansion of colonial empire. After Napoleonic wars, Europe saw waves of pro-democracy revolutions but Monarchies were opposed to the democratic ideas of French revolution and they used nationalism as a shield to defend and even extend their empires. War victories (e.g. Bismarck consolidated his hold on Germany via Franco-Prussian War of 1870) and admission of more colonies (e.g. Italy entered colonial race in Africa for political benefits at home) were used to maintain the hold on power.

8.3 Role of Revolutionary Thinkers

Modern thinkers contributed a lot to the concept of nationalism. Idea of self-rule and nationalism were also altering the national boundaries. Greece became independent from Ottoman Empire in 1832, while Belgium's pro-democracy revolution against United Kingdom of Netherlands helped it attain independence in 1839.

The movement for unification of Germany and Italy derived much of their energies from the ideas of these thinkers. Example, Garibaldi and Mazzini played an important role in unification of Italy, while the English poet Byron wrote and fought for Greek independence.

These thinkers brought Romanticism to the literary content of those times, which enthused the people to lend their support to their armies, freedom fighters and monarchies alike for sake of Nation's glory.

8.4 Industrial Revolution & Nationalism

The Industrial Revolution in Europe during the 19th century increased the national competition in economic sphere and brought the nation-states in conflict with each other for acquisition of colonies.

9] Unification of Germany and of Italy

The major feature of 19th century Europe was struggle for national unification and independence. Greece and Belgium became independent in this century and Germany and Italy rose as united independent states.

9.1 Unification of Germany



9.1.1 Social & Economic conditions

The social conditions were similar to those witnessed in any Feudal society. In Germany, the landlords were called Junkers, who dominated the affairs of the state. Economically, the division of Germany into multiple states resulted in poor economic development because of restrictions these states brought on free movement of goods. The backward socio-political system also contributed to the poor economic situation.

9.1.2 Role of Napoleonic Wars & French Revolution

In 18th century, Germany was divided into many states. The Napoleonic wars ended the artificial boundaries of many states and united them, but still 38 states remained. Prussia was the biggest and the most powerful of them. After the French revolution, the German people started demanding democratic form of government and economic reforms. The wave of nationalism enthused the Germans for unification of these states. All these undercurrents resulted in formation of the **German Confederation in 1815**. It included parts of Austrian & Prussian Empire and some German states. Large parts of Prussia and Austria were not included in the Confederation. Confederation's purpose was to coordinate economic policies of the constituent members. But it failed because of following:

- Each of the constituent state tried to assert its independence and did little to meet the anti-feudal aspirations of the people.
- The 1848 revolts for establishment of a democracy in a unified Germany.
- Rivalry between Austria and Prussia for dominating the affairs of the German Confederation.

9.1.3 Failure to unite under a Democracy

1848 was a year of revolts in most of Europe for establishment of democracy. These revolts were led by workers. In 1848, revolts started in all German states for overthrow of the present political system of Monarchy rule and

the rulers were forced to grant a democratic form of government. The Constituent Assembly thus formed, met in Frankfurt with the goals to unite all the German States and to draft a new constitution. The Prussian King refused to the proposal of a constitutional monarchy for united Germany. In the meantime, the rulers bounced back and started the repression of the nationalists. Consequently, the rights granted so far to appease the nationalists were withdrawn and the monarchy of Prussia emerged the strongest.

9.1.4 Unification under Bismarck: Policy of Blood & Iron

The unification of Germany was still to happen but not under a democratic government but under the iron hand of Bismarck, the military commander of Prussia. His policy was to preserve the interests of the landed aristocracy and the domination of Army in affairs of the State. Bismarck followed the policy of Blood and Iron under which he coerced the states into unison. The policy was implemented swiftly and with great strategic expertise. The aim of the policy was to unite Germany under the Prussian Monarchy and this required bringing down the German Confederation.

To implement his policy:

- a) Bismarck's Prussia first fought a war in 1864 in alliance with Austria against Denmark to annex most of the territory of German Confederation.
- b) Then he allied with Italy in 1866 to defeat Austria and removed it from the German Confederation. Consequently the Confederation itself was ended.
- c) In 1867, Bismarck formed the **North German Confederation**. It united 22 German states but excluded the Southern German states like Bavaria, which remained independent. The constitution of this Confederation made the Prussian King the hereditary head of the state. The Southern states followed a pro-Austria policy but were forced to unite after the German victory in Franco-Prussian war of 1870.
- d) The Franco-Prussian war in 1870 led to final unification of Germany. In 1870 the French monarchy was tattering and the conditions were ripe for another revolution for establishment of a democratic republic. The French King Louis Bonaparte declared war on Germany in 1870. He wanted to use a war victory to divert attention of the public and to use the consequent war gains to lend credibility to his regime. On other hand, Bismarck was also partially responsible for provoking the French for war. The result was that France was defeated and it declared itself republic in 1871. The war and the consequent German victory allowed Bismarck to absorb rest of the German states into a united Germany (1871).

9.2 Unification of Italy

Unification of Italy was a two-step process. In the first step, it had to gain independence from Austria and secondly, it had to unite the consequent independent Italian states into a single unit. Mazzini and Garibaldi were revolutionaries who played an important role in this process. Mazzini had formed an organization named **Young Italy** in 1831 for unification of Italy. From 1831 onwards, Young Italy repeatedly attempted revolts against the Monarchy but all of them failed to establish a democratic and united Italy. Yet, Young Italy enthused the people for a united Italy under a liberal government.

9.2.1 Role of 1848 Revolts

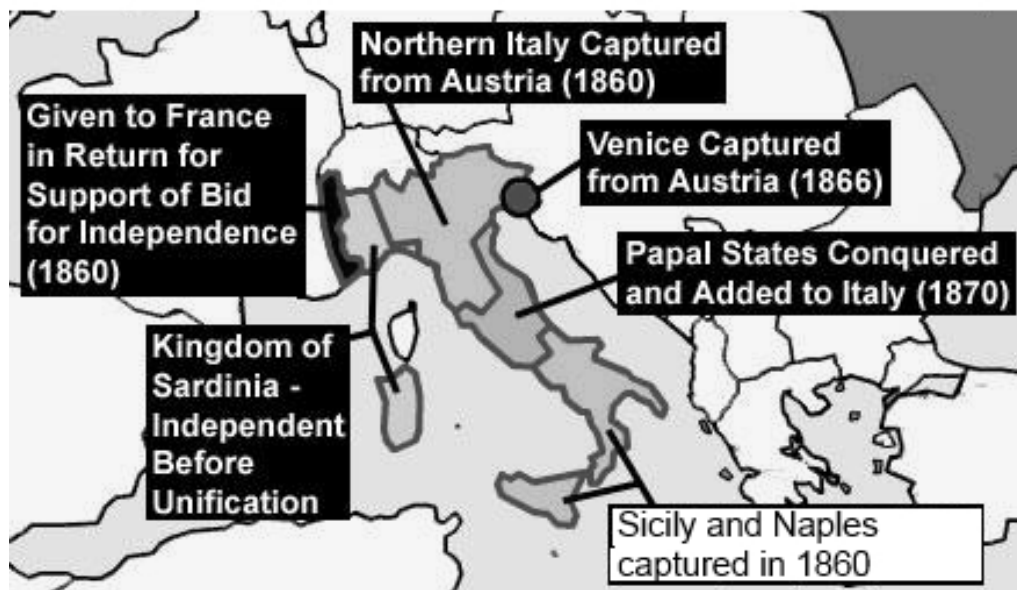
The 1848 revolts were led by intellectuals and liberals who were against the reactionary Austrian control and wanted a liberal government. These revolts did usher in democratic reforms, but neither did these result in independence from Austria nor the consolidation of the states into a united Italy.

9.2.2 Unification through Bismarck like Policy of Prime Minister Clavour

After the 1848 revolts, attempts at unification of Italy were made by the Prime Minister Clavour of the Italian State of Sardinia. His policy was similar to that of Bismarck. In 1859, Sardinia allied with France in a war against Austria, which freed many states of Italy from Austrian rule and most of them were united under the Monarch of Sardinia except:

- a) Venetia which still remained under Austrian rule,
- b) The Kingdom of two Sicilies (in Southern Italy), which was the collective name for Kingdom of Sicily and Kingdom of Naples; and finally
- c) Papal States, with their capital in Rome, which were under direct rule of the Pope who was supported by the French troops.

Independence & Unification of Italy



Sicily and Naples were liberated from the despotic rule of Ferdinand II by the revolutionary fighters led by Garibaldi and consequently brought under the Sardinia Monarchy in 1860 and the Kingdom of Italy was established. Venice was annexed by Italy in 1866 by taking advantage of Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Now only Rome was left. The Pope had the protection of the French troops. Weakened by the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the French could not support the Pope anymore and in 1871, Rome was annexed and made the capital of Italy, thus completing the process of unification. After the unification, Italy and Germany started industrializing and Industrial Revolution started in these states as well.

10] Industrial Revolution

10.1 History of Methods of Production before Industrial Revolution

The trajectory of the method of production of goods has been like this- from Guild System to Putting-Out System to Factory System. There was decline of the **Guild System**, when the volume of trade increased further and the Guilds were unable to cope with the demand as they were unsuited for mass production.

Putting-Out System: This resulted in coming of Putting-Out System. Under this system, the raw material and the final product were owned by the merchant and the worker was only a wage earner. The site of work was the home or the backyard of the worker. The Merchant would have the responsibility of providing raw material and collected the final produce. The invention of machines changed everything and even this system was replaced by what is called as the Factory System.

Factory System: Under this system, the centre of production shifted from home to the factory. The workers, for the first time now, travelled from home to work-sites on daily basis. They for the first time aggregated in such large numbers under a shed working on machines. The capital was owned by the Capitalist and the worker was just another factor of production and the capitalist was the owner.

10.2 What is Industrial Revolution?

Industrial Revolution happened first in England in mid-18th century.

Industrial revolution is the revolution in the economic processes of production of goods in the economy, aided by the technological innovations, and their spread, which gave a boost to the pace at which goods could be produced. Innovations that resulted in mechanized production, development of new sources of powering these machines, technological forays in fields of communication and transport are some processes, which when clubbed together are referred to as Industrial revolution. It was a revolution because it totally reformed not just the economic realm but also the social and political realms of the society.

10.3 Why Industrial Revolution first in England?

The events in England before 1750 set such conditions, which were favourable towards Industrial Revolution. The rise of capitalism after the end of Feudalism was crucial for Industrial Revolution. This was so because with capitalism came the desire to make more monetary profits, which could be achieved by developing new ways to produce more goods at lower costs. There was demand for manufactured goods due to the new ways of life in the growing towns and cities. The village people were migrating to towns as workers for industrial production. This gave a thrust to the quest for new ideas that could increase industrial efficiency. The Renaissance & Reformation with focus on power of reason had already made a psychological impact on the people to set out in quest for new ideas. Furthermore, the society in England had moved towards democracy (Glorious Revolution 1688), which allowed greater freedom of thoughts.

The accumulation of money from trade with the rest of the world ensured that there was money available for reinvestment for capital formation and for funding the activities of innovators.

Geography also played a role. Because of being an island, England had a natural barrier to protect it from the invasions. Unlike France and Germany, England had natural frontier, which allowed it to enjoy a degree of peace. This made the rulers more pro-democracy as they felt lesser need to be coercive as they were secure from external security threats. Britain had very good natural harbours which allowed it to develop sea-ports. Thus it benefited from the profits of sea-trade. England was rich in natural resources like coal and iron. It also had very good natural network of tributaries of rivers. These rivers were easily navigable, which allowed cheaper transport of goods and raw materials.

10.4 Components of Industrial Revolution

10.4.1 Revolution in Textile Sector

Industrial Revolution started with revolution in the Textile Industry. In 1700s, the East India Company was earning lot of profit, to the envy of British businessmen, by exporting the finished cotton cloth from India into Britain. This prompted the English businessmen to import raw cotton from India and convert it into finished cotton cloth in Britain so they could earn some profit from the booming cotton demand. When the old machinery like spinning wheel and handlooms could not meet the demand, a series of innovations occurred. The new machines in the Textile industry aided faster spinning of raw cotton into thread. Hargreaves was first to develop such a machine. Arkwright adapted Hargreaves machine to run with water power. Soon, Crompton combined the positives of the two machines to develop one of his own. The impact of faster spinning machines was that they allowed the Textile factories to produce thread that was much finer and cheaper to produce. The decreased cost of production increased the profits and soon the machines became very popular in England. Further, in 1785, Cartwright developed the Powerloom, which truly revolutionized the production of cloth from the thread. The term Horsepower has its origin in the Powerloom of Cartwright as this machine was driven by horses running in a circular motion. Later, the powerloom was modified to run using water power as the factories were setup near rivers and canals to make use of hydropower. Cotton Gin was another invention, which made the process of separating the fiber from the seeds 300 times faster than by hand. This machine was invented by Eli Whitney in 1793 and it solved the problem of shortage of supply of raw cotton fiber due to the hand-based slow process of separating cotton fiber from cotton bales.

10.4.2 Steam Power

Another, and the most significant invention was development of Steam Engine by James Watt in 1769. Steam Engines gave a big boost to production of goods and consequently led to huge increase in demand for raw materials. They were the real thing which led to mass production because machines based on manpower or hydropower were much less efficient. Soon, the Steam Engines were deployed for running spinning machines and for powerlooms. This resulted in England importing five times more raw cotton by 1840. Steam Engines were also adapted for use in coal mines to pump out water, which in turn led to an increase in coal supply.

10.4.3 Revolution in Iron Production

Another revolution was in Iron production, which ultimately led to increased and cheaper mechanization of all industrial processes. The Steam power had led to demand for more machinery and England had huge deposits of iron ore and coal to make steel. But where England lacked was in the cheaper mode of processing raw iron. This

problem was resolved by the development of Blast furnaces, which allowed for use of coke instead of charcoal. This allowed the British steel industry to produce high-grade cast iron instead of just the pig iron.

10.4.4 Revolution in Transport & Communication

Economy is as much about Geography as about processes of production. The development of transport corridors in form of rail-road network across the length and breadth of England and consequently in colonies of British empire allowed the British industry to hasten the supply of raw material and finished goods. Steam Engine was modified for use in Railways by George Stephenson in 1814. The coal could now be transported from the coal mines to the ports via Railways. In 1830, the first passenger train running on steam power made its journey. This invention allowed for greater movement of businessmen, of workers from the hinterland to the cities and development of a truly connected economy. In India, the revolution in railways started in 1853. McAdamized Roads i.e. Pakka roads were result of the engineering feat of McAdam. Better roads allowed for swifter movement of goods. The rail-road infrastructure was complemented by the Canal Network building. Water transport using steam powered ships was much cheaper than transport through land. Business transactions could be effected from remote locations with the arrival of Postal services.

10.4.5 Agriculture Revolution

Another aspect generally missed in the Industrial Revolution is the Agriculture Revolution that started before the former. It involved the production of more cash crops to meet the demands of the British industry. The new farm machinery like steel plough and harrow for breaking the ground, mechanical seed drills, horse-drawn cultivator that replaced hoe and machines for reaping and threshing reduced the labor requirement in the Agriculture sector. The Enclosure Movement was led by the big landlords, who in connivance with the legislators in Parliament, increased their farm landholdings by taking over the small landholdings of marginal peasants and the village commons. Thus a lot of labor was actually available for the Industry in the towns and the labor surplus ensured cheaper labor costs and thus more profits to the businessmen. The new farm practices like intensive manuring and crop rotation increased the soil fertility and ensured food security of Britain.

10.5 Impact of Industrial Revolution

The impact of Industrial revolution was significant. Britain's economy came to be dominated by the Industrial sector, rather than the Agriculture sector whose share in the GDP declined. Higher GDP boosted textile exports and raw material imports by the British businesses. Britain now produced enough coal and pig iron for self-consumption and exports. Industrial revolution led to emergence of Britain as the top ranking Industrial economy. But the impact on the people was not very positive. There was increased migration from the villages to the cities in search of employment. More people now lived in cities and worked in factories and this population was not connected to the land. The urban areas now became the centers of production and were no more limited to being the center for trade and administration. A downside of this process was the crowding in cities, which led to problems of housing and sanitation. The urban area was now divided into two contrasting components of the slums on one side and the luxurious homes of the businessmen and the manager class on the other side. Migration caused social stress in form of dissolution of social bonds and the moral restraint that the village life generally places on its inhabitants. Clubbed with poverty this resulted in increase in crimes in the cities. The industrialists saw the workers as cog in the machine and as just another factor of production. Their aim was to maximize profits and thus the wages of workers were paltry. Little was done for the social security of the workers and the working conditions in the factories where unsafe machines maimed many. Child labor and participation of women in labor force increased, as they were available at cheaper wages. The working hours were as high as 15 to 18 hours per day.

Environmental pollution was also on an increase. This caused many health problems for the workers. The industrial lobby for long ensured that the Parliamentarians did nothing for the welfare of the workers, which led to development of resentment and many worker movements like of Luddites and Chartists developed after Industrial revolution in England. It is pertinent to remember here, that it was the negative side of the Capitalism of post-Industrial revolution era, which hastened the arrival of Socialism. Karl Marx developed his ideas by observing the miserable conditions of workers in England. There was increase in trade unionism and increased solidarity among the working class.

In a way, Industrial Revolution increased the penetration of democracy in England. The growing resentment among the workers and their consequent movements made the government conscious that Laissez Faire is not

the sine qua non and the State has a responsibility to protect the vulnerable sections, if Capitalism itself is to be protected from workers revolution.

Gradually, with passage of four acts, the right to vote was extended to many sections of the society including the workers and by 1929, Britain adopted Universal Adult Franchise. Trade Unions were legalized in 1824 and series of factory Acts were passed, like in 1802 and 1819, which brought in age and working hours restrictions and regulated the employment conditions, especially of Women and Children.

Industrial revolution also resulted in increased contact between Industrialized and non-industrialized world. But this contact was not based on equality. The demand for raw materials and export markets made the Colonial powers to look for more territories to colonize. When in the 19th century, rest of the Europe witnessed Industrial Revolution, there was a race for colonies among European nations. Thus, Industrial Revolution played an important role in emergence of Imperialism whereby the Colonial powers tried to establish much stronger control over the colonies by use of military power, direct rule and rule by intermediaries. Many colonies were treated as an extension of their own territory by colonial powers.

10.6 Spread of Industrial Revolution outside England

In Europe, the end of Napoleonic wars in 1815 brought an atmosphere in which the nations could focus on Industrial development. Machines were introduced in many European nations after 1815, but the movements for democracy, independence and unification of territories didn't allow Industrial Revolution to take root till 1871. In France, by 1850, the iron industry had started to develop, but the lack of raw material in form of coal and iron ore limited its progress.

Germany was second only to Britain in production of steel but was still far behind Britain. After German unification under Bismarck, German industry developed in leaps and bounds and soon became a rival to the British in production of pig iron and coal. Italy also witnessed Industrial revolution post-unification in 1871. It was Russia, which was last to industrialize.

Russia was rich in natural resources but due to lack of capital and free labor because of serfdom, the process of its industrialization was slow. Russian industrial production got a boost when Serfdom was abolished in 1861 and it borrowed foreign capital. But it was only after the 1917 October revolution that Russia underwent true Industrial revolution.

Outside Europe, the USA industry started developing after independence from Britain in 1783. But since the British policy of Mercantilism had prevented development of indigenous industry, and USA was engaged in its own political turmoil of Territorial expansion and the Civil War after President Lincoln banned Slavery, it was only after 1870 that Industrial production got a big boost. USA then emerged as an industrial power and by the World War I was the major supplier of finished goods to rest of the world.

Japan was the first Asian country to industrialize. Industrial Revolution took place in Japan in late 19th century. It became a major exporter of steel machinery, metal goods and chemicals from the traditional exporter of silk, toys and porcelain.

Thus it can be said that the system of polity, political independence, security from invasions, the availability of labor and capital along with law and order stability were the major determinants of the Industrial revolution. Britain was the first to industrialize not because it had better intellectuals but due to existence of favorable conditions as mentioned above. When these conditions became prevalent in other countries, they soon embarked upon Industrial revolution. These conditions on the other hand never existed at the same time in colonies like India.

11] Definition of Colonialism

Colonialism is the establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition, and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory. It is a set of unequal relationships between the colonial power and the colony, and often between the colonists and the indigenous population.

12] The History of Colonialism

12.1 Role of Explorations

The explorations or the **Voyages of Discovery at the end of 15th century**, clubbed with the end of Feudalism played an important role in the rise of Colonialism. As early as the 13th century, Marco Polo of Italy discovered China.



The profits from trade increased the attraction of the European ports and the merchants made the ports their center of activity. Soon towns developed in coastal areas of the Mediterranean sea and places like Venice & Genoa increased in prosperity. These coastal towns enjoyed freedom from the rural based system of Feudalism. The serfs were free in these towns and thus migration from the villages to the towns gained pace. The society in these coastal towns was based on money and not land. The Kings, who in the Feudal system were dependent on the subordinate lords for military help and despised the powers of the Feudal Lords and the Church, patronized the merchants by funding their voyages. The merchants in turn aided the King so as to escape the feudal controls where merchants enjoyed little social status and political rights.

The monetary profit became the most important reason for explorations, which brought goods that could be sold at home at a much higher margin. E.g. Vasco Da Gama (1498) found the price of pepper in India to be 1/20th of the price in Venice. Spice trade was the most lucrative. By mid 13th century, Venice emerged as the primary trade port for spices. From Venice, the spices were transported to Western and Northern Europe. Venice became extremely prosperous by charging huge tariffs (*recall Renaissance of 14th century began first in Italy).

Geography played an important role. Without direct access to Middle East, the Europeans were forced to pay high prices charged by Venice. Even the wealthy had trouble paying for spices. The routes to the east were known by the name of Silk Routes. Along with Venice, it was the Byzantine Empire with its capital in Constantinople, which acted as a middle man in this trade with the east. These two lay along the trade routes and had power to choke them if they wanted. In 1453, Ottoman Empire defeated the Byzantine Empire and choked/blockaded the sea routes.



Routes before Age of Discovery: The economically important Silk Road (via land) and spice trade routes (via sea) blocked by the Ottoman Empire 1453 with the fall of the Byzantine Empire, spurring exploration motivated initially by the finding of a sea route around Africa and triggering the Age of Discovery.

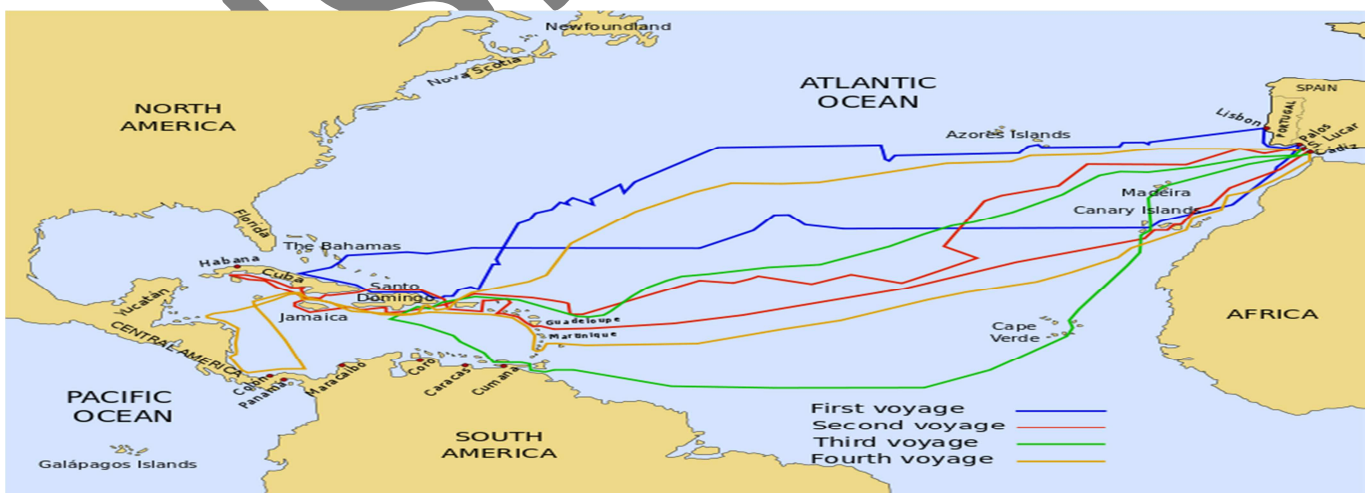


Routes after Age of Discovery: Map showing main Portuguese (dark) and Spanish (grey) oceanic trade routes in the 16th century, as a result of the exploration during the Age of Discovery

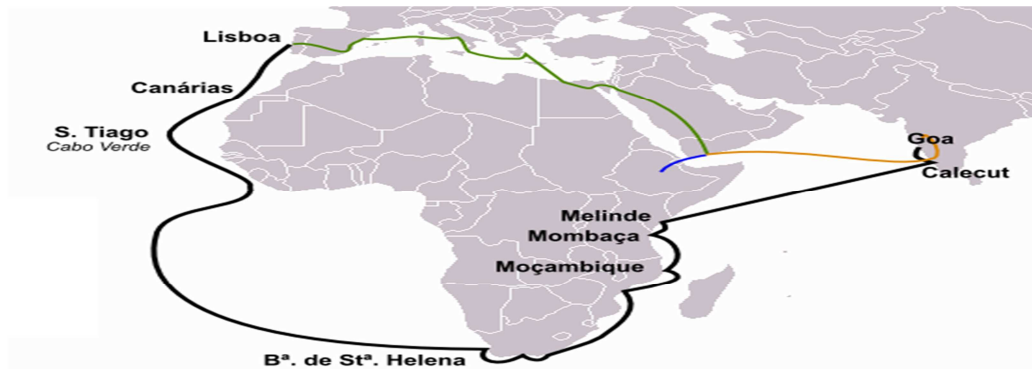
The Europeans had to do something about it and this paved the way for Voyages of Discovery at end of 15th century. Thus, before the 16th century it was Italy, which dominated the trade with rest of the world owing to its geographical location and monopoly on the knowledge of sea-routes of commerce. But soon, due to the envy of the prosperous Italian trading cities and the blockade put up by the Ottoman empire, the sailors began journeys with an aim of finding an alternative route to the East. This quest for finding a **North West route** led to the **discovery of Canada** by John Cabot of Britain. With the explorations, gradually the geographical map of the world emerged.

12.2 Technical innovations

Technical innovations played an important role in success of explorers in being able to sail to the new lands. By the end of 15th century, innovations in form of **Compass, Astrolabe**(it helps in determining the location of ship), **the Art of Mapping and development of better ships** that could travel longer, improved the explorer’s knowledge of geography of the sea. They were able to develop accurate maps of sea-routes and gain knowledge of weather patterns that enabled them to safely reach the new lands. The period around the end of 15th century thus came to be known as the Age of Discovery. Christopher Columbus, funded by Spain, went out in search of India but landed up in Central America in 1492. He had touched the shores of Haiti but mistook it for India. This is why he called the natives as Indians and the islands as Indies.



In 1498, aided by Portugal, **Vasco Da Gama discovered India** by traveling from Europe to India by circumventing the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa).



America was discovered by **Amerigo** Vespucci (& not Columbus) around 1500 AD. The Portuguese also discovered **Philippines** in South East Asia.

These discoveries marked the start of Colonization. The new found lands were rich in mineral resources and many had very good natural harbors which could be developed into ports that could serve as nodal points of trade. The European merchants sought to establish their setup there i.e. they started to form colonies in these new found lands. Thus came into origin, the word, **Colonization**.

The profits from the goods imported from the new found lands of America, Asia and Africa led to a race for exploration. Spain and Portugal were soon joined by the Dutch, France and Britain.

13] Colonization

The colonization of Asia, Africa and America began with three focuses - **Gold, Glory and God**. While Gold represented the profits from trade, Glory represented the recognition a European power received as a world hegemon. With the flag of the Kingdom came the Missionaries to promote Christianity.

It is to be noted here that the country which dominated in the realm of **sea power** was able to benefit the most out of the Colonial era. A larger fleet of merchant ships was a mark of trade volume and spread across external markets while a strong navy could protect them, attack the vessels of the competitors and block the sea-routes of commerce. The country which was able to have friendly harbors along the trade route in form of Ports of call where the ships could refuel and the crew could rest, had an advantage in the trade competition. Thus, Mercantile capitalism went hand in hand with colonialism, with the latter providing a safe zone for the former to prosper. As mentioned earlier, many new commodities entered the trade basket, and products like potatoes, tobacco, maize and spices, which were hitherto unknown in Europe were traded. The colonies served as sources of raw material to feed the European factories. E.g. Sugar plantations setup in America gave a boost to the sugar industry. Similarly, rice, coffee and cotton resources were also exploited.

The Europeans established trading posts in the coastal areas of the new found lands. The policy of **Mercantile capitalism** involved attacking merchant vessels of other kingdoms, blocking trade routes, setting up colonies, placing trade barriers, monopolizing the trade with the colonies and if unable to colonize, then securing special trading rights with the new found lands so as to have a trade monopoly. The Portuguese had established trade monopoly with Asia after discovery of trade route to India via Cape of Good Hope in 1498 and thus replaced Italian monopoly on trade with the east. Later, the Portuguese were replaced by the Dutch in Indonesia and by the British in India. Afterwards, the military strength and the sea power aided France and Britain to emerge as the major colonial powers.

14] Impact of Colonialism

On one hand, the European countries saw very rapid increase in trade volume and diversity, while on the other hand, the colonies were ripped off their resources. Europe started importing products like spices, which were new to its market and became very popular. Similar was the case with cotton cloth imported from the east. Spain setup sugar plantations in Central American colonies, while the Portugal put up the plantation system in Brazil. Countries like Holland, which were barren internally made huge profits out of the colonies by providing ships for commerce to Britain and other European countries. On the other hand, the impact of colonialism on

the colonies was appalling. South America was colonized by Spain after the Amerigos voyage, which it had funded. The civilization of Aztecs and the Incas were destroyed and their gold and silver plundered. The indigenous Americans were forced to work for the colonists in the mines and farms. The mines of Peru, Bolivia and Mexico were exploited with all the wealth exported out to Spain. Later, the Dutch, the British and the French also came to control parts of America. The objective of Colonialism in Asia was trade profit, while Slave Trade was the main reason in case of Africa. **In Africa**, colonization began early but was limited to the coastal region because the hindrances placed by the geography limited the expansion of colonial empire to the mainland Africa.

Slave trade was started by the Portugal as its workers on the plantations were not able to bear the hot and humid climate of Brazil. It hunted down the Black Africans who were physically strong and were used to living in an equatorial climate and brought them to work on plantations. While the Africans worked on the plantations as slaves, the native Americans worked like serfs on the estates of the colonists. Soon the Slave trade was introduced in North America, West Indies and other parts of America by European powers after colonization. Spain introduced the Slave trade first in Haiti in the Caribbean and then in Florida, Mexico, Chile and other parts of Coastal South America. The Plantation system was mainly put up for production of Sugarcane, tobacco and cotton. The Slave Trade came to be known as the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade and the Triangular Slave Trade as a tripod of America, Africa and Europe was established and the Africans were shipped across the Atlantic to America. The Slave trade continued for 300 years. Initially at the end of 15th century it were the individual merchants, sailors and pirates who conducted the trade but by the end of 16th century the Slave Trading Companies had taken over. The Black Africans were initially hunted from coastal Africa as the interiors were out of bound but after the explorations of the mainland in the 19th century, the slave hunting extended to whole of Africa. The conditions of journey across Atlantic were inhumane and many Africans died during these journeys due to lack of hygiene and crowding. The Industrial Revolution, after 1750, increased the demand for raw materials in England. To increase supply of raw materials from the colonies and with the increasing colonial empire of Britain, the number of Africans traded in the Slave Trade also increased. In the British colony of West Indies nearly 2 million slaves were imported in 100 years. The present demographic profile of America is symptomatic of the extent of slave trade from the 16th to 19th century.

Slavery was ended by France after the French Revolution in 1789 mainly because the revolution was based on ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. The British passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 to end slavery in all of its colonies, while the USA banned it after the civil war (1861-65). The ban on Slavery faced opposition from many quarters. The Dutch settlers of South Africa opposed the ban. Also, the civil war in US was fought between the USA Federal government and the southern states on the issue of slavery. The southern states were opposed to a ban on Slavery and rather desired its extension to the new territories being acquired by USA.

15] Relation between Colonialism and Mercantile Capitalism

Mercantile Capitalism was the British policy in the 18th century. The idea was that the Government should regulate the economy at home and colonies abroad so as to increase the national power. This amounted to placing trade barriers and monopoly of trade with colonies to British companies, with the aim of having a positive balance of payment. The traders wanted Free Trade Agreements and trade monopolies with countries outside Europe. On opposition from the native chiefs and the rulers, these countries were colonized.

In 19th century, there was a new development. Due to thinkers like Adam Smith, the policy of Laissez Faire was begun to be implemented. It meant less domination of the State in the economic sphere (as during Mercantile Capitalism) and thus a free market economy. It was a free market economy only in the domestic economy. The whole world was not being converted to a free market (as today, in era of MNCs & Globalization). The Imperial powers had special rights in areas of trade and investment over most of their colonies. Companies from other countries did not enjoy equal privileges in these colonies and the contracts of economic projects were secured for companies belonging to the Imperial country. By end of 19th century Laissez Faire declined. British economist Keynes published *The End of Laissez Faire* in 1926. It was due to ills of Laissez Faire- like exploitation of workers and non-intervention of government even when there was a famine (1880 famine in India-government did not intervene)- that it was realized that Laissez Faire cannot be followed blindly and the State has to intervene for ensuring the enjoyment of basic human rights.

16] Difference between Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism is part of Imperialism and Imperialism is a natural extension of Colonialism in the age of Industrial revolution. Imperialism has the basic feature of political acquisition of a foreign territory. Thus according to some authors, Militarism (which implies invasion of a territory for its annexation) is a must for Imperialism or is a form of Imperialism (because political acquisition can happen without vanquishing or invading a territory but by using it as a threat). In contrast, Colonialism implies domination of people's life and culture. The main goal of colonialism is extraction of economic benefits from the colony while Imperialism includes political control. Thus, colonialism may be done by companies who secure special trading privileges and setup trading posts, while Imperialism is done by the state through government diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates and spheres of influence and to promote industrial trade and investments. Colonialism results in control over life of natives in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. It is more subtle whereas Imperialism is more formal and aggressive.

NCERT uses the term Imperialism as distinct from Colonialism. While the nomenclature followed by other authors treat Colonialism equivalent to Imperialism, what the NCERT refers to as Imperialism is called New Imperialism or Neo-Imperialism. The basic dividing line is the era of Industrial Revolution. The events after the Industrial Revolution in the colonial empire building are termed as New Imperialism. Now what was new? The New in this New-Imperialism, which started after the Industrial Revolution in Europe was the **race component**. There was also an increase in the degree of every aspect of the Colonial actions. Race signified the economic competition between the European powers to get hands on to as many colonies as possible. It was a race for raw material sources and export markets, both of which would be provided for by the colonies. It was also a race for securing sea-lanes of commerce by either colonizing the ports of call or signing treaties with other nations to provide safe harbors to the merchant vessels. The race component also included a race for naval supremacy and build up of land based military forces. **But why this race phenomenon did not occur in as explicit a form before?** The answer lies in important factors like Industrial Revolution, which spread to the rest of Europe, USA and Japan in 19th century; the rise of Nationalism which fueled the national rivalries for quest of economic and military supremacy; and also the decreased geographical space. The last factor is interesting and had important bearing for the world peace. Earlier there was enough territorial space for the European powers to colonize but in the 19th century, except for the interior lands of Africa, nearly the whole world had come under influence of one powerful nation or the other. Thus, now the major powers of the world could only grow at expense of one another. There was brute competition to protect whatever colonies one nation had, and at the same time try to displace the rival colonial power from the other colonies. Here came in the factor of degree. The colonial powers in the New Imperialism had to use greater force to protect their colonial assets and secure own frontiers. This made political control in the colonies much more imperative to ensure an economic control. To secure political control, military was required and thus a peculiar feature of the New Imperialism was the rise of State power. Trading companies like the East India Company were slowly replaced by the their governments.

17] Definition of New Imperialism

Imperialism is the political and economic domination or exploitation of the non-industrialized nations by the industrialized nations. This can be achieved by military conquer or by colonizing the foreign territory i.e. acquiring the foreign territory and then making them dependent. The foreign rulers are a minority and they impose superiority of their race and culture on natives.

Next is the question of the features that characterize this phenomenon of Imperialism. The major components of Imperialism can be grouped as

- Raw Material and Export Markets
- Protective Tariffs
- Imposition of Free Trade
- Drain Theory
- Political control of the colonies
- Capturing Ports of Call

The search for raw material and export markets for the surplus produce from factories in the industrialized nations led to a race among the European powers, Japan and USA to have control over colonies. This led to rise of New Imperialism that had feature of race for colonies and spheres of influence. Great Britain was the first to industrialize, post 1750. Other European nations could only industrialize in the latter half of 19th century and thus they could not compete with British exports in the external markets. They introduced protective tariffs to prevent British exports from entering the domestic and foreign markets to protect their own indigenous industry. Even before Industrial Revolution could spread to the rest of Europe, the British as part of Mercantile Capitalism had placed trade and tariff barriers on American colonies to check influence of France, Spain, Portugal and Holland. Thus, the trade with colonies was monopolized by the colonial power. At the same time, the colony was not allowed to implement any protective tariffs for protection of its own indigenous industry and free trade was imposed, whereby no import duties could be levied on the imports from the Colonist nation. The colonies provided for high rate of return for the foreign investment in various sectors like railways and the colonists promoted foreign investment and dissuaded indigenous investment. Above phenomena was very well explained in the Drain Theory deployed by the Indian nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji. The British had made India into an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods. The foreign investment ensured that the profits from these investments went into the pockets of foreign investors.

The colonies were brought under political control either by direct rule, like in India, or by ruling through intermediaries, like in the princely states of India. Another strategy during Imperialism was of capturing the ports of call i.e. Capture those places where ships could replenish supply of coal and water. The colonists tried conquering islands that were along the sea routes and near the coasts of trading nations.

18] History of New Imperialism

New Imperialism or 'Neo-Imperialism' as such can be identified as the second wave of imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as distinct from the earlier wave of European colonization from 15th to early 19th centuries. This was a result of Industrial Capitalism.

Struggle for independence in some colonies started as the world was moving towards New Imperialism. America had declared independence in 1776, during the American Revolution. The French Revolution inspired independence movements worldwide. Napoleonic wars during the initial years of 19th century weakened Spain and Portugal, and consequently, some of their colonies in South and Central America declared independence. Mexico became independent in 1821 from Spain. Simon Bolivar freed Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia from Spain. Brazil became independent from Portugal by 1824. Thus, **there was a temporary period of decline in Imperialism after the French Revolution of 1789, before its rise again in 1870s.**

It is pertinent here to provide a summary of factors that led to rise of New Imperialism.

- a) **Role of Political Factors:** There were a plurality of political factors behind the emergence of New Imperialism. One of these was the rise of Absolute Monarchies in Italy and Germany, post-unification in 1870s. This absolutism increased the aggression on part of the state.

However, New Imperialism cannot be attributed solely to the Absolute Monarchies. In fact, Britain which had democracy had the largest colonial empire. Thus, all industrialized regimes, whether democratic or absolute, engaged in Imperialism. Industrialization increased their hunger, as well as potential, to build their colonial empire. The rulers also saw Imperialism as a tool to maintain political control at home.

Military victory over colonies and empire building was not only improving the economy of the colonial power, but raising the prestige of the rulers as well. These two factors, viz. a sound economy and national glory provided legitimacy to their rule. It was due to such reasons, for instance, that Italy and Czarist Russia joined the race for colonies.

- b) **Role of Nationalism:** Nationalism rose after the French Revolution (1789). In the era of Industrial Revolution, it soon manifested in form of economic rivalry among the nation states. National rivalries were further fueled by nationalist ideas propounded by the nationalist thinkers. In Britain, France, Germany and Italy, **nationalism resulted in demands for expansion of colonial empires** during 1868-72. Also, the Absolute Monarchies relied on both Imperialism and Nationalism to divert attention of the public, which was getting exposed to ideas of democracy.

c) **Role of Industrial Revolution/Industrial Capitalism:** Industrial Revolution was one of the major factors in rise of New Imperialism. There was surplus money from trade as well as profits from mass production, after Industrial Revolution. This money was further reinvested for capital formation. The development of transport and communication infrastructure allowed faster movement of goods and people, and development of steam ships reduced the time taken for trading goods around the world. The demand for goods in the domestic markets was also increasing due to rapid increase in European population in the 19th century.

The factories' demand for raw material increased, which led to a search for raw material outside national boundaries. Population pressure in Europe led to search for more colonies where Europeans could settle. Soon, the factories were producing much more than the domestic and existing external markets could absorb. This further increased the attraction of new colonies. Thus, a cycle of more demand for manufactured goods, profits, capital formation, demand for raw material, surplus production and demand for export markets got established and it can be said that the Industrial Capitalism (Capitalism after Industrial Revolution when production of goods was done in factories with machines) gave a thrust to Imperialism.

d) **Increased number of players:** Industrial revolution in rest of Europe, USA and Japan happened after 1870s. The industrialized nations desperately started looking for sources of raw material and export markets.

e) **Decreased Geographical space:** The world was relatively more peaceful till 19th century when there was enough unoccupied space to be colonized and the empires could expand easily. But in 19th century, any further expansion could only occur at expense of another colonial power. Also, the number of players in the 'race' had increased. Thus, colonialism changed into Imperialism as now State's military power and tighter control over colonies was needed to maintain and expand the colonial empire. In the next four decades (from 1870 onward), there was a race for colonies and the only untouched areas, China and Africa, were scrambled among European nations.

f) **Religion and Cultural Factors:** Other factors like aspirations of **Christian Missionaries** to spread Christianity and the notion of **White Man's burden** to spread superior civilization in the backward colonies also played a role. Belgium's King Leopold II used the latter as a garb for exploiting Congo and so was the case with other Imperial powers. However, some good samaritans actually tried to uplift the life of the people by working for social reforms. Theosophical Society even led the anti-Imperial Home Rule movement in India (1916). Other issues that they dealt with included rights of women and spread of modern education.

Rise of New Imperialist Powers		Beginning of Industrialization proper	Victims of New Imperialism
Italy	1870 onward	1870 onward	Mainly Africa
Germany	1870 onward	1870 onward	Mainly Africa, Pacific
Russia	1850s onward	Begun by 1914, yet on eve of WWI it was predominantly Agricultural economy.	Mainly Central Asia. Also West Asia, China
USA	By 1890s	1865 onward	Mainly Pacific (domination of South America)
Japan	By 1890s	1868 onward	Mainly China (Far East) and Pacific

19] Colonialism in Africa

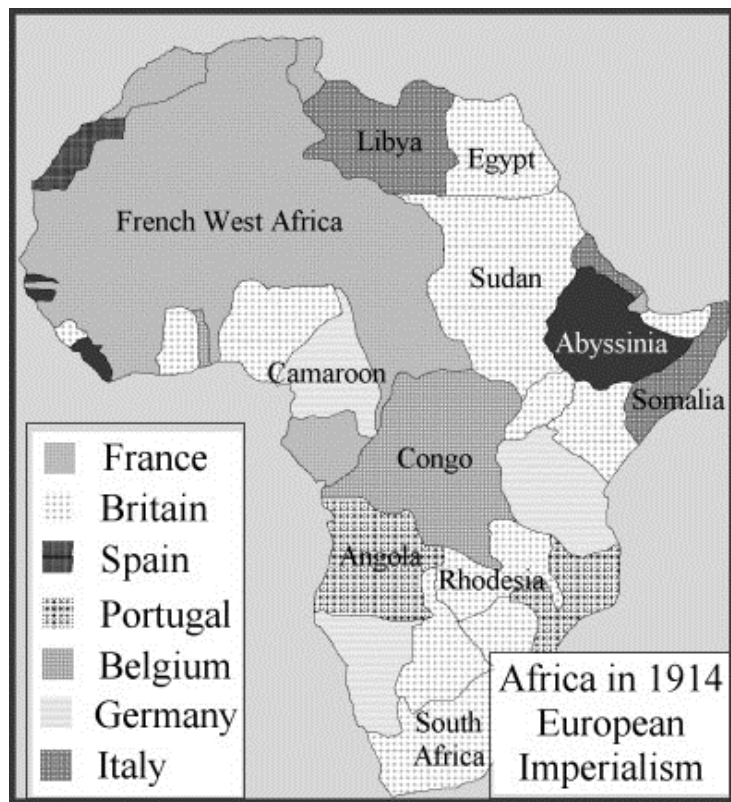
Slave Trade has already been discussed in previous handouts.

African continent was known by the name of Dark Continent till its interior areas were explored in the 19th century. Difficult terrains, non-navigable rivers and other such geographical features ensured that colonialism had a late entry in mainland Africa and was restricted for a long time to Coastal Africa.

In the 19th century, publications of the expeditions made by individual explorers raised the interest among the Europeans. These publications included the accounts of the explorers who detailed the wealth of the Central Africa. They were able to chart the courses of important rivers like Congo. The navigability of rivers and

knowledge of their course implied that the European companies and troops could now reach into the interiors and transport out the mineral wealth to the coasts for further export.

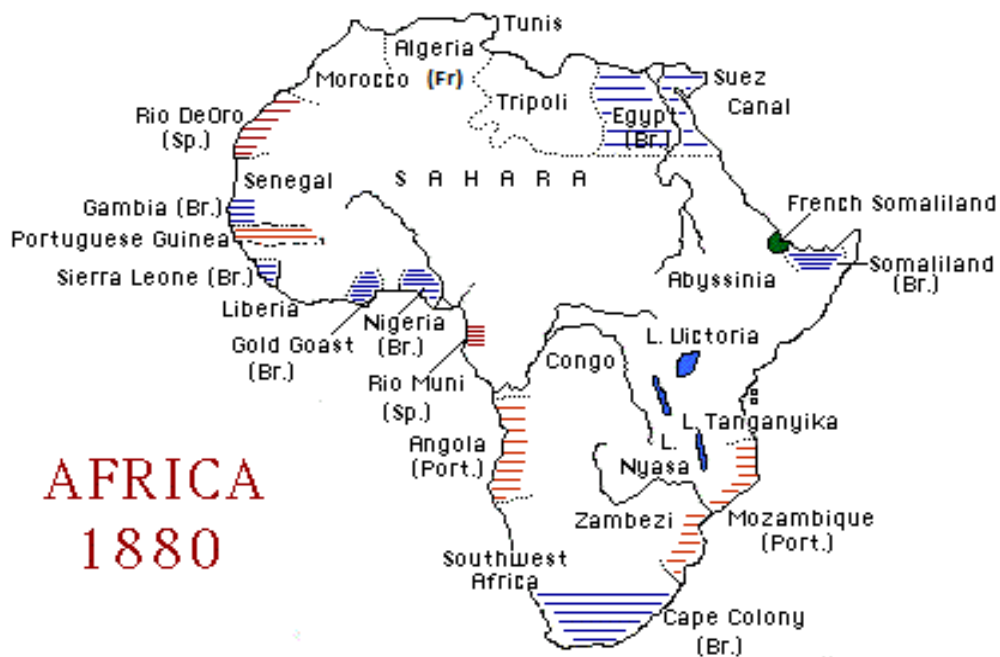
King Leopold II of Belgium patronized the explorers and was the first to establish a colony in central Africa. In 1876, he had brought Congo under his control and managed it as his private colony (Congo was renamed as Congo Free State in 1885). His success raised the interest of other European powers and they entered into a quest for colonies in Africa. After colonization of Congo, the Scramble for Africa began. By 1914 whole of Africa was scrambled among Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal, except for Abyssinia (where the Italians were defeated by the nationalists in the 1876 Battle of Adowa), and Liberia.



There were many squabbles among the European powers for territory and trading rights in Africa. French and British interests collided in Egypt and Sudan. Belgium opposed an agreement in 1884 signed by Britain and Portugal, demarcating their areas of influence, as it would have resulted in denial of sea access to Congo. Finally, the overlapping claims of European colonists were resolved through negotiations in different conferences.

Berlin Conference, held in Germany in 1884-85, was called to resolve disputes regarding the West and Central Africa, especially the river valleys of Niger and Congo. It was an important event and resulted in demarcation of spheres of influence of each colonial power in Africa.





Following were some of the **decisions of the Berlin conference (1884-5)**:

1. Niger river Valley was divided among the British and the French with the Lower Niger becoming a protectorate of Britain and the Upper Niger a protectorate of France.
2. Niger river was made free for ships of all signatory nations.
3. The British agreed to French colonization of Tunis. Spain was awarded coastal area of present day Western Sahara.
4. Also, the European powers promised to take steps for welfare and development of the Africans. The conference vowed to end Slavery by the Black and Islamist powers and this was to be ensured by each colonial power in their sphere of influence.
5. It was decided that the Congo Free State will be governed by the International Association for Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa. This association was setup by King Leopold II of Belgium and thus Congo was recognized as a private colony of King Leopold II (to be taken away from him by the Belgium government in 1908)
6. Freedom of trade and navigation for all was guaranteed in the Congo River Valley. Also, no individual nation was to claim any special rights in Congo and King Leopold II granted freedom of investment to all signatory nations. An International Commission was also setup for monitoring of compliance with the agreement.

19.1 France in Scramble for Africa

France established its empire in North-West Africa. After colonizing Algiers (1830), part of Gambia, and Tunis (1881) it longed for control over Morocco. Initially, the French faced opposition. In the Madrid Conference in 1880, the independence of Morocco was guaranteed and all European nations were given a right to freedom of trade. But in 1900, France signed an agreement with Italy, whereby Italy agreed to not oppose French influence over Morocco and France, in return, pledged not to oppose Italian control of Libya. During the Berlin Conference, Britain agreed to French special rights over Tunis. Further, in 1904 Britain and France signed an agreement, whereby the French recognized the British special rights over Egypt and Sudan, while France got British recognition with respect to its special rights over Morocco. In the same year, Spanish and French Morocco were demarcated through an agreement. Germany was a late entrant into colonization, and it felt left out in the scramble. In 1911, when France deployed its troops in Morocco, Germany sent its warship to the nearby island of Agadir. After the negotiations, Germany was given some territory in French Congo and in return it recognized French control of Morocco. In 1912, France made Morocco its Protectorate and Morocco ceased to be independent.

19.2 Britain in Scramble for Africa

Britain had colonies in the south, the east and western Africa. Its colony of Gold Coast (Ghana) in the West was rich in Cocoa, while Nigeria had large oil reserves. Egypt was of special interest to the British due to the Suez Canal, which provided for a shorter sea-route to its Asian colonies, especially India. Suez Canal was managed by a company with shareholding of France and the Governor of Egypt. In the 19th century, Egypt was under financial stress and it had to sell its shareholding to the British in 1875. In 1876, Egypt failed to pay the installments of the loan it had taken from Britain and France. The two European powers setup a Council for management of budget of the Egyptian government and thus brought Egypt under economic control. The high taxes and the delay in payment of salaries to the Egyptian Army led to a revolt in 1882. It was however, crushed by the British troops and Egypt was brought under British control. In 1904, France recognized British rights over Egypt and Sudan in exchange for recognition of its rights over Morocco. In 1922, Egypt was given independence but Britain continued to control the Suez Canal.

19.3 Germany in Scramble for Africa

Germany entered the scramble for Africa after unification of Germany in 1870. From 1882 to 1884, Germany was able to colonize South West Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland in Equatorial Africa and German East Africa.

After World War I, the German colonial empire came to an end and its colonies were distributed among the Allied Powers as Mandates. Mandates were the former colonies, which were assigned to developed nations by the League of Nations for preparing them for independence at a later date. For example, German South West Africa was given to South Africa as a mandate.

19.4 Italy in Scramble for Africa

Italy, like Germany was a late entrant. It failed to colonize Tunis because the French took control of it in 1881. It succeeded in colonizing Eritrea in North Eastern Africa. Through various treaties Italy acquired Eastern Somaliland in 1880s. Abyssinia (Ethiopia) lay between Eritrea and Eastern Somalia. Italy failed to colonize it and was defeated by the nationalists in 1896. In 1911, Italy occupied Libya from the weak Ottoman Turkey. In 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia and took it under its control. After defeat in World War II, Italy lost all of its colonies.

Even a small country like **Belgium** was able to get a share in the African pie. It first colonized Congo, and then extended its control to Rwanda and Burundi.

Portugal colonies were Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, while Spain had Spanish Morocco, Spanish Sahara (Rio De Oro was its part) and Spanish Guinea.

19.5 Impact of Colonialism on Africa

- a) White settlers became elites and exploited the Black natives
- b) Slavery
- c) Mass killings by Colonial powers
- d) Policy of Divide and Rule created problems after independence
- e) Extreme neglect of Education and Health
- f) Economic development hurt

19.5.1 White settlers became elites and exploited the Black natives

Colonialism in Africa brought along with it trading merchants, businessmen, missionaries, military and administrative officers. Many of them settled in Africa due to attractions of plentiful arable land and profits from trade. The missionaries stayed on and established Christian institutions for propagation of their religion. Thus, today we see many African countries divided into Muslim and Christian dominated regions. The European settlers were elites in Africa and they enjoyed luxuries of living, which they could not afford back home. The European settlers, like the Boers in South Africa, became wealthy and powerful in Africa. They controlled the government and denied Africans any political right. In almost every colony, the lands of Africans were taken away for cultivation and mining by settlers with Blacks working as slaves.

19.5.2 Slavery

Slave Trade made many Africans forcefully leave their homes to never come back. It destroyed many families. The local Africans traded in the local slave markets. They formed the workforce on the European plantations in Africa. The psychological impact of slavery was an inferiority complex, that was systematically injected into the society, with even the Church supporting the notions of Master and Slave Race. The Race thesis was institutionally deployed to deprive Africans of their rights during Apartheid in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

19.5.3 Mass killings by Colonial powers

Africans resisted the colonial military with great valor and they could not fight against the technology of Guns with the Europeans. Many Africans were killed by the European military while resisting the loss of their lands, slavery, unfavorable treaties offered by the Europeans and the imposition of European culture. Whole villages were destroyed if the inhabitants refused to agree to the demands of the Colonists. Belgium Congo probably witnessed the first Genocide of the modern era. From 1876 to 1908, nearly 10 million Africans were massacred in Belgian Congo by the administration of Belgian King Leopold II.

19.5.4 Policy of Divide and Rule created problems after independence

Africa due to many factors of Geography, is comprised of multiple Tribal cultures. The scramble for Africa divided Africa into colonies with arbitrary boundaries, which did not follow the logic of geographical continuity, cultural unity or economic viability. This resulted in colonies having multiple tribes, with very different cultures. They did not see themselves as part of one nation. Further, the colonists used the policy of divide and rule. They patronized one tribe at expense of the others. The favored tribesmen were provided with arms and money and were used to coerce the other tribes into submission. This resulted in mutual hostility among tribal groups. For example, in Rwanda, Belgium followed this policy and after independence the country witnessed constant tribal violence. In 1994, this process culminated in the worst genocide in recent history as the Hutu tribesmen massacred millions of Tutsi tribe members. The lack of national unity still haunts many African nations and it has been very difficult to ensure functional democracy.

19.5.5 Extreme neglect of Education and Health

The colonists and white settlers ensured that the native blacks did not get educated. Higher education, in particular, was neglected. Wherever the policy of Apartheid was followed, Africans were given inferior education in separate schools. Statistically speaking, the gross enrolment ratio at levels of primary, secondary and higher education was very low at time the African nations became independent. For example, at the time of independence in 1960, there were just 17 graduates in Belgian Congo and no doctors, lawyers, engineers. Also, there were no Africans at officer level posts in the Army. This resulted in inefficient governance after independence, and caused the consequent collapse of democratic regimes. The elected governments failed to deliver on the huge developmental goals and became dependent on the developed world for aid, which brought Neocolonialism to the African nations. Today Africa's population is increasing at rapid pace and much of its population is in the working age group. But it is struggling to convert this bulge in working age group into a demographic dividend due to lack of education, which if present could have ensured a skilled workforce.

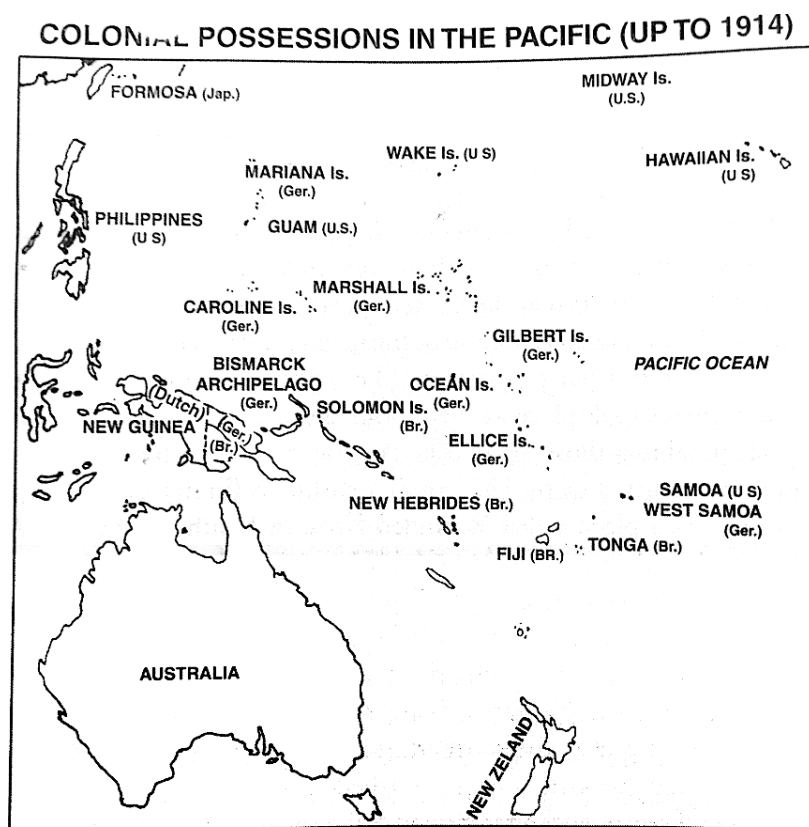
Health sector was also subjected to great neglect. The colonies suffered from epidemics regularly given the humid conditions due to an Equatorial climate. HIV-AIDS today is most prevalent in Africa and Africa is the biggest intervention area for World Health Organization and NGOs like Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

19.5.6 Economic development hurt

Colonialism impacts the social, psychological, economic, cultural and political aspects of the colony. Lack of cohesion in the society due to tribal rivalries, presence of prejudices of being a slave race, which were internalized, and the consequent inferiority, lack of education and denial of participation in governance - were the resultant aspects of Colonization. These factors prevented economic development, and indigenous entrepreneurship, in any significant form, could not develop in Africa. The policy of Mercantile capitalism followed by the Colonists hurt the economy of Africa. Africans did not get the market price for the mineral resources, which were exported out of Africa. The Colonists ensured that no indigenous industry develops and Africa remains an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods manufactured in European factories. During the Berlin Conference in 1880s, Germany wanted a clause of effective control of a European nation in a territory to claim it as a colony. This clause would have required Colonists to develop infrastructure and setup

government machinery for things like law and order etc. Germany desired to use this clause to replace other European nations from the colonies. But Britain and France defeated this clause. Thus, in many African nations the colonists ruled and reaped the economic benefits, but without any responsibility of governance. The little infrastructure that was developed was to facilitate colonial interests. For example, the transport infrastructure was aimed at creating linkages between mineral rich interiors with the ports to facilitate easier raw material extraction. Britain was quick to develop pipelines in Sudan and Nigeria for extraction of hydrocarbons. Further, the colonial rivalry resulted in colonists establishing trade barriers between colonies and thus an integrated market could not develop across Africa.

20] Colonialism in Pacific



By 1900, all Pacific Islands came under Colonial control.

USA:

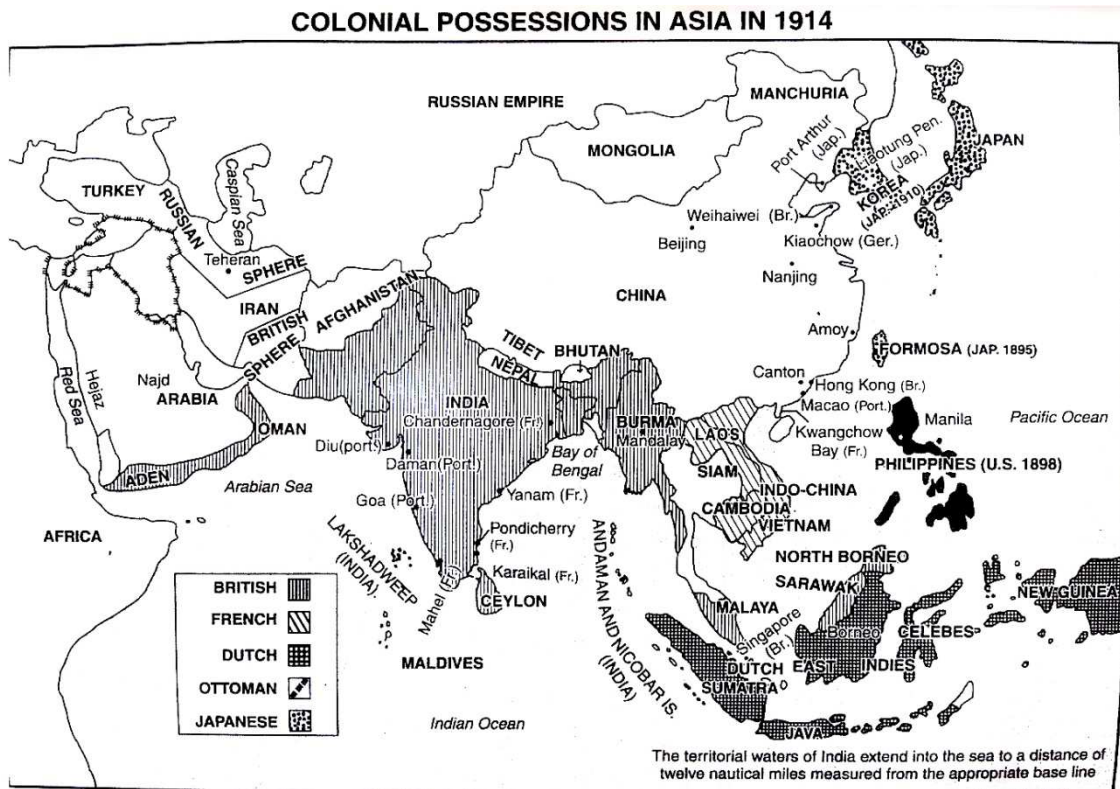
In 1823, Monroe Doctrine was brought out by USA. It emphasized two things: Policy of Isolation and Hegemony of US in North and South America. It said that US would not interfere in the European affairs or colonies and it would treat any interference in its backyard (all of America) as an act of aggression. But by 1890s, USA emerged as a new Imperialist power. It started to bring areas outside America under its influence i.e. it extended the notion of its 'backyard' to the Pacific and the Far East (China).

- A. By 1881, US had started claiming Hawaii Islands as part of American system. During the Spanish-US war in 1898 (fought over Cuba, which along with Puerto Rico was the only Spanish Colony in the Americas):
 - a) Spanish colonies in the Pacific
 - i. **Philippines** came under USA attack and consequently annexed.
 - ii. Spain ceded **Puerto Rico** and **Guam** to the US.
 - b) **Cuba** though made legally independent, its foreign policy came under US control. It was forbidden to make any treaties with any other country.
- B. **Hawaii** (Pacific) was officially annexed by USA in 1898. (*Islands of Guam and Hawaii are strategically important even today for the present US policy of Asia pivot).

C. Samoan Islands (Pacific) became victim of rivalry for control between USA, Germany and Britain. In 1899 Samoan islands were divided between USA and Germany (Britain was compensated elsewhere).

In case of Britain, it were mainly the settlers of New Zealand and Australia who wanted Britain to colonize more territory around them. In the Fiji islands it was on the demand of locals, who resented the autocratic rule, that Britain took over in 1885. In 1885, Britain and Germany divided the Eastern half of New Guinea among themselves, while Dutch were in control of the Western half. Germany also bought some islands in the Pacific from Spain.

21] Colonialism in Central and West Asia



In Central and West Asia, the main rivalry for colonies was between Russia and Britain. Russia wanted access to the sea for trade and thus desired to control the ports. It followed an expansionist policy, which threatened Britain with respect to the Indian empire. The two rivals had strained relations till 1907. Russian expansion in Asia began after the **Crimean war (1853-6)** in which Russia lost against an alliance of France, Britain, Ottoman Empire and Sardinia (Italy). In the Crimean War, Russia wanted expansion of territory at expense of a weakening Ottoman Empire, while the European powers were against such a Russian expansion as it would threaten Eastern Europe coming under sway of the Russians. **In 1858, Russia forced China to hand over huge territory north of the River Amur** establishing much of the modern border between Russian Far East and Manchuria (China). Today China seeks to get it back from Russia.

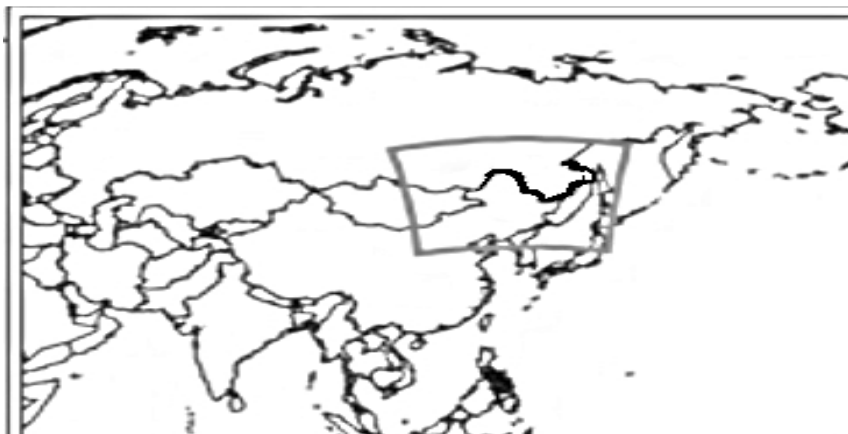


Fig: River Amur

This gave Russia a port in the Western Pacific. To check Russian influence in **Tibet**, Britain sent troops there in 1904 and acquired control over Tibet's foreign policy. Russia weakened after the defeat in 1904-5 Russo-Japanese war, made an **agreement in 1907** with Britain and recognized Tibet and Afghanistan as areas of British influence. Thus, British were able to create a buffer zone between India and Russia.

In Persia (Iran), as per the **1907 agreement**, Northern Iran was recognized as sphere of influence of Russia, Southern Iran of Britain and the Central Iran was made a buffer zone with equal freedom for both.

In Asia, Britain had India, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Burma.

Most of the **Far East**, except China, was scrambled by 1871. Russia had one-third of the area under its control. In the East Asia, China and Japan were independent. Japan escaped Imperialism and embarked on Industrialization after 1868 Meiji Restoration. It had become imperialist in 1890s and thus it was China, which became the target of Imperialism in 19th and 20th century.

22] Colonialism in China

Following is a bullet point summary of events in China during its colonization (although Neo-colonization is more relevant word to use, as we will see later) :

1. China was discovered by the Portuguese in 1514 and they established trade relations with China by setting up a trading center in Canton in 1557.
2. But, China followed a policy of seclusion and only limited trade happened.
3. The Opium Wars of 19th century forced China to open up to rest of the world i.e in trade, inflow of foreigners and in establishing diplomatic relations.
4. Historically, China had national unity and Manchu Dynasty ruled from 1640s to 1911. From 1840s till 1949, when Maoists came to power, it witnessed a period of foreign interference, civil war and disintegration.
5. Taiping rebellion (1850-64) was a religious-political movement, which was crushed by provincial armies of China.
6. Loss of territory north of River Amur to Russia in 1858.
7. Japan invaded China in 1894-5 and brought parts of China under its control, especially Manchuria was brought under Japanese economic influence.
8. Boxer Rising occurred during 1899-1900. It was a violent anti-foreign and anti-Christian revolt. British deployed Indian soldiers to put it down.
9. Japan emerged victorious from the Russia Japan war of 1904-05 and replaced Russia from areas under its control in China.
10. In 1911, the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown and a Republic was proclaimed.
11. From 1916 to 1928, there was no central authority in China and the Generals with private armies seized control of different provinces. This era is called as Warlord Era.
12. It was Kuomintang or KMT or the Nationalist party, which rose during the Warlord Era and ended it completely in 1928. Sun Yat Sen and later Chiang Kai Shek were its important leaders.
13. KMT fought a civil war with Chinese Communist Party which emerged victorious by 1949, establishing a communist form of government in China while Chiang Kai Shek fled to Taiwan operating a Government in exile.

22.1 Details of events in China

China was discovered by the Portuguese in 1514 and trade relations were established by setting up a trading center in Canton in 1557. By 1730s, all European nations were trading with China, while USA started trading in 1784. But China followed a policy of seclusion after Europeans started meddling in internal affairs, especially the Christian Missionaries from Rome (Rome was till 1870 supported by French Army. Thus France was also involved in China). China allowed only limited trade through selected Chinese traders and only via port of Canton.

22.2 Two Opium Wars (1840-2 and 1858)

In the 19th century, China had a weak government in form of Manchu dynasty. Britain had become a major trade partner but it had a huge trade deficit as China was self sufficient and imported little from the West. The British were facing the burden of this trade deficit as the Chinese accepted only precious metals like Gold as payment for exports to Britain (especially Tea and Silk). As a solution to this problem, the British started exchanging Opium as payment. This was opposed by China and resulted in Opium Wars in 1840-2 and 1858. **After the first Opium war**, British took over Hong Kong and extracted trade concessions from China. They also established British sovereignty over the trading centers. China was coerced into giving up the opposition to trade with the West. Major ports of China were opened to British trade and residence. Free trade was imposed on China. This meant that British could trade with any Chinese trader and custom duties were reduced. Also, a British diplomat was permanently stationed in China. British citizens in China could only be prosecuted under the British law.

Between the two Opium wars, other European nations and USA also signed trade agreements with China but the former desired more favorable treaties, which led to the second Opium war.

After the second Opium War, the trade treaties were revised. Even more Chinese ports were opened for trade. The European ships got rights of transit in Chinese rivers and Europeans could freely travel across China. China was made to guarantee security of life of Missionaries and the latter were given right to establish Churches anywhere in China. Ironically along with all this religiosity import into China, the Opium trade was also legalized. After the second Opium War, many more European nations, some South American nations and Japan established trade relations with China. Thus, China was opened up with different imperialist powers gradually establishing their Spheres of Influences in China.

22.2.1 Loss of territory north of River Amur to Russia in 1858

In 1858, China was weak. It was losing in the 2nd Opium War and was fighting the Taiping Rebellion. In 1858, Russia threatened to attack & thus forced China to hand over huge amount of territory north of the River Amur.

22.2.2 Manchu Dynasty and Warlord Era

Manchu Dynasty ruled China from 1640s to 1911. As discussed above, till the 1st Opium War in 1840s, Manchu rulers followed a policy of seclusion or isolation. It was able to sustain isolationist policy because China was pretty much self sufficient in all goods and in fact always had a positive Balance of Trade (BoT) with rest of the world. Its tea was circulated by the British in their empire and rest of the world. The Boston Tea Party's tea was actually Chinese Tea. There were no major upheavals in China and it remained generally peaceful till 1840s. In 1840s, European nations started to force their way into China to take advantage of trade possibilities. Their aim was to make China an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods. Britain was the first to interfere. It fought and won the Opium Wars and forced China to end policy of seclusion. Other EU nations followed suit and divided China into Spheres of Influences i.e. special areas of domination where a particular European nation got rights and concessions at specific ports. Then USA intervened in late 19th and early 20th century and imposed an Open Door Policy where all nations were free to trade with all of China with no one nation dominating its affairs.

During **1850-64, Taiping Rebellion** occurred in Southern China. It was a partly religious and partly political movement, with an aim to setup a Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace through armed rebellion against the Manchu Dynasty. The Christian Taiping rebels demanded shared "property in common," equality for women, and the replacement of Confucianism, Buddhism and Chinese folk religion with their form of Christianity. The Taiping Rebellion was crushed but not by the government at the Centre but by the provincial armies. The degradation in image and control of the Manchu rulers led to beginning of a process of Provinces asserting independence from the Central government. This process culminated in the Warlord Era (1916-28) where the real authority lay with the provincial armies led by individual Generals.

22.2.3 Five Major Events

Five major events occurred before beginning of the Warlord Era:

- i. **Sino-Japan War (1894-5):** This war was fought mainly over Korea, which was hitherto under the control of China. After the loss, China recognized Korea as an independent state (*Japan occupied Korea in 1910). Also, China was forced to give some territory to Japan in the Southern China. Formosa (Taiwan) was

occupied by Japan. The Senkaku islands in South China Sea, which are today a point of contention between China and Japan were annexed by Japan after this war. Also, Manchuria came under economic influence of Japan where it made lot of capital investments after 1890s. Manchuria was very important due to its high coal and mineral reserves. It also provided access to Pacific Ocean. Japan envied the Russian control of Manchuria after 1858.

- ii. **Boxer Rebellion (1899-1900):** By 1900, China was divided into spheres of influences (thus China was reduced to a status of International colony). It was felt that it would soon be partitioned, with each Imperial power ruling its sphere of influence. The rebellion was against foreign interference in political, economic and religious affairs and was crushed by a joint Anglo-German-Russian-French-Japanese-American force. The Empress was forced to pay massive compensation for damage to the foreign property in China. Boxer Protocol, signed thereafter, allowed foreign powers to station their troops for protection of their citizens in China. After the treaty, Russia continued to occupy all of Manchuria.
- iii. **Russo-Japan War (1904-05):** It was fought over Manchuria. Japan won this war and took over Russian possessions in China. Thus, more Chinese territory came under Japan's control.
 - a) It got privileged position in South Manchuria (i.e. converted Southern Manchuria into its sphere of influence) and also got Port Arthur.
 - b) Japan converted independent Korea into its Protectorate in 1905 and also acquired control of Liaotung Peninsula.
 - c) Russia ceded half of Sakhalin islands to Japan.

The win established Japan as a major world power. US was against Russian domination in China. In Russo-Japan war, US President Roosevelt mediated and persuaded Russia to recognize Japan's territorial gains. US entered into a secret agreement with Japan to allow US trade freely in these areas. Thus, US began Policy of Appeasement towards Japan, which boosted Japan's imperialism and allowed it to become a major power and a US rival in the Pacific. The Russian defeat at hands of an Asian country, on one hand, psychologically boosted the Asians in their independence struggle and on other hand, it weakened the Russian Czarist regime at home. The defeat was an important reason for decline of the Czar and it culminated in the Russian revolution of 1905 that brought limited constitutional monarchy and then in 1917 established the Communist regime.

- iv. **Western Educated Chinese youth** returned in early 1900s with radical revolutionary ideas. They desired to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty and some like Sun Yat Sen wanted to establish a USA type democracy. Sun Yat Sen established Kuomintang or KMT or the Nationalist Party.
- v. **Republic China in 1911:** The Manchu Dynasty's rule ended in a revolution in 1911, when most of the provinces declared themselves independent. The new government tried for democratic reforms demanded by the young intellectuals. But the provincial armies opposed such reforms and in a military coup in 1911, the nascent government was overthrown. China was proclaimed a Republic under a military General named Yuan Shih Kai as President. Further, when Yuan declared himself to be the Emperor in 1915 against the wishes of provincial armies, he was removed from power and the Warlord era began (1916-28).

22.2.4 World War I (1914-19)

During the World War I (1914-9), Japan captured more Chinese territory in form of Kiachow islands and Shantung Province. However, it agreed to free these areas during a conference in Washington in 1921, in exchange for limitation on presence of US, British and French navies in the Pacific Ocean.

22.2.5 Warlord Era (1916-28)

During this time China disintegrated in numerous states, each controlled by a Warlord with a private army, who fought among themselves. The Warlord era created chaos in China and the farmers suffered the most hardships.

22.2.6 May 4th Movement (1919)

The May 4th Movement (1919) was a movement started by the Chinese youth against the warlords and the regressive Chinese culture. Students gathered and held mass demonstrations. The **Chinese Communist Party** was formed in 1921 and it was sympathetic to the cause of peasants, who were the most oppressed section of

the society under Warlord era. Simultaneously, **KMT** was strengthening itself militarily under Chiang Kai Shek and was successful in ending the rule of Warlords and uniting the country by end of 1927-28. The KMT was opposed to the communist ideology of Chinese Communist Party, which focused on peasant welfare through measures like land redistribution, while the KMT was pro-landlords. Also by 1927, KMT, being militarily stronger, was able to suppress the communists.

22.2.7 Kuomintang and Sun Yat Sen

KMT was formed in 1912 by Dr Sun Yat Sen, who had returned to China after the 1911 revolution. It wanted a united, democratic and modern China. Though it was not communist in its ideology, it was ready to cooperate with the Communists in the initial phase. Dr Sun Yat Sen was opposed to the disintegration of China during the Warlord era. His policy can be analyzed into three principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Land Reforms. By Nationalism, he desired an end to foreign interference in Chinese affairs and building of a great nation, while by Democracy he desired to end the rule of Warlords. Under the principle of Land Reforms, he was not in favor of immediate confiscation of lands from the landlords but promised the peasants that in the long term he would try land redistribution in favor of peasants, their economic development and lower rents.

He was only partially successful in his aims. In 1912, he was able to form a military government in Canton in Southern China with help of southern warlords. Thus, the aim of Democracy could not be achieved. Also outside Southern China he had little influence due to lack of proper Army of KMT. His alliance with the Southern Warlords ended in 1921 and thereafter he had to flee Canton and had to seek Soviet Russia's help for unification of China, which helped modernize and train KMT's Army. He was successful in rousing the spirit of Nationalism and became famous as an intellectual statesman but unable to end foreign interference or build China into a great nation. He died relatively young at the age of 59 in 1925 after which Chiang Kai Shek became the leader of KMT.

22.2.8 Chiang Kai Shek

After 1925, it was Chiang Kai Shek, a militarily trained man, who was responsible for developing the KMT Army with the Soviet help. Although he studied the working of Communist Party and Red Army of Soviet Russia, he had a right wing ideology and was pro-capitalist class. He removed all the communist members from the KMT in 1925 and thus, was less tolerant than his predecessor Sun Yat Sen.

22.2.9 Chinese Communist Party (1921+)

Even though KMT's aim was establishing democracy in China, the Soviet Russia after 1921 began supporting the KMT with cash, military training and arms with hope of having a friendly and united China under Kuomintang. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party was formed by the leftist intellectuals in 1921. Both KMT and Chinese Communist Party got support from peasants and workers during the warlord era.

Northern March (1926) was a military campaign by KMT and Chinese Communist Party against the Warlords. In 1927, after its win against the Warlords, the KMT initiated the Purification Movement, which was KMT's campaign against the Chinese Communist Party during which worker and peasant leaders as well as Chinese Communist Party members were massacred. In fact, the Chinese Communist Party was to a good extent eliminated.

But the consequent KMT government that came to power failed to meet aspirations of the masses. The government was inefficient and corrupt. A nexus developed between the landlords, the industrialists and the government officials, which resulted in exploitation of the poor. The workers suffered from poor conditions of work, while the peasants were disenchanted by lack of land reforms, high taxes and forced labor. They formed the support base of whatever was left of the Chinese Communist Party.

From 1930 to 1934, KMT initiated the **Encirclement Campaigns** to destroy Chinese Communist Party. The strategy was to encircle the Chinese Communist Party base and exterminate them in combat. The 1934 Communist escape is famous in this context, whereby 1 lakh Chinese Communist Party cadres were able to breach the KMT trapped Chinese Communist Party Headquarter in Southwest China and they set out on the famous **6000 mile Long March** from Southwest China to the mountains in the North. The Chinese Communist Party cadres covered 6000 miles in one year (Indian coastline is of 7517 km while 6000 miles convert to 9600 km approximately) and on their way they crossed mountains & rivers, fought the warlords, which were allies of KMT

and won more and more territory. Only 20,000 of 1 lakh members survived and they setup a new base in Shensi province.



With the support of peasants, the remaining leadership of Chinese Communist Party, especially Mao Zedong reinvigorated the party. Chinese Communist Party gradually started bringing more area under its control. They provided an honest administration and introduced pro-peasant land reforms in areas under their control, which further tilted the masses in their favor.

Japan had invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established a puppet state (Manchukuo) there. From 1931 onwards, small localized "incidents" of Japanese aggression against China continued. But the KMT continued to attack the Chinese Communist Party cadres, instead of diverting full energy against the Japanese. Due to pressure from its own soldiers, KMT had to make truce with Chinese Communist Party in 1936 and after that both of them fought together against Japanese invasions, which took form of full blown war when Japan in 1937 initiated full fledged invasion of China. This is called as the second Sino-Japan war (1937-45) and it became part of the World War II.

The KMT forces were quickly defeated by Japanese army while the Chinese Communist Party cadres had more success due to its guerrilla warfare strategy. This increased the support base of Communists who were now seen as patriotic. Also, Mao Zedong (who was chairman of Chinese Communist Party since 1931) did not delay the reform process and resumed it as soon as it was possible, even amidst the war. For example, it started a Rectification programme in 1942 under which the intellectuals, students and urban youth were sent to remote villages to work on the fields with peasants for understanding and empathizing with the hardships of peasant's life. Thus, during the Sino-Japan war the Chinese Communist Party was able to increase its military control in China by their Guerrilla warfare strategy and by enlisting more and more Chinese peasants and workers.

After 1945, the civil war resumed between Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang. USA and USSR had occupied territory in China after defeating Japan. As USA was against communism it handed over the territory under its occupation to Kuomintang while Russia handed over Manchuria to Chinese Communist Party. Thus, now the Chinese civil war became part of the Cold War whereby USA supported KMT and USSR supported the Chinese Communist Party.

By 1949, the Chinese Communist Party emerged victorious as its Red Army was by then relatively large and well armed with Soviet weapons. This forced Chiang Kai Shek to flee to Taiwan where he setup a government in exile for whole of China. This government was recognized as the legitimate government of China by the USA, while a new Communist State emerged on the world map in territory of mainland China.

23] Imperialist Japan

Before 1868, the following conditions existed in Japan:

- a) **Political System:** Emperor was merely a figurehead. Real power was with the military generals also known as *shoguns*.
- b) **Social System:** a Europe-like feudal society existed in Japan.
- c) **International contact:** for over 200 years, Japan was cut-off from rest of the world.

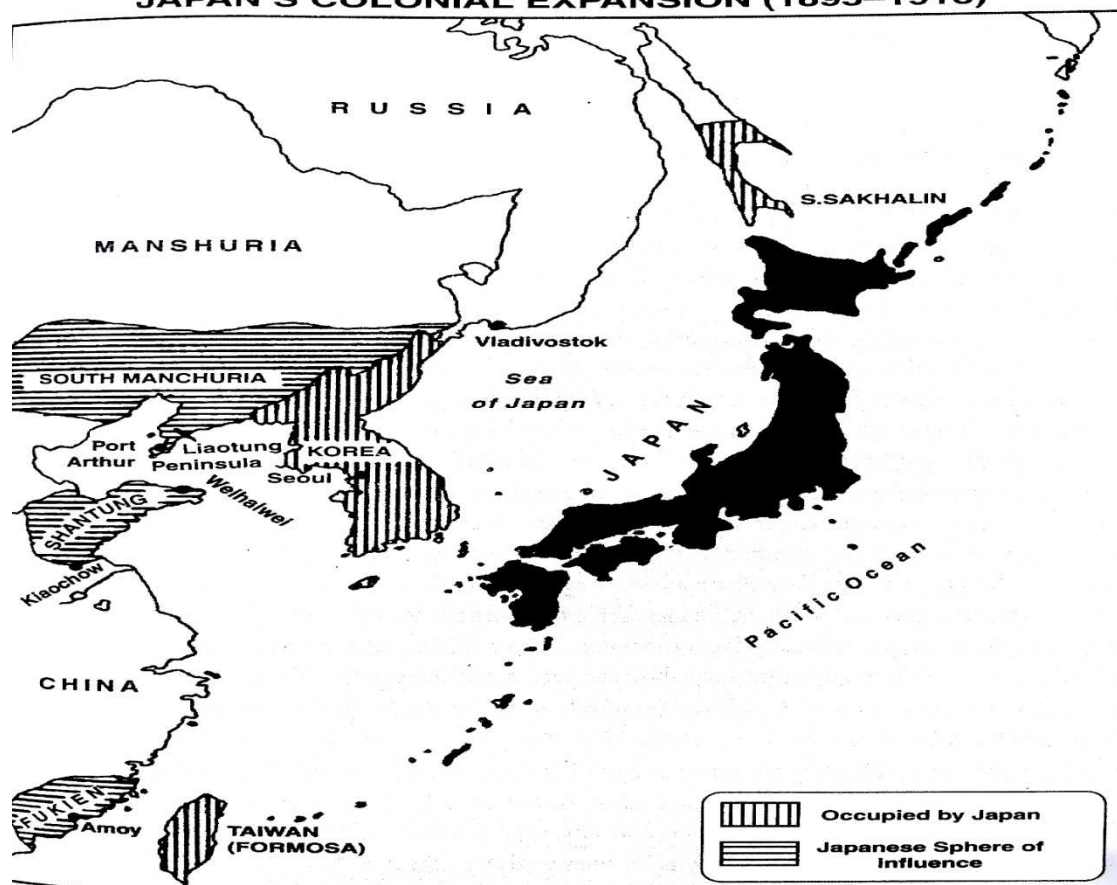
Around 1850s, Japanese independence came under threat. US sent a naval fleet in 1853 and coerced Japan into opening two ports for US ships and trade was permitted. Similar treaties were signed with European powers in coming years.

Meiji Restoration (1868): In 1868 the rule of *shoguns* was ended and a new set of advisers began ruling in the name of Emperor, whose authority was restored at least on paper. The Emperor took the title of Meiji and these changes are collectively called Meiji Restoration. From 1868 to 1908, Japan emerged as an industrialized nation. Initially, the government took up the responsibility and invested a lot in heavy industries. Later, the industries were sold to Capitalists who soon emerged as self-sufficient and no more required government support. An efficient Education programme ensured that Japanese were made literate very rapidly. It provided skilled workforce needed for rapid industrialization. Extreme nationalism and worship of Emperor were stressed in the education. This enthused people to work hard for national economic growth and also helped in justification of Imperialism that was to happen later. In 1889, a new constitution was enacted. The ministers were responsible to the Emperor and not the Diet (Parliament). Emperor was referred to as divine. The ministers and the Diet had no say in appointment of Army and Navy officers who. The Diet had limited financial powers. The right to vote was given to only 3% of population. Thus, gradually the armed forces came to dominate the political affairs of Japan.

Japan was a small island nation with majority of people living on meager wages. Thus, it lacked domestic market and embarked upon colonization in search of export markets and raw materials to feed its industry. Manchuria was very important due to its high coal and mineral reserves. It also provided access to Pacific Ocean. Japan envied the Russian control of Manchuria after 1858.

1. **Sino-Japan War (1894-5):** This war was fought mainly over Korea, which was hitherto under the control of China. After the loss,
 - a) China recognized Korea as an independent state.
 - b) Formosa (Taiwan) was occupied by Japan.
 - c) Senkaku islands in South China Sea, which are today a point of contention between China and Japan, were annexed by Japan after this war.
 - d) Manchuria came under economic influence of Japan, but it still envied the Russian control of Manchuria since 1858.
2. **Russo-Japan War (1904-05):** It was fought over Manchuria. Japan won this war and acquired more Chinese territory
 - a) Japan converted Southern Manchuria into its sphere of influence and also got Port Arthur.
 - b) Japan converted independent Korea into its Protectorate in 1905 and also acquired control of Liaotung Peninsula.
 - c) Russia ceded half of Sakhalin islands to Japan.
3. Japan annexed Korea in 1910. During WWI, Japan wanted but failed in converting China into its Protectorate.
4. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established the puppet state of Manchukuo. From 1931 onward, small localized "incidents" of Japanese aggression against China continued.
5. **Sino-Japan war (1937-45):** Japan in 1937 initiated full fledged invasion of China. It became part of the World War II.

JAPAN'S COLONIAL EXPANSION (1895–1918)

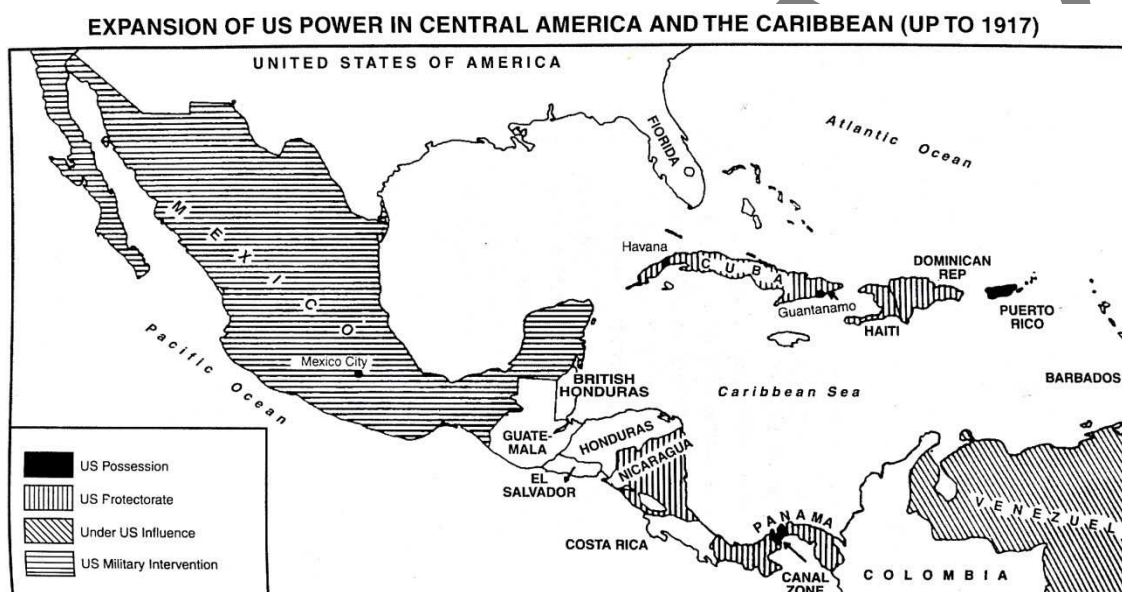


Japan turned into a military dictatorship in early 1930s, which gave a boost to imperialistic campaigns in China. It were the economic and political problems, which had plunged Japan into control of the Army. Japan had enjoyed economic boom till middle of 1921. It had benefited from the World War I (1914-19) as after the war European powers were weak economically and were involved in quarrels over Treaty of Versailles. Economic weakness of European nations made their exports less competitive. Also, they were militarily exhausted and thus not in a position to check Japanese aggression. The only nation powerful enough to check Japan's imperialist march was USA but it was itself disgusted with the World War I and followed a policy of isolation, which entailed non-interference in world affairs and prevention of military conflict with any other nation at all costs. Thus, Japan took benefit of this whole situation. By 1918, it had profited economically by exporting shipping and other goods to the Allied Powers during WW I. It had replaced European companies in export markets, especially in Asia, and got supply orders which Europeans could not service. During World War I, Japan's cotton exports had tripled and merchant ships doubled.

The social conditions in Japan were also responsible for its Imperialist tendencies. The influential sections of the society like the Army and the conservatives were against Democracy and frequently criticized the government. The Army was against Government's soft and conciliatory approach to China, as it wanted to take advantage of the Civil War in China to expand the colonial empire.

The economic conditions also played a role. The economic boom ended by 1921, because the European nations had recovered economically and now recaptured their lost export markets. In Japan, unemployment increased and the peasants were hit by rapid decrease in prices of rice due to bumper harvests. The protests of workers and peasants were suppressed brutally and thus, they also turned against the government. The World Economic Crisis served as the turning point, as Japanese exports were hurt badly as the importing nations were not in a position to pay for imports. In Manchuria, the Chinese companies were trying to replace the Japanese companies and the Japanese trade and businesses were at risk. This was unbearable in the background of the Economic Crisis of 1929. The Army invaded Manchuria in 1931 without the government's knowledge and the Prime Minister was killed in 1932 when he opposed the invasion. Till 1945, it was the Army, which ran the country on Fascist lines. The Emperor enjoyed high prestige but he also failed to control the Japanese imperialism because he was afraid of his orders not being followed. Thus in Japan, it was the Army and not the elected government, which was responsible for Imperialism in 1930s. Also, it were the economic problems and the small size of its territory, which increased its Imperialism.

24] Imperialist US



From 1865 to 1895, USA rose as an industrial power. For some time, the US influence in international economy was not felt because it had huge domestic market and thus much of its production was consumed internally. The reason for huge domestic market was increased population in USA due to huge migration of Europeans and other groups in 19th century and first decade of 20th century. Another reason was the Policy of Isolation, which implied a general lack of interest in world affairs.

But by 1890s, US emerged as a new Imperialist power. The major reason was Industrial Revolution induced demand for export markets and raw materials. US also used the concept of White Man's Burden and export of modern civilization was cited as a reason for US interference. The domination of the weak by the strong nations was justified as the law of nature. US expansion in the Pacific had started even earlier.

(*please go to Colonialism in Pacific)

In 1890s, when Europeans wanted to partition China, the USA felt left out and thus enforced the '**Open Door Policy**', which implied that in China all Imperial powers would have equal rights and no Imperial power would discriminate against another power citing any area as its Sphere of Influence. Thus, China became an International Colony. US contributed troops for suppression of Boxer Rebellion (1899-1900)

In 1893, US reiterated its hegemony over North and South America. It declared itself as practically sovereign over whole of America and its orders should be treated as law. It forced the British to agree to arbitration in a territorial dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana (present Guyana).

US was against Russian domination in China. In **Russo-Japan war of 1904-5**, US President Roosevelt mediated and persuaded Russia to recognize Japan's territorial gains. US entered into a secret agreement with Japan to

allow US trade freely in these areas. Thus US began Policy of Appeasement towards Japan, which boosted Japan's imperialism and allowed it to become a major power and a US rival in the Pacific.

Corollary to Monroe Doctrine: In 1904 Monroe Doctrine (1823) was expanded. Roosevelt argued now that US had the right to not just oppose European interference in Latin American affairs but also had the right to intervene in internal affairs of South American countries. From 1906-9 US troops intervened in Cuba to restore law and order.

Panama Canal in Columbia: It was completed in 1914. It boosted US trade in a big manner. The canal allowed a link between the two oceans of the Pacific and the Atlantic. Earlier US bought shares of the French Company, which was constructing the canal. When the Columbian government opposed the terms of agreement with the US, the latter manufactured a revolution and sent troops to prevent curbing of the revolution. Soon, Panama was recognized as an independent nation and it signed a much more favorable agreement than what the US had offered Columbia.

Neo-Colonialism in South America: The Presidents after Roosevelt, namely, Taft and Woodrow Wilson followed the policy of promoting investments by US companies and bringing Latin American economy under its control with help of these investments. US intervened in Mexico by helping in a coup against popularly elected leader Madero (elected in 1910, removed & murdered in 1913). Mexicans became hostile to US after this event (Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821).

25] World in 1914

25.1 Europe still dominated rest of the World

Though Europe still dominated rest of the world, important powers like US and Japan had arisen outside Europe too. Moreover, within Europe, not all European countries were powerful. It were Germany, France and Britain, which were the major powers. The rest of Europe was still in the process of economic modernization.

By 1914, Germany was ahead of Britain in production of pig iron and steel but lagged behind in production of coal. On other hand, France, Italy, Belgium and Austria-Hungary were well behind Britain and Germany. Russia was last to begin with industrialization. In 1914, Russian industry was expanding rapidly but still its economy was pre-dominantly agricultural and thus, far behind Germany and Britain. Russia was also witnessing political turmoil. One Russian Revolution had happened in 1905 and the next took place in 1917.

Outside Europe, US and Japan had begun industrialization around 1870s. In 1914, US produced more pig iron, steel and coal than Germany and Britain. It had adopted the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 and by 1914 it had ensured its domination of all of the Americas but was relatively detached from the affairs of Europe. Japan had emerged as a major exporter of textiles. It had defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and gained recognition as a major world power. Japanese imperialism was directed towards China. US policy of appeasement towards Japan had made it a strong rival in the Pacific. Thus by 1914, US and Japan both had emerged as Imperialist powers.

25.2 Political Systems of the world powers varied widely

There was democracy in US, Britain and France. Germany had lower house but the real power lay in office of the Chancellor and the Kaiser (Emperor). Italy was a constitutional monarchy but the Right to Vote was available only to the wealthy. Japan after Meiji Restoration (1868) had brought a constitution in 1889, which provided for a lower house (Diet). But the Diet had limited powers, the Right to Vote was available to only 3% of the population and the real power was in the hands of the army, navy, the Emperor (Meiji) and the privy council.

25.3 Imperial Expansion after 1880

After Industrial Revolution in the 1870s, many European nations sought to increase their colonial empire. European powers had scrambled the whole of Africa by 1914. Although nominally China was a Republic since 1911, after overthrow of Manchu Dynasty, it had been converted into an international colony by US, Japan, France, Britain and Germany.

26] Causes of Friction within Europe

Following can be classified as some of the major causes of friction among European powers:

1. **Rivalry for colonies** in Africa, Asia and the Pacific.
2. **Naval rivalry:** It was a result of colonial rivalry and was witnessed the most between Britain and Germany. Germany was a late entrant in the race for colonies and wanted to use its navy to threaten other colonial powers for expansion of German colonial empire. Germany sought to increase its naval strength by citing national defense, while the British opposed German naval buildup citing that it was only Britain, which had the right to naval supremacy. Britain argued that it deserved a supremacy in naval strength to ensure continued protection of its colonial empire, which was the largest and the most spread out by 20th century.
3. **Loss of Alsace Lorraine by France** to Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1871 was a cause for Germany-France rivalry.
4. **Russia was suspicious of Habsburg empire's ambition in the Balkans.** Balkan is an area in the north east of Mediterranean Sea and is populated by mainly the Slavs. The Russian Czarist regime/Romanov Dynasty also belonged to the group of Slavs and had its own ambitions in the Balkans.
5. **Serbian nationalism:** The Serbs wanted to integrate the Balkan areas populated with Slavs into a single Yugoslavia. Such a Yugoslavia would have required secession of certain areas from the Habsburg empire which had people from different ethnic groups including Slavs. Once the Slavs had been integrated into Yugoslavia, other groups would have also demanded secession. Thus, the idea of Yugoslavia threatened the integrity of Habsburg empire.
6. **Europe had divided itself into two alliances:** The Triple Alliance had Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy while the Triple Entente had Britain, France and Russia. But these were not very rigid alliances. In fact, Italy fought on the side of Britain and France in the World War I. The World War I was fought between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria) and the Allied Powers (Italy, Britain, France, Russia and US).

27] Major events before WW I

1. **Moroccan Crisis (1905-6):** In 1904-5 Britain and France had signed *Entente Cordiale* with a clause that Britain's control over Sudan and Egypt would be recognized by France and the special rights of France over Morocco would be recognized by Britain. Germany became anxious of increasing French influence in Morocco. It pledged to maintain independence of Morocco and called a conference. But Italy, Spain, Russia and Britain supported France in the conference and the latter got control over Moroccan Banks and Police. This was a diplomatic defeat for Germany.
2. **Britain-Russia Agreement of 1907:** It ended their disputes in Asia. Afghanistan and Tibet were recognized as British spheres of influence and Iran was divided into three zones with the North recognized as Russian zone, the central area as a buffer and the South as British zone. Russia hoped to get British investments for its industrial development after this agreement.
3. **Bosnia Crisis (1908):** Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia from the weak Ottoman empire. Bosnia had significant population of Slavs and thus Serbia also longed for Bosnia as an integral part of future Yugoslavia. Serbia called for help from Russia, which tried to organize a conference over the issue. But no conference was held as Britain and France withdrew support to Serbia when it became clear that Germany would support Habsburg Empire in case of a military conflict. They wanted to avoid a direct military clash with the Germans. Russia was not militarily strong to take any action in favor of Serbia. After this humiliation, Russia began its militarization so it could help Serbia if the need arise in future. Russia was now more suspicious of Habsburg empire's ambitions in the Balkans and Serbia became a bitter rival of Austria-Hungary.
4. **Agadir Crisis (1911):** When France deployed troops in Morocco, Germany got anxious of Morocco coming French control. It sent its warships to the island of Agadir near Morocco. It threatened France that if it did not withdraw its troops then Germany will annex Agadir. Britain was worried that if

Germany captured Agadir then it would be in a position to threaten British trade routes. Britain again sided with France. In a compromise, Germany was given a small strip of land in French Congo and in return Germany was compelled to recognize French control of Morocco. The German public opinion became bitter against France and Britain, and this event gave further boost to naval race between Britain and Germany.

5. **1st Balkan War (1912):** Here the Balkan League (Montenegro, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria) attacked Turkey and captured most of Ottoman Empire's territories in Europe. Germany and Britain mediated to bring about a ceasefire. In the peace settlement, the Ottoman Empire's territory in Europe was divided among the Balkan States. Serbia was unhappy as it wanted Albania for this would have provided it with access to the sea but Albania was made an independent state. Obviously, the Austrian hand was working through Germany against Serbia.
6. **2nd Balkan War 1913:** This was fought against Bulgaria by Greece, Romania, Turkey and Serbia. Bulgaria attacked Serbia because it was unhappy with most of Macedonia being given to Serbia at the end of the 1st Balkan war. After its defeat in the war, Bulgaria lost all territory it had gained from the 1st Balkan war. Germany had restrained Austria-Hungary from militarily helping Bulgaria. Britain on the other hand, had not come to the aid of Serbs. Germany took this as a sign of British detachment with the Russians. The result of the 2nd Balkan War was a stronger Serbia, which was now determined to instigate Croats and Serbs (both are Slavs) of Habsburg Empire for realization of the goal of Yugoslavia.
7. **Assassination of Archduke of Austria Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia (June 1914) :** Bosnia had been annexed by Habsburg empire and the Bosnians were aligned with Serbia. A secret society had organized the killing and the Bosnian government was aware of the plot but did not do anything to stop it. This event was definitely an act of terrorism and the anger among the Austrians was justified but Austria-Hungary took this event as an opportunity to try annexing Serbia. It presented Serbia with a set of demands with a deadline. Serbia accepted most of the demands but not all because accepting all the demands would have amounted to surrendering the sovereignty of Serbia to Habsburg empire. Serbia fearing invasion ordered military mobilization. After the deadline, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. The assassination served as the immediate cause of the World War I.

28] Who/What was to blame for the Assassination of Archduke steamrolling into World War I ?

- Definitely the quarrel between Serbia and the Habsburg Empire was responsible for the outbreak of war between Serbia and Austria but not for World War I. Following were the reasons for escalation of Serbia-Austria conflict into a World War:
 - **Web of Alliances:** It refers to the Alliance System, Europe had organized itself into. This made the allies of each side to enter the war. Once Austria declared war on Serbia after the latter failed to meet all the demands, Russia ordered full mobilization honoring its alliance with Serbia. Then Germany mobilized troops and declared war on Russia because Russia had rejected the German demand of not mobilizing troops against Austria and Germany had an alliance with Austria. Then Germany formed an alliance with Ottoman Empire and declared war on France because Germany believed that France would enter the war in favor of Russia, honoring the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894. The German War Plan was also known as **Schlieffen Plan**, which aimed at German victory over France in just 6 weeks. This was possible only if Germany would attack France through Belgium, which lay between France and Germany. Since Britain was an ally of Belgium and had guaranteed its neutrality, it declared war against Germany when Belgium was attacked. Japan entered war, honoring its alliance with Britain. Thus, all major powers were at war with each other due to the Alliance System. But this was not the sole reason as the earlier conflicts had not escalated into a world war.
 - **Imperialism:** Colonial rivalry in Africa and the Far East was also to blame. France, Britain and others had ganged up against Germany in the Moroccan crisis thwarting its colonial ambitions. Japan wanted German Pacific islands and thus entered the war on the side of Allied Powers. Italy entered the war on side of Allied Powers in 1915 on promise of more territory.

- **Naval Race** between Germany and Britain increased tensions and both became rivals. By defeating the other in the war at sea, each power had ambition of establishing naval supremacy once and for all.
- Capitalism was blamed by Lenin as he saw economic rivalry with profit motive as the root cause of the war.
- **Russia** made war more likely by backing Serbia. Had Russia allowed Serbia to deal with Austria alone then Germany may not have entered the war. Russia always desired influence in the Eastern Europe. But it had genuine concerns as well. Ottoman empire was already under the influence of Germany and Austria. If Serbia had been defeated by Austria then Dardanelles, which provided an outlet from the Black Sea and thus was crucially important for Russian trade, would have come under control of Austria and Germany, who could then have strangled the Russian trade.
- **German backing of Austria** was also crucially important. This was probably because the Germans felt encircled by Russia, France and Britain. Russia and France had signed an agreement in 1894. In 1904, Britain and France who were traditional rivals, signed an agreement of friendship also known as *Entente Cordiale* under which they resolved their disputes regarding colonies in Africa. In 1907, Russia and Britain signed an agreement that ended their disputes in Asia. Thus by 1907, Germany was anxious due to the growing proximity between the other major powers in the region, even though technically these agreements were not military agreements and dealt with territorial disputes and trade & investments.
- **Mobilization plans** of the big powers were also responsible. The mobilization of armies increased the tensions and mutual suspicion. Europe had many internal disputes other than the Serbia-Austria quarrel and once one power ordered the mobilization of its forces, the rival powers had to mobilize their own forces to be able to deal with any possible military threat to their own frontiers.
- **A tragedy of Miscalculations:**
 - Germany believed that due to France-Russia Agreement of 1894, France will surely fight in favor of Russia.
 - After passive stand of Britain in the 2nd Balkan War, Germany thought that Britain would not come to the aid of Russia or France.
 - Further, Germans miscalculated that the Schlieffen Plan will bring them a quick victory.
 - Germans miscalculated that by supporting Austria they would be able to threaten Russia into neutrality.
 - Austria miscalculated that since it had German support, Russia won't come to aid of Serbia.
 - Politicians in Germany and Russia felt that mobilization would not necessarily escalate into a War.
- **Cultural belief** that war was good, necessary, glorious and the notion of superiority of us over them rallied the people in favor of war.

29] During the World War I

The Schlieffen Plan failed as the Germans failed to defeat the French in the planned time of 6 weeks. After this it was clear that it was to be long drawn war. Trench Warfare and the war at the sea were the two important features of World War I.

- i. **The Trench Warfare** occurred mainly in France with both sides armies digging trenches. The soldiers used to sit in and fire from the trenches. Whenever troops charged out of the Trenches against the enemy, they were exposed in an open field and became easy targets of the enemy. In this way, both sides suffered huge casualties. Soon a standoff developed with both sides stationed in their respective trenches. The life in the trenches was miserable with water clogging resulting in diseases and consequent deaths.
- ii. **War at the Sea:**
 - a) **The Blockade Policy:** This was followed mainly by Britain and Germany. It aimed at three things:
 - i. Blockade of the rival trade routes so the rival is starved out due to the lack of supply of goods (arms, rations etc.) and is thus forced to surrender.
 - ii. Provide security to own trade routes so that the country which is blockading doesn't itself starves.

iii. For movement of troops.

Britain was successful in destroying many surface warships of Germany.

- b) **Allied Blockade caused problems to the US** as the British stopped and searched all ships to prevent Germany from getting any supplies. This slowed down movement of US merchant ships. Also, the US wanted to trade with both the sides and thus disapproved of Allied Blockade,
- c) **Germans retaliated with sea mines and submarine attacks.** Once the German surface warships had suffered huge damage at hands of the British navy, the Germans did not have any other option but to resort to submarine attacks and sea mines. But this infuriated US as some of its ships were sunk and in one incident many US citizens onboard a ship had died. From now on the public opinion in the US was more pro-British.
- d) **Battle of Jutland (1916)** : This was a battle on the sea and resulted in further British control of sea surface. This left Germany with no option but to use underwater submarines and in an attempt to blockade the Allies it started the unrestricted submarine warfare.
- e) **Unrestricted Submarine warfare by Germans** in Atlantic Ocean in 1917: This was the German Blockade with an aim to cut off British supply lines and it started attacking 'all' ships in the Atlantic. This policy did not discriminate between neutral ships and the ships of Allies. This infuriated US further but Germany thought that it would be able to starve the Allied Powers into surrender before the US decides to enter the war. Unrestricted submarine warfare was a major reason that catapulted US into the war on the side of Allied powers.

30] Woodrow Wilson's 14 points (1918)

They more or less served as the war aims of Allied Powers.

1. Abolition of secret diplomacy
2. Free navigation at sea for all nations in war and peace
3. Removal of economic barriers between states
4. All round reduction of armaments
5. Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the populations concerned
6. Evacuation of Russian territory
7. Restoration of Belgium
8. Liberation of France and restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France
9. Readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality
10. Self government for people of Austria-Hungary
11. Romania, Serbia and Montenegro to be evacuated and Serbia to be given sea access
12. Self government for the non-Turkish people of Ottoman empire and permanent opening of Dardanelles
13. An independent Poland with secure access to Sea
14. A general association of nations to preserve peace

Wilson under pressure from Britain and France added two more points regarding Germany viz disarmament of Germany and war reparations by Germans for civilian losses caused by them in occupied territories.

31] Attitude of the Allied Powers & the Peace treaties

The British wanted a lenient treaty with Germany because a prosperous Germany would serve as a market for British exports. France desired a harsh treaty with Germany so as to ensure that it is not able to threaten French frontiers in the foreseeable future. The US also wanted a lenient treaty with Germany but was disappointed with the harsh treaty that Germans signed with the Russians and the destruction of civilian infrastructure by the Germans during their retreat from France and Belgium. Finally a compromise was reached and Germans were not to pay the whole cost of war but just the cost in lieu of damage done to civilians and their property.

31.1 Treaty of Versailles

It was signed with Germany. Following were its major points:

- 1) **Germany lost territory in Europe:** Alsace-Lorraine was given to France. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent nations. Parts of German territory were given to Denmark, Belgium, Poland and Lithuania. SAAR and DANZIG had German population but they were brought under administration of League of Nations. Danzig was a major port of West Prussia. Saar was to be under League of Nations for fifteen years and then a vote was to be held to decide if it would go to France or Germany. France was given the right to use coal mines of Saar for these fifteen years.
- 2) **Union between Austria and Germany** was forbidden even though Austria had huge German population.
- 3) **Germany's African colonies** were taken away and converted into Mandates under the League of Nations. Members of the League of Nations were to 'look after' the colonies assigned to them as mandates and to prepare them for independence in the future.
- 4) **Germany was disarmed:** It was barred from introducing conscription (compulsory military service). Rhineland (Germany) was made a buffer zone between France and Germany by demilitarizing it permanently. Germany was only allowed to have six battleships and at maximum one lakh soldiers. It could have no planes, no tanks and no submarines.
- 5) **War guilt clause:** It placed the blame for World War I solely on Germany and its allies.
- 6) **War Reparations:** Germany was to pay 6600 pounds after a lot of deliberations. But it was decreased to 2000 million pounds later as the earlier amount was disproportionately high and Germans were in no position to pay such a huge amount. The aim of the reparations was to ensure that Germany continues to grapple with its economy for a long time and thus never be a threat to France and Britain in foreseeable future.

31.2 Other Treaties

31.2.1 Treaty of St Germain (1919) and the Treaty of Trianon (1920)

Treaty of St Germain (1919) was signed with Austria and the Treaty of Trianon (1920) was signed with Hungary. These treaties had following consequences:

- a. Austria & Hungary were reduced to a very small size as compared to the expanse of Habsburg empire.
- b. Territory was distributed among other European nations on the principle of self determination which entailed that now people lived under the government of their own nationality.

31.2.2 Treaty of Sevres (1920)

It was signed with Turkey. Following were important points:

- 1) Huge loss of territory to Greece e.g. Eastern Thrace and Smyrna. Italy also got some territory.
- 2) Dardanelles or the Straits (provided outlet from Black Sea) were permanently opened.
- 3) Ottoman Empire's colonies were converted to mandates and given to Britain and France. Syria became French Mandate while British Mandates included TransJordan, Iraq and Palestine.

31.3 Verdict on Peace Treaties

As can be seen from the Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, the principles of self government, reorganization of states on lines of ethnicity, international peace and security through overall disarmament were the major principles forwarded by the allied powers as war aims. When assessed on these principles the Treaty of Versailles cannot be justified. It rather became a major tool that was to be used later by Fascist regime of Hitler to wage another war, the World War II. Following are some points in this regard:

- 1) **The Treaty of Versailles was a dictated peace** as the Germans were not allowed to be part of the negotiations. They could only put forward their opinion and criticism through writings. All their criticisms were ignored. Only the clause of loss of territory was the one where the Germans were compensated. The industrial region of Upper Silesia in West Prussia was handed over to Germans after a vote. But then

the Allied Powers argued that the Treaty of Brest Litovsk was also a dictated peace upon Russia.

- 2) **The clause of disarmament of Germany** made it virtually impotent and the reparations charged upon the Germans were unjustified. Wilson's 14 points included 'all round decrease in armament' but it was only Germany which was disarmed and no other European power started disarmament. The limit on troops and arms made it difficult for Germany to maintain law and order.
- 3) **Principle of nationality, ethnicity and of Self Determination:** This was a major principle advocated by the Allied Powers to justify reorganization of Europe's internal borders and creation of new independent states out of Habsburg empire. But it was not completely followed:
 - a) **Germans:** Significant amount of German territory with German population was given to newly created nations. Poland had more than a million Germans. The union between Austria and Germany was forbidden even when Austria had many ethnic Germans. After the Treaty of St Germain and Treaty of Trianon with Austria and Hungary respectively, three million Germans in Sudetenland were now part of Czechoslovakia. The result was that many Germans lived outside Germany after the World War I and this was to be used by Hitler to justify German aggression and expansion before World War II.
 - b) **Turks:** The Treaty of Sevres was also in violation of the principle of Self Determination as it resulted in areas populated by Turks being given to Greece especially the territory of Smyrna which was on Turkish mainland. This resulted in the rise of nationalism in Turkey and the nationalists under Mustapha Kemal rejected Treaty of Sevres. The Greeks were chased out of Smyrna and Mustapha Kemal forced a renegotiation. Smyrna and some other former territories of Ottoman Empire were restored to Turkey through Treaty of Lausanne (1923).
 - c) **Arabs:** T.E Lawrence was a British officer who played a major role in inciting Arabs against the Turks. He led the revolts by the Arabs against the Ottoman empire from 1916-18. After supporting the Allies in the World War I, the Arabs hoped for independence but their hopes remained unfulfilled. Arabs were also unhappy with the talks regarding creation of a Jewish state within Palestine.
 - d) **Indians:** India did not gain any real autonomy even when many Indian soldiers fought on the side of British. The War Aims of Allied powers included self-governance and self-determination. The Government of India Act 1919 failed to meet the aspirations of the Indian National Congress. The dismemberment of Turkey was also a major grievance among the Muslims. The British had promised to Indians a lenient treatment to the Ottoman Empire after the World War I in return for Indian support but they did not keep their promise. These factors along with colonial oppression in form of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and Rowlatt Act served as a trigger for the Khilafat & Non-Cooperation Movement in India.
- 4) **Principle of 'Economic Viability':** It was ironical that Allied Powers used the principle of 'Economic Viability' to justify that the newly created states needed areas having German population but the union between Austria and Germany was ignored even when it made perfect economic sense.
- 5) **Loss of Colonies:** The objection to loss of African colonies by Germany was genuine. The distribution was not impartial and was for satisfying imperialistic ambitions of the Allied Powers. The League of Nations handed over these colonies as mandates only to the members of Allied Powers. Mandate System was a virtual annexation of German colonies by Allowed powers. Britain got German East Africa. France got most of Cameroon and Togoland while rest of these two colonies was given to Britain. South Africa got German South West Africa.
- 6) **War Guilt Clause:** It is pretty much evident that all the Imperial powers were responsible for the World War I. Thus the War Guilt clause, which fixed responsibility of World War I solely on Germany and its allies was unjustified. It served as a humiliation for the Germans. The Allied Powers insisted on it as it made Germany legally liable to pay war reparations.
- 7) **War Reparations:** The huge War Reparations resulted in humiliation to the Germans. The amount of 6600 million pounds was too high and was aimed at keeping Germany weak economically in the foreseeable future.

- 8) **Reduction in Territory:** Austria and Hungary were reduced to very small size in terms of territory and population. Most of the industrial wealth of Austria went to Czechoslovakia and Poland. They were soon engulfed by economic crisis and they had to seek loans from League of Nations.
- 9) **Free Trade clause neglected:** Free trade among nations was part of Wilson's 14 points. But trade barriers were introduced by most of the newly created nation states. This made the recovery of Austrian economy very difficult.
- 10) **Russia did not gain much** from peace settlement as the communist regime was not invited to the negotiations.

32] Impact of the World War I (1914-19)

- 1) **The Peace Treaties:** They weakened Germany only temporarily because some of clauses like Disarmament and huge War Reparations were impossible to implement. Germany soon began rearming itself with help of Russians and defaulted on the payments towards reparations.
 - a) The treaties only served to sow seeds of resentment and extreme national rivalries which were to harvest in form of the World War II.
 - b) Treaties divided Europe into two groups of states. While one group wanted to revise the peace settlements, the other group wanted to defend/preserve the peace settlements.
 - c) US did not ratify the peace settlements and never joined the League of Nations as the public soon denounced Wilson and US reverted back to the Policy of Isolation to prevent any military engagement in future.
 - d) Italy felt cheated as it did not get all the territory that was promised to it in lieu of entering the war in 1915.
- 2) **League of Nations** was created to ensure world peace and for social work.
- 3) **Russia became Communist:** World War I led to rise of revolting Bolsheviks who were against the Russian participation in the war due to the economic burden it brought upon the Russian population. There were two phases of Russian Revolution of 1917. In the February Revolution (1917) the Czar was overthrown due to army mutinies and the civil unrest. A provisional government was setup but it failed to hold the promised elections. Helped by the Germans, Lenin returned from exile to Russia and this paved way for the October Revolution (1917) that led to overthrow of the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, came to power and a separate peace treaty (Treaty of Brest Litovsk) was signed with Germany in 1917. This treaty was very harsh upon the Russians and was used against the Germans when they complained about the Treaty of Versailles being immoral and excessively harsh.
- 4) **Rise of US as a hegemonic power:** US entered the war in 1917 when the German blockade of ships (1917) started targeting all the merchant vessels in Atlantic, including of the US. The Zimmerman Plan was another factor which changed the public opinion in US in favor of entering the war. This plan was a product of German diplomat Zimmerman and entailed persuading Mexico to attack US. Also, earlier US did not want to enter the war on side of the autocratic Czar. The spirit of American Revolution was behind the US reluctance. But the fall of the Czarist regime in Russia removed this barrier as well. The following factors helped US emerge as the true winner from the World War I:
 - a) The war was not fought on the US soil. Thus US escaped the usual damage to infrastructure and the consequent economic costs of reconstruction a war brings.
 - b) US intervened militarily only during the last phase of the World War I and thus it lost minimal soldiers in the warfare unlike the Europeans who had to deal with the shelling and the trench warfare.
 - c) US gave loans to the Allied Powers during the war and to the Germans after the end of the war to meet the reparation costs imposed on them under the Treaty of Versailles. Thus, US made a lot of money through World War I. Its war machine i.e. the military industries gained the most by selling weapons during and after the war. The decade after the war, till 1929 when the economic crisis hit

US, was one of the most prosperous for US.

- d) The leading role played by President Woodrow Wilson in the negotiations in Versailles is a symbolic proof of the stature of US during and after the World War I.

Thus, although even on the eve of World War I, US was the leading industrial economy, the World War I catalyzed its arrival on the world stage as a truly global power.

- 5) **European economy suffered** due to the war and European nations became dependent on loans from US for reconstruction.
- 6) **Dismemberment of Ottoman Empire:** The Ottoman empire disintegrated after its loss in the World War I and the new nation state of Turkey came into being.
- 7) **Disintegration of Habsburg Empire:** Austria-Hungary separated on their own just before the end of the World War I and the Habsburg empire came to an end.
- 8) **Rise of new nations states:** Turkey, Austria and Hungary were created as mentioned above. Further, Czechoslovakia and Poland were created. Serbia fulfilled its dream of uniting the Slav people under Yugoslavia which was formed by merging Serbia and Montenegro. Also Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent nations. Germany had ceased them from Russia after the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917).
- 9) **Imperialism continued:** The German colonies were converted into Mandates. Mandates were handed over to the victors for preparing them for independence at a suitable future date. The British got the German colonies in Africa. Ottoman Empire's territories of Iraq, Syria, TransJordan and Palestine were distributed as Mandates among France and Britain.
- 10) **Introduction of new Weapons:** Many new weapons were used for the first time in World War I. Barbed Wires, Machine Guns, Tanks, Poison Gas and Shelling were put to great use. This pushed the world away from peace and ensured that the future wars were more dangerous.
- 11) **World War I did change the people's outlook towards war:** War was now condemned by many thinkers due to the high civilian casualties. Before the World War I, war was cited as glorious and there was a dominating flavor of romanticism in the literature being published. This changed after the World War I and writers like Hemingway began denouncing the war as inhuman. Most viewed the World War I as a tragedy because it didn't need to happen, it didn't accomplish much and it only created socio-economic conditions that made World War II more likely.

33] League of Nations

League of Nations had its origin in the war aims of Allied Powers. Woodrow Wilson's 14 points had envisaged creation of an international agency that would work for maintenance of world peace. Similarly, Britain had also listed creation of such an organization as one of its war aims during World War I. This clause took the form of League of Nations, which was formed in January 1920, with its headquarters in Geneva, on the same day as the Treaty of Versailles came into effect.

33.1 Aims of the League of Nation

Following were the aims of the League of Nation:

1. Settle international disputes to prevent war in future. This was to be achieved through the principle of collective security. All the member nations were to collectively act against a nation who tried to wage a war. This action against the aggressor nation would take form of economic sanctions and military action, if required. Thus, maintenance of international peace and security was the primary goal of the League.
2. Economic and Social work: The League of Nations was to seek international cooperation for socio-economic development across the world. For this purpose various organizations within the League of Nations were created.

33.2 League Covenant

It was the list of rules through which the League was to operate. These rules were drawn up by an International Committee that comprised of the leaders of important world powers.

33.3 Organizational Structure of the League of Nations

- 1) **Membership:** There were 42 member nations to begin with. By 1926, when Germany was granted membership, the total number of member nations had reached the tally of 55.
- 2) **Security Council:** The League of Nations had a United Nations Security Council, like Security Council with eight members to begin with, four permanent members and four non-permanent members. The non-permanent members were elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years. By 1926, the council had thirteen members with the seats for non permanent members now increasing to nine. The four permanent members were France, Italy, Japan and Britain. The decisions in the council had to be unanimous. The mandate of the League of Nations Security Council was to deal with political issues.
- 3) **Peacekeeping Function:** All disputes that could boil down to a war were to be referred to the League and any member that resorted to war was to face collective action by the rest of the members. The Security Council would have the authority to recommend the amount of resources - naval, air, military - that each member of the League should contribute for collective action against the aggressor.
- 4) **General Assembly:** Members of the League of Nations constituted the General Assembly. The Assembly met annually and the decisions were to be taken unanimously. All members of the Assembly had one vote. The Assembly was a policy making body of the League and thus its mandate was to decide on the general policy issues. It also controlled the finances of the League of Nations and had powers to change a peace treaty. The special functions of the Assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent members to the Council, the election with the Council of the Judges of the Permanent Court, and control of the budget. In practice, the Assembly was the general directing force of League activities.
- 5) **Permanent Court of International Justice:** It was setup in Hague (Netherlands). Its mandate was to deal only with the legal disputes between states and not the political disputes. It had fifteen judges from different nationalities. It continues to function today as part of the United Nations and is known as the International Court of Justice.
- 6) **Secretariat:** It was setup as a support unit and handled the paperwork, formulation of reports and preparing the agenda.
- 7) **Commissions & Committees:** Commission were setup, with each commission dealing with specific problems. Examples of important commissions included commission for handling issues regarding 'Mandates', Disarmament, Military Affairs etc. On the other hand, important committees were those dealing with areas of Health, Labor, Women Rights, Drugs, Child Welfare etc.

33.4 Evaluation of Performance of League of Nations

To determine the success or failure of the League of Nations, we can analyze its performance with respect to two major aims of the League as mentioned earlier. If the performance of the League of Nations is to be summarized, then it can be said that it failed with respect to its aim of being a leading forum for resolution of international disputes and ensuring a peaceful world. But, it did important work for the socio-economic development across the world, specially, the work by International Labor Organization towards welfare of the workers and the contribution of League of Nations for rehabilitation of the refugees of the World War I was commendable.

33.4.1 Success of the League of Nations

The League was successful in two areas:

- 1) **Economic and Social work through its Commissions and Committees:**
 - a) **ILO:** The International labor Organization was the most successful. The goals of ILO included - fixing maximum working days and minimum wages, ensuring that member nations provided for

unemployment benefits and old age pensions. Its work included information dissemination with respect to performance of different member nations and to push the governments for actions in the area of welfare of the workers.

- b) **The Refugee Organization:** It helped the Prisoners of War in Russia to their homes outside Russia. In 1933, it helped the Jews, who were fleeing to escape Nazi persecution, to resettle in different countries where they would be safe.
 - c) **Health Organization:** It did good work in finding causes of different epidemics. It was especially successful in combating Typhus epidemic in Russia which had the potential to spread to the rest of Europe.
 - d) **Mandates Commission:** It had the responsibility of monitoring the governance of territories given to member nations as Mandates (former colonies of Ottoman Empire and Germany). A separate commission, which was setup for supervising the governance in SAAR, was very efficient and successfully held a plebiscite there in 1935. After the plebiscite, SAAR was returned to Germany. Although the Mandates Commission functioned well, it can be argued that it did not do much against colonialism in former African colonies that were converted to Mandates. The Mandates were to be prepared for independence but the commission failed to ensure that the colonial powers provide for participation of the locals in the governance of Mandates.
- 2) **Resolution of minor International disputes:** Here the League had partial success. It forced Greece to pay compensation to Bulgaria, when the former invaded the latter. The League decided in favour of Britain when Turkey started claiming the Mosul province, which was a mandate of Britain. The League solved a territorial dispute between Peru and Columbia. Also in 1921, when there was a dispute regarding Upper Silesia (an industrial region) between Germany and Poland, the League successfully made both the parties reach a settlement and Upper Silesia was partitioned between the two.

Conclusion: None of these disputes threatened the world peace. Also whenever a major power was involved, the decision of the League was always in favour of the major power.

33.4.2 Failures / Causes of Ineffectiveness of the League of Nations

- 1) **An Allies Organization:** League of Nations came to be viewed as an organization of the Allied Powers especially of France and Britain, setup for implementation of unjust peace treaties, which failed to satisfy all nations.
 - a) Turkey and Italy were both dissatisfied with the peace treaties. While Turkey was aggrieved at territories it considered as inalienable being handed over to Greece, Italy was dissatisfied for not getting the territorial gains it was promised in 1915 in lieu of entering the war in favor of the Allies.
 - b) The Peace treaties signed were against principle of Self Determination. For instance, millions of Germans, after the peace treaties, resided outside Germany in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Similarly, many Turks were now residents of Greece.
- 2) **Conference of Ambassadors:** This body was setup as a temporary body to resolve disputes regarding peace treaties until the League of Nations was setup and made fully functional. But, it continued to exist even after the formation of the League. This hurt the legitimacy and the authority of the League of Nations. At times, the Conference of Ambassadors overruled the League's decisions, for example, in case of the Corfu incident (1923) involving Mussolini's Italy and Greece.
- 3) **Failure of Disarmament:** It was only Germany, which was made to disarm under the Treaty of Versailles. The League failed to convince other major powers to disarm. Britain and France did not want self-disarmament. When the World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932-33, Hitler demanded equality of armament with France. But, France refused as it feared that Germany would become an equal military power and soon emerge as a threat to its frontiers. Hitler used this as an excuse to quit the World Disarmament Conference. Soon, he would denounce the League of Nations and make Germany quit it as well.
- 4) **Mockery of Collective Security:** The League of Nations failed to check any violations of the frontiers established after the WWI through the peace treaties.

- a) **1923 resolution:** It allowed each member the freedom to decide if it wanted to contribute any military resources during activation of the collective security clause. This literally nullified the responsibility that all the member nations had in their duty of checking any act of war by another member nation.
- b) **Failure of Geneva Protocol (1924):** The British and French governments had proposed a Geneva Protocol. It provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes. It committed the League of Nations members to come to immediate military aid of a victim of aggression and also aimed at general disarmament. In the Geneva Protocol the member states would declare themselves “ready to consent to important limitations of their sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations”. But, USA condemned the proposal (due to its Policy of Isolation) and the next Conservative government in Britain withdrew the British support to the protocol. Thus, the protocol was never ratified.
- c) **Economic Crisis of 1929** led to poverty and unemployment and consequently, right wing governments came to power across the world. These governments were more aggressive and violated the League Covenant. For example, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, Abyssinia was invaded by Italy in 1935, the Spanish Civil War of 1936 saw military intervention by Mussolini and Hitler in favor of France, Japan invaded China in 1937 and Hitler annexed Austria in 1938. In all these cases, the League proved powerless and failed to check the military aggression. In case of **Japanese invasion of Manchuria** in 1931, the decision of the League was that the Japanese should evacuate Manchuria. Japan rejected this decision and consequently withdrew from the League in 1933. Military or economic sanctions against Japan were not even discussed as Britain and France were under economic stress due to the Great Depression. Similarly, when **Abyssinia** appealed to the League against the Italian aggression of 1935, the League applied sanctions but only half-heartedly. Italy was still allowed to import important goods like coal, oil and steel, and thus, the sanctions failed to coerce Italy to withdraw from Abyssinia.

Three things are clear from the above discussion and following was the impact of the Economic Crisis of 1929 on world politics :

- i. The right wing governments, especially the Fascist regimes in Japan, Italy and Germany took benefit of the World Economic Crisis as they knew that due to economic concerns the important League members like Britain and France would not act.
 - ii. Britain, France and USA were following a policy of appeasement towards the Fascist regimes to prevent war. This was to prove disastrous and was the major reason for Fascist regimes becoming gradually powerful enough to challenge the world peace.
 - iii. Also, it is clear that every nation, including the proponents of the League, were concerned with their own economic interests. Be it the US Policy of Isolation or the British abandonment of the Geneva Protocol, the major powers did not want a responsibility that would not bring any direct territorial or economic gains. Even Britain and France, who were at the helm of the affairs of the League, did not act when they did not find support of other important economic and military powers like USA, USSR etc. The national economic concerns and political benefits became more important than the world peace.
- 5) **The League of Nations was not a truly representative organization:** It had limited membership. This also resulted in lack of funds for the League’s work. The three main world powers, namely, USA, USSR and Germany were not its members when the League was formed in 1920. Thus, it became an organization of the French and the British and lacked the legitimacy of being called a truly representative world body. Germany was admitted only by 1926, while USSR gained membership in 1934. USA never joined the League of Nations and neither did it ratify the peace treaties. After the World War I, the US public rejected Woodrow Wilson and his fourteen points and US reverted back to its Policy of Isolation. The Republicans viewed LoN as a world government, which would threaten US national sovereignty and freedom. It did not want to be involved in any future military conflict or to be involved in the European affairs. By 1933, Japan had quit the League of Nations and soon after that the Hitler’s Germany also left the League. Thus, on the eve of the World War II, the League of Nations was in ruins and a failure.

Summary: The League failed to implement its decisions in disputes, where the verdict of the League was against a major power. Aggressive regimes like Japan, Italy and Germany defied the League. Britain and France did not do much to give teeth to the League. The Economic Crisis of 1929 was also responsible in its own way. The

Conference of Ambassadors undermined League's authority. Important powers like Germany, US, USSR were not its members. The League Covenant was weak and it failed to provide a real collective security.

33.5 Impact of the failure of the League of Nations

- Gradually, small states lost all faith in the League of Nation due to its inaction against aggression in Manchuria and Abyssinia.
- Fascist regimes got encouraged. Hitler became confident of violating the Treaty of Versailles.
- World War II could not be prevented.

33.6 Comparison of UN with the League of Nations

United Nations	League of Nations
Setup in 1945 after WW II	Setup in 1920 after WW I
UN Charter	League Covenant
Active US and USSR participation.	US did not join. USSR was admitted very late (1934)
Dominated by US and Russia	Dominated by Britain and France
UN Charter based on proposals by US, USSR, China and Britain	League Covenant drawn up by US, Britain and France as Russia was not invited to the Treaty of Versailles.
UN aims were world peace, protection of all individual human rights and socio-economic development.	League of Nations did not include protection to rights of an individual.
UN General Assembly decision making not based on unanimity principle.	LoN's General Assembly took decisions based on unanimity principle. This resulted in frequent stalemate.
In UN, developing countries have much more voice.	In LoN, the colonies had no say.
UN is more representative body with nearly all nations being its members. It has become more representative of the Third World after former colonies gained independence. The membership also increased after emergence of new states post USSR disintegration.	LoN was less representative due to lack of membership to all nations.
Voting in UNSC need not be unanimous for a decision to take effect.	Voting in League's Security Council had to be unanimous.
Permanent members of UNSC are USA, France, Britain, Russia and China. Number of non-permanent members are 10 elected for 2 years.	Permanent Members of League's Council were France, Britain, Japan and Italy. Number of Non permanent members were 9 by 1926 from four in 1920 when the League was formed. They were elected for 3 years.

UN has been more successful because of more time and money being devoted to Economic and Social development work. Also, the scope of UN is much wider in the domain of socio-economic development than LoN. All specialized agencies of UN, except ILO, were setup after 1945. UN is more focused on Good Governance. For example, it has formulated and works with the member-nations for achievement of developmental targets like Millennium Development Goals. UN has been able to take decisive action due to change in procedures as UNGA does not need unanimous vote. Also, UNSC veto can be overruled by UNGA as per the **Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950** (during Korean War (1950) - USSR was boycotting the UNSC due to non-admission of Communist China. Some analysts argued that abstention meant vetoing the resolution. Thus, UNGA was consulted and it passed this clause that allowed veto to be overruled and thus UN could intervene in the Korean war). The resolution stated that *"in any cases where the Security Council, because of a lack of unanimity amongst its five permanent members, fails to act as required to maintain international peace and security, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately and may issue any recommendations it deems necessary in order to restore international peace and security."*

Also there is much greater prestige of the UN Secretary General as compared to its LoN counterpart. Kofi Annan (1997-2006) became very famous for his conflict resolution ability. Even if UN has not been able to prevent wars, it has been able to bring them to a quick end by mediating a ceasefire on different occasions.

UN is more important in the era of Global Governance and as the world has become more integrated due to Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization and issues of global concern like environment and safety of other Global Commons.

33.7 Similarities between UN and LoN
Common aim of World peace and Socio-Economic development.
Veto powers of a member in Security Council
Lack of permanent army of their own and thus dependence on members for contribution of troops
Common weaknesses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criticism of being a tool of super powers • Pro-West • Being subservient to powerful individual nations • Financial dependency on US and Europe: UN is mainly dependent on US funding while LoN was dependent on Britain and France

34] The World from 1919-23

- 1) **Turkish nationalism:** Turkey was unhappy with the Treaty of Sevres (1920), as it had lost a lot of territory to the Greece. Many turks found themselves under the occupation of the Greeks. This led to rise of nationalism and Mustapha Kemal forced Greece out of occupied territories.
- 2) **Italian unhappiness with peace treaties:** Italy was unhappy with the territorial gains it had made after the World War I. It was promised much more when it was persuaded to join the Allied Powers in 1915. When Mussolini came to power in 1922, Italy seized Fiume from Yugoslavia. The Corfu Incident happened in 1923. Corfu was an island of Greece. Some Italian workers working under the Boundary Commission setup for resolution of a territorial dispute between Albania and Greece were killed. In response, Italy bombed Greece and occupied Corfu and left it only after Greece paid compensation as demanded by Italy.
- 3) **US war debt to Europe:** US had benefited a lot from the World War I. It had sold lots of arms and extended loans to the Allied powers. Britain, France and other Allied nations expected that US would provide them some concession on the loans. But US continued to demand full repayment of the war debt.
- 4) **Question of German Reparations:** Britain and France were under economic stress. They had to repay the US war debt and also invest money for infrastructure reconstruction after the war. The Germans were themselves devastated by the war and were finding it very difficult to pay the war damages. They expected a lenient treatment and a reconsideration on the amount to be paid. Britain was in favor of easing the terms of payment as it would make German economy recover faster making it actually capable of paying the war reparations. Also, a prosperous Germany would serve as an export market for British goods. On the other hand, France was rigid and wanted Germany to pay full reparations. This was due to two reasons. One, it was French tactics to keep Germany economically weak for foreseeable future so it does not threaten French frontiers. Two, France actually depended on German reparations to payback the loans taken from US.
- 5) **Russian Civil War (1918-20):** After the Bolsheviks came to power, they tried to export the communist revolution to the rest of the world by sending their agents to support communists in other countries.

This earned Russia, the hostility of most countries having democratic regimes. In Russia, Lenin had dissolved the assembly formed through the democratic elections after the revolution and usurped power by establishing a Communist regime. This became the major cause of resentment among other groups who wanted a democracy. The Western nations and Japan sent forces to fight Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War which was being fought between Bolsheviks and other groups (known as Whites). The communist revolution failed in rest of the Europe but it was successful in Russia as the Bolsheviks won the Civil War (1918-20)

35] Attempts after the World War I to improve International relations

- 1) **League of Nations:** It was setup in 1920 to preserve world peace via resolution of disputes through negotiations. The principle of Collective Security entailed use of military and economic sanctions against an aggressor nation. It was only successful in disputes which were minor in nature and failed to check aggression by major powers.
- 2) **Anglo-Russian Trade treaty (1921):** After the Russian Civil War (1918-20), there was an atmosphere of reconciliation between Britain and Russia. The communist revolution had failed in rest of Europe, the Western powers had failed to defeat Bolsheviks in Russian civil war and Russia was exhausted from the civil war. It now desired investment and reconciliation with British.
- 3) **Washington Conference (1921-2):** The Washington Conference was held by US to check increasing Japanese influence in the Far East. During the World War I, Japan fought on the side of Allied Powers and it had seized Kiachow island and Shantung Province of China. It had also occupied all the German Pacific islands. Thus, after World War I Japan had emerged as a rival of US in the Pacific and it had developed a strong navy which could have threatened the US interests. Through Washington Conference the US wanted to prevent a war and a naval race with Japan. After this conference it was agreed that Japan would withdraw from the Kiachow island and the Shantung province of China. In return, Japan was allowed to retain the German Pacific islands. Also Britain, France and US agreed not to build a naval base within the striking range of Japan. Neutrality of China was guaranteed by US, Japan, Britain and France. Also these powers agreed to respect each other's possessions in the Far East. The agreement place limits on the naval fleet of US, Britain and Japan whose navy was to be in the ratio of 5:5:3 i.e. Japanese navy would be three-fifth the size of Britain and US.

Impact of the Washington Conference:

- Japan emerged as the supreme power in the Pacific because although the size of its navy was to 3/5th of Britain and US, the Japanese navy was concentrated in Pacific while the navies of Britain and US were spread out across all oceans.
- When US refused to intervene against Japan when the latter invaded China in the 1930s, the Britain and France also did not act as they realized that without US they would suffer huge losses by getting involved in a war with Japan.

- 4) **Genoa Conference (1922):** It was called by Britain to solve the following problems:
 - a) **France-Germany hostility:** Germany was threatening to stop payment of war reparations to France.
 - b) **War debt to US:** US had doled out loans to the allied powers during the World War I and due to weakened economy after the war, Britain and France were finding it difficult to pay back.
 - c) Britain wanted establishment of diplomatic ties Russia.

Result of Genoa Conference: The Genoa Conference failed to resolve the above problems as the French demanded full reparations from Germany. Also, US refused to attend the conference and demanded full payment of all the loans. Germany withdrew from the conference due to lack of flexibility shown by France on the question of war reparations. Russians left the conference because Britain demanded that Bolsheviks pay the war debt incurred by the Czarist regime during World War I.

Impact of the Genoa Conference:

- a) Germany and Russia signed a separate agreement (**Rapallo Agreement 1922**) through which they canceled any war reparations they had to pay each other.
 - b) **France occupied Ruhr in 1923** and seized goods worth 40 million pounds. Through the occupation of Ruhr, an important industrial area, France further wanted to force Germany to pay war reparations. The Germans in the Ruhr, responded with passive resistance by stopping all work in the industries. This not only made the French occupation a failure but also impacted German economy. Due to lack of supply of goods there was huge inflation in Germany and the German Frank depreciated, literally becoming valueless.
- 5) Dawes Plan (1924):** This plan was aimed at solving the problems of French occupation of the Ruhr and the consequent galloping inflation & huge depreciation of German Frank. US took lead here and under the Dawes Plan it was agreed that Germany pay annually whatever she could afford until she became prosperous enough. But there was no decrease in total amount Germany was required to pay. Germany also got US loan to rebuild its economy. Also, France agreed to withdraw from the Ruhr. The Dawes Plan was successful and the German economy started recovering because of the US loans. International relations improved after the Dawes Plan and this laid the ground for Locarno treaties of 1925.
- 6) Locarno Treaties (1925):** The main players involved were Britain, France, Germany and Italy. The minor players were Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia. These treaties were seen as a dawn of a new era of peace and friendship in Europe. Under the Locarno treaties the signatory nations agreed to recognize the frontiers set by the peace treaties after World War I. This meant that the nations promised to not attack each other and if one of the nation attacked then the other nations would come to rescue of the victim against the aggressor. Germany reaffirmed that it would continue to keep Rhineland demilitarized as per the Treaty of Versailles.

Impact of Locarno treaties:

- i. The treaties were celebrated in Europe as Locarno Spirit or Locarno honeymoon between France and Germany. Germany was allowed to enter the League of Nations in 1926. There was economic prosperity in Europe and an environment of friendship. Stresemann (Germany), Briand (France) and Chamberlain (Britain) met frequently till 1929.
 - ii. **Weaknesses:** Britain and Germany did not guarantee the German frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia, the area which was prone to maximum trouble. By ignoring this problem, Britain gave an impression that it may not intervene if Germany attacked Poland or Czechoslovakia. Locarno Spirit was an illusion because so much depended on economic prosperity which when evaporated in 1929, the old hostilities resurfaced.
- 7) Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928):** It was a US-France led initiative and was joined by 65 nations who signed an agreement denouncing war as an instrument of national policy.
- **Impact:** It did not mean much because there was no mention of sanctions against an aggressor. Japan had signed the pact but soon attacked Manchuria in 1931.
- 8) Young Plan (1929):** It was aimed to settle the question of German reparations. As per the plan, the total amount to be paid was decreased to 2000 million pounds from earlier figure of 6600 million pounds. Also this newly agreed amount was to be paid over 59 years. The reason for the Young Plan piloted by US was that the Dawes Plan had left the total amount to be paid by Germany unchanged and Germany wanted a decrease in the amount. Also France was more ready to negotiate due to the Locarno Spirit.

36] Events after 1929

The year 1929 was a turning point in the history of world and after 1929, Europe started to drift towards the second World War. The Locarno Spirit was ended due to events during and after 1929 viz death of Stresemann (1929), Wall Street Crash (1929) and rise of Hitler to power in 1933 (he became Chancellor).

36.1 Economic Crisis of 1929

The **Economic crisis of 1929** resulted in high unemployment in Germany. By 1932, there were 6 million unemployed men in Germany. This resulted in boost to the growth of Nazis and fall of Weimar Republic. With the rise of Nazis, the French attitude towards Germany hardened as the Nazis thrived on an extreme nationalist propaganda. They wanted to bring all German areas into the Reich.

36.2 Lausanne Conference (1932)

Here, Britain and France freed Germany from paying most of the remaining reparations. This was done so because due to the Great Depression, there were six million people unemployed Germans by 1932.

36.3 World Disarmament Conference

The **World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932-3**. Under League Covenant all members had agreed to decrease armament, but it was only Germany which had to disarm following the Treaty of Versailles. Germany demanded that either all should disarm or it should be allowed to at least have parity with France in terms of armament. Britain and Italy sympathized with Germany. Finally, when the French did not budge, Hitler withdrew Germany out of the conference and also from the League of Nations (both in 1933).

37] France-Germany relations (1919-33)

France insisted on a harsh treaty during the Treaty of Versailles negotiations.

France followed three strategies to prevent a German attack in future

- i. **Keep Germany economically and militarily weak.** This included following elements:
 - a) France stressed that Germany pay full reparations.
 - b) Occupation of Ruhr (1923) to force Germany to pay reparations: The occupation of Ruhr was strongly opposed by Britain because the British favored a lenient way of dealing with Britain. Britain felt that a prosperous Germany would be better for stability of Europe and its exports.
 - c) Use of SAAR's coal for 15 years.
 - d) Disarmament of Germany and demilitarization of Rhineland were stressed by France during drafting of Treaty of Versailles.

France was disappointed by Britain when it withdrew from Geneva Protocol and the USA which had reverted to Policy of Isolation and thus refused to promise in advance any support to France in case of war.

- ii. **Signing alliances:** France signed treaties with Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania from 1921 to 1927, to check any future German aggression. These treaties collectively are known as **Little Entente**. But the Little Entente did not amount to much because of weak partners. France desperately needed an ally like Russia because it allowed to engage Germany on two frontiers simultaneously. But, Russia was now under the Communists who were seen by many in France as greater threat than Germany. USSR had tried to export its communist revolution after 1917 by sending secret agents to help communists in France.
- iii. **Reconciliation/Friendship:** via Dawes Plan (1924), Locarno Treaties (1925), Young Plan (1929) and Lausanne Conference (1932). Stresemann was the German foreign minister from 1923 to 1929. He was a very important leader and steered the German foreign policy during the difficult decade after the World War I. The relationship between France and Germany remained bitter until the Dawes Plan (1924). After the Dawes Plan there was economic recovery of Germany under Weimar Republic and consequently, the tensions between the two decreased. The problem with the reconciliation approach was that even the man behind Locarno Spirit, Stresemann wanted fulfillment of the German desires and redressal of German grievances after the World War I. Under Stresemann, Germany still desired, though it did not take an aggressive stand:
 - a) Polish Corridor and Danzig port.
 - b) Union with Austria
 - c) Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia

- d) Revision of Treaty of Versailles i.e. a decrease in German reparations, annulling of disarmament clause and Rhineland's rearmament.

After the 1929 crisis, the Nazis influence increased and so did the extreme nationalism in Germany. The French attitude hardened against Germany and it began approaching possible future allies like USSR:

- **Austria Germany Custom Union (1931):** It was proposed by Germany and made economic sense. France appealed to the Permanent Court of International Justice in the Hague which ruled against the custom union.
- **World Disarmament Conference (1932-3):** At the conference Germany wanted equality of arms with France if all nations do not agree to disarm. France disagreed and Germany, under Hitler, withdrew from the conference and also the League of Nations.

38] Britain-USSR Relations (1919-33)

The relationship can be summarized in following points:

- 1) 1907 Britain-Russia agreement led to reduction in bilateral tensions and greater trade and investments.
- 2) **Left-Right divide:** It can be said that the relationship was good whenever the Labor party was in power and sour when the Conservatives came to power. This was so because of the difference in the ideology of the Leftist Russia and Right wing conservatives in Britain.
- 3) British involvement in **Russian Civil War (1918-20)**
- 4) **Trade Agreement (1921):** Lenin wanted trade and investment to boost Russian economy. Also this agreement the communist government got recognition in a way from Britain.
- 5) **Genoa Conference (1922):** Here the rift between the Russians and the British widened on question of war debt incurred by Czarist regime.
- 6) **On-off Diplomatic ties:** 1927- British Conservative government broke off diplomatic ties with Russia when it came to know about Comintern activity in Indian and Britain. 1929- Labor Government resumed diplomatic ties with USSR.
- 7) **Rise of Hitler:** After Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, there was increase in positivity among the two nations. Hitler's Germany threatened the Russian frontiers and also the Nazi propaganda was very radical in its criticism of the communists. This was so because the communists in Germany were a major opposition group of the Nazis and after 1917, Bolsheviks had tried to incite a communist revolution in Germany.

39] USSR-Germany Relations (1919-33)

The relations between the Russia and Germany were generally good till 1930, thanks to the leadership of Stresemann. On the other hand, USSR wanted good relationship with at least one capitalist country. Following were important landmarks in the relationship:

- 1) **Trade Treaty (1921):** a trade treaty was signed between USSR and Germany in 1921 and subsequently the German industrialists got trade concessions in Russia.
- 2) **(Rapallo Agreement 1922).** It had following provisions:
 - a) Full diplomatic relations were resumed between Russia and Germany
 - b) Special relationship between Russia and Germany.
 - c) canceled any war reparations they had to pay each other
 - d) German armament began: Germany was allowed to build factories in Russia for manufacturing of airplanes and ammunitions. This allowed Germany to circumvent the Treaty of Versailles clause dealing with disarmament. German officers began training in Russia with learning to use weapons which were

forbidden in Germany due to Treaty of Versailles.

- The reason for this bonhomie between Russia and Germany were manifold. Russia and Germany both wanted to keep Poland weak. Russia wanted Germany to act as a buffer state against any attack in the future from the West. This was because the Western powers were antagonistic to a communist Russia. Also, Russia wanted to have good relations with at least one capitalist country.

3) Treaty of Berlin (1926): It renewed the Rapallo Agreement till 1931. Germany promised to remain neutral if USSR attacked by any other power. Also both agreed that neither of them would use economic sanctions against one another.

4) After 1930s:

- a) There was negativity in the relationship because the Russians were against the increasing influence of the Nazis in Germany who were radically opposed to communists.
- b) Russia opposed the idea of the **Austria-Germany Custom Union (1931)** as it saw it as a sign of increasing German nationalism which could threaten Russian frontiers in the future.
- c) Stalin gradually drifted towards Poland, Britain and France.
- d) After 1934, Hitler tried to better the relationship with Russia. He signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Russia in 1939.

5) Non Aggression Pact (1939): This was signed by Russia and Germany and both of them promised not to attack each other. This agreement included a clause to divide Poland in half between USSR and Germany, if USSR remained neutral when Germany attacks Poland. This was a strategic victory for Hitler as this prevented Britain from signing an alliance with USSR. Such an alliance would have allowed Britain to better protect Poland whose safety Britain had guaranteed.

40] USSR-France Relationship (1919-33)

The relations were sour till 1930 due to following:

- 1) **Treaty of Versailles:** Russia was not invited in Treaty of Versailles negotiations due to French opposition. This was so because after 1917, Bolsheviks had tried to incite communists for revolution in France.
- 2) **Russian Civil War (1918-20):** France sent troops in favor of Whites who were fighting Bolsheviks.
- 3) **Russia-Poland War (1920):** France sent troops in aid of Poland which then was able to push back the Russians from Warsaw (Polish capital).
- 4) **Little Entente (1921-7):** France-Poland Alliance (signed in 1921) under the Little Entente was as much directed against Russia as against Germany.

After 1930, there was increase in positivity in Franco-Russian relationship due to the rise of the Nazis in Germany.

KEY THEME 1: The Treaty of Versailles hurts German pride and spurs the growth of Nazism.

The Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty seemed to satisfy the "Big Three" viz. US, Britain and France, since in their eyes it was a just peace, as it kept Germany weak, yet strong enough to stop the spread of communism; kept the French border with Germany safe from another German attack and created the organization, the League of Nations, that would end warfare throughout the world.

However, it left a mood of anger throughout Germany as it was felt that as a nation Germany had been unfairly treated. Above all else, Germany hated the clause blaming her for the cause of the war and the resultant financial penalties the treaty was bound to impose on Germany. Ordinary German citizens felt that they were

being punished for the mistakes of the German government in August 1914 as it was the government that had declared war, not the people.

The humiliating conditions of the treaty rankled Germans for years and in many ways led to the rise of Nazism in Germany.

KEY THEME 2: The US adopts a policy of isolation, turning a blind eye to European political affairs. The Great Depression in the US goes on to become a world economic crisis, which engulfs Europe and influences European political decision-making for years to come.

41] US Foreign Policy (1919-23)

- **Washington Conference (1921-22):** The Washington Conference was held by US to check increasing Japanese influence in the Far East. Through Washington Conference the US wanted to prevent a war and a naval race with Japan. After this conference it was agreed that Japan would withdraw from the Kiachow Island and the Shantung province of China. In return, Japan was allowed to retain the German Pacific islands. Also, Britain, France and US agreed not to build a naval base within the striking range of Japan. Neutrality of China was guaranteed by US, Japan, Britain and France. Also these powers agreed to respect each other's possessions in the Far East. The agreement place limits on the naval fleet of US, Britain and Japan whose navy was to be in the ratio of 5:5:3. This resulted in tensions between US and Britain because the British were not pleased at the limits placed on the British navy. In 1930, Japan reaffirmed commitment to Washington agreement but it soon breached the limits placed on its navy.
- **Policy of Isolation:** US was deeply involved in World War I. After the war, the Republicans came to power and adopted the Policy of Isolation. US under Republicans decided not to join the League of Nations. It also did not ratify any of the peace treaties and also refused to guarantee the French frontiers. The reasons for the Policy of Isolation were that the people of US were tired of war and were suspicious of the European nations remaining peaceful. They did not want US to be involved in a military conflict and rejected the idea of League of Nations as they viewed it as a supra-national government to which they refused to submit a part of their sovereignty. It was on these lines that it had opposed the Geneva Protocol devised by France and Britain which would have provided for collective security as it entailed the member nations to "consent to important limitations of their sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations".
- The Policy of Isolation resulted in inaction by US against various acts of aggression in the 1930s by the Fascist regimes. In case of Manchurian invasion (1931) by Japan, when US showed lack of resolve to act against Japan, even Britain and France did not take any action. The League of Nations could not do anything when Japan refused to pull out from Manchuria.
- **Reasons behind Wall Street Crash becoming the World Economic Crisis:**
 - **EU war debt:** European nations were finding it difficult to payback the war debt. Britain and France expected a loan waiver from US as US had gained a lot from the World War I. It had taken over former European export markets. But US insisted on full payment. Until the French occupation of the Ruhr, US rejected the connection between ability of Allies to payback US loans and the German reparations to Allies. Also US kept high tariffs in external trade. These factors hurt recovery of European economy.
 - Although US sought to revert back to Policy of Isolation after the WWI, it soon realized that it could no more shy away from the events taking place outside its borders as these events had consequences for its economy. The second decade of 20th century was a prosperous one for the European economy and thus US tried to increase trade and investment in Europe. The economic health and the political stability of Europe was crucial to US interests of trade, investments and for recovery of loans given to Allied powers and US could not ignore events affecting the European

nations. The French occupation of Ruhr industrial region in 1923 resulted in galloping inflation in Germany as the German workers stopped work as part of their passive resistance. This consequent demand supply imbalance in the German economy caused rapid depreciation in the value of Frank and the German economy was in turmoil. The French found it difficult to pay back US loans. It was after this event that US realized the connection between German reparations and Allies ability to pay back US loans. Thus US came to aid of Germany through the Dawes Plan (1924) which allowed Germans to pay reparations and the French agreed to withdraw from Ruhr. In Mexico, a crisis situation arose when due to a dispute Mexico threatened to takeover oil wells owned by US companies. US government intervened and a compromise was reached. Thus, due to increasing economic interests outside its borders, US had to deviate from its Policy of Isolation.

- **Web of Loans:** As discussed earlier, US had loaned out money to the Allies during the World War I. The Allied Powers themselves depended on the war reparations from Germany for paying back the loans taken from US. Thus when Germany started to default on the payment of war reparations, the US had to bailout Germany by extending loans in form of Dawes Plan (1924) and Young Plan (1929). Thus a web of loans was created where US gave loans to Germany, which paid war reparations to Britain and France, who then paid back US loans. This web of loans was a major reason for the crisis in the USA steamrolling into the Great Economic Depression. Once the US was no more capable of extending loans to Germany and demanded immediate repayment of its loans to European nations, the whole European Economy started to crumble. Thus US was responsible for the Great Economic Depression of 1929.

KEY THEME 3: The 1930s witnesses a rise in acts of aggression by fascist regimes of the would-be axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. Through a clever mixture of blatant aggression and clever diplomacy, the axis powers expand by chipping away at the territories of neighbouring countries, while increasing their military strength at the same time.

42] International Relations (1933-9)

Introduction: The period of 1933-9 was a period of aggression by Fascist regimes viz Italy, Germany and Japan. It was a period when Germany started to violate the Treaty of Versailles. The Locarno Spirit, which was a mark of positivity in relations between Britain, France and Germany, had faded away after the Great Depression and death of Stresseman (German foreign minister who brought about reconciliation between Germany and France) in 1929. The third decade of 20th century saw rise in extreme nationalism in Japan, Italy and Germany.

Following can be a summary of events:

1. Japan invaded Manchuria (1931) and the League of Nations failed to force Japan to withdraw.
2. In 1933, Germany withdrew from the World Disarmament Conference. It was in 1933 that Japan and Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. Gradually the authority of the League of Nations declined and by 1939 it had become a defunct body.
3. Germany introduced Conscription in 1935
4. Stresa Front (1935) between Italy, Britain and France against introduction of Conscription by Germany.
5. Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935 which allowed Germany to build submarines and brought an end to Stresa Front.
6. Mussolini invaded Abyssinia (1935)
7. Remilitarization of Rhineland in 1936
8. Rome-Berlin Axis (1936)
9. Hitler signed Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan in 1936.
10. Spanish Civil War (1936)
11. Japan began full invasion of China in 1937

12. Anschluss- Hitler annexed Austria in 1938
13. Munich Conference (1938) - Hitler got Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia on promise of not laying claim to anymore territory of Czechoslovakia.
14. Hitler breaks Munich Pact and annexed Czechoslovakia
15. Hitler demanded the Free city of Danzig. Poland was against it. Britain and France agreed to support Poland in case of German attack.
16. Hitler signs Non-Aggression Pact with USSR in 1939 and attacks Poland
17. Britain declares war on Germany and World War II began.

Japanese Aggression: There were three important acts of Japanese Aggression in this period. It invaded Manchuria in 1931, attacked the North Eastern part of China in 1933 and ordered full invasion of China in 1937 which led to Second Sino-Japan war (1937-45) that merged into the World War II that lasted till 1945.

Invasion of Manchuria (1931): It is important to understand why Japan attacked Manchuria (1931). Japan was under economic stress due to the Great Depression. Its exports had declined dramatically and there was decline in price of rice due to bumper harvest. The Japanese population was under great economic hardships. Also Chiang Kai Shek's influence was increasing in Manchuria. This threatened the Japanese interests in Manchuria. Japan had invested a lot of money in the industry and infrastructure development projects in Manchuria (especially in South Manchuria) since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 when Japan had got privileged position in South Manchuria and the Port Arthur. (*By 1931, Japanese controlled Manchurian Railways and the Banking system.) Thus the military attacked Manchuria ignoring the reservations of the Japanese government.

Result of invasion of Manchuria: Japan declared Manchuria as an independent state of Manchukuo and installed its puppet government. The League of Nations had opined that the territory of Manchuria should be brought under its administration but Japan ignored the League. The League could not act because US did not want a war with Japan and without US backing, Britain and France also refused to act. Thus it became an act of appeasement of Japan by the Western powers.

Invasion of the North East China (1933): Japanese advanced into the North Eastern regions of China in 1933. This act had no justification and was purely an act of aggression. Japan was able to occupy a large area by 1935 by taking benefit of the civil war between the Kuomintang Government (KMT) of Chiang Kai Shek and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of Mao Zedong.

Full scale invasion of China (1937): After signing the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany in 1936, Japan planned the full invasion of China. Japan took a minor incident between Chinese and Japanese troops in Peking as an alibi to begin the invasion. By 1938, Shanghai and Nanking (Chiang Kai Shek's capital) was under Japanese control but it had not achieved full victory. This was so because by 1936, there was a truce between CCP and KMT to jointly resist the Japanese aggression. Earlier, Chiang Kai Shek had concentrated more on defeating the Mao instead of tackling the Japanese which explains greater success of Japan till 1936. Also Russia helped the Chinese but it did not get fully engaged because it itself did not want a full scale war with Japan.

Conclusion: On the eve of World War II, Japan controlled most of East China while Chiang Kai Shek and Mao controlled the central and the western parts. It can be argued that although the League of Nations condemned Japan but it was not strong enough to take a firm action because of

- US Policy of Isolation
- USSR did not want full scale war with Japan
- Britain and France were too busy coping with Hitler

Mussolini's Foreign Policy:

1919-24: Mussolini came to power in 1922 and soon after he started to implement an aggressive foreign policy. He bombed Greece over the **Corfu incident in 1923** (*discussed earlier) where Greece was forced to pay full compensation demanded by Italy. It was here that the Conference of Ambassadors overruled the opinion of the League of Nations. **Fiume:** In 1924, Italy invaded and took over the independent state of Fiume. After 1920, the territory of Fiume was a bone of contention between Yugoslavia and Italy. As a compromise a **Treaty of Rapallo (1920)** was signed that provided for a Free City of Fiume to be used jointly by Italy and Yugoslavia. It existed as a free state from 1920-4 till Italy sent it troops and Yugoslavia agreed to Fiume's annexation by Italy.

1924-34: Two concerns dominated the Italian foreign policy in these years. First, the Italy-France rivalry because France was an ally of Yugoslavia (recall *Little Entente*) and Italy also had competing interests with France for influence in Mediterranean and the Balkans. Second, Italy feared Germany for it might annex Austria, which lay in the north-east of Italy and, acted as a buffer state between Italy and Germany.

Locarno Treaties and Italy: Italy participated in the Locarno Treaties of 1925. Under the Locarno treaties, which were signed outside the ambit of the League of Nations:

- Germany reaffirmed the demilitarization of Rhineland.
- Also Germany, France and Belgium promised to respect each other's frontiers. Italy and Britain acted as guarantors. In the event of aggression by any of the three (France, Belgium, Germany) all others would help the victim of aggression.
- There was an agreement between Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia that allowed for arbitration of disputes with respect to boundary issues in Arbitration Tribunal or in Permanent Court of International Justice. But Germany did not guarantee her frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia. France agreed to help Poland/Czechoslovakia if any of them was attacked by Germany.

But Italy was disappointed because the Italy-Austria frontiers were not guaranteed by the Locarno treaties.

Italy in the Balkans: During this decade, Italy tried to increase its influence in the Balkans by having good relations with Albania, Bulgaria and Greece. Albania which was a southern neighbour of Italy came under economic control of Italy due to the economic and defence pacts signed between the two. Albania was against Yugoslavia. This was so because Serbia, which was now part of Yugoslavia, had desired the territory of Albania after the first Balkan war (1912) but Albania was made an independent state during the peace settlement. The influence over Albania provided Italy with control in the area around Adriatic Sea.

Italy and Britain: Italy also tried to develop good relations with Britain especially on the question of colonies. It supported Britain's claim over Mosul province of Iraq which Turkey also desired. The League of Nation favoured Britain in the dispute and Turkey agreed to the decision in 1926. In return, Britain gave a part of Somaliland to Italy. Further, Italy signed a **Non-Aggression Pact with USSR** in 1933. With this development Italy recognized the government of USSR. Thus during this decade, Italy engaged more in diplomacy than in aggressive foreign policy.

After 1934: Mussolini after initial opposition to Hitler gradually drifted towards Germany and Italy committed many acts of aggression.

Austria, Germany and Italy: Mussolini tried to strengthen Austria against Nazi Germany by supporting the anti-Nazi government of Austria by signing trade agreements. In 1934, the Austrian Chancellor was murdered by the Nazi protesters. Thereafter, Mussolini sent troops to Italy-Austria frontier to pre-empt any German attack to annex Austria. With this, the first attempt of Hitler to take control of Austria failed and the France-Italy relations improved.

Stresa Front (1935): Its aim was to reaffirm the Locarno Treaties and to declare that the independence of Austria "would continue to inspire their common policy". The signatories also agreed to resist any future attempt by the Germans to change the Treaty of Versailles. Italy joined with France and Britain to condemn Hitler's decision to introduce conscription (compulsory military service) in 1935, which was a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. Also, Britain, France and Italy guaranteed Italian frontiers. This was a great relief to Mussolini, who was wary of German ambitions in Austria.

Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935) allowed Hitler to build submarines. After this event, Mussolini lost trust in Britain. France was also disappointed with Britain and the Anglo-German Naval agreement broke the Stresa Front. It was a diplomatic victory for Hitler. After this, impressed by Hitler's successes Mussolini gradually became pro-Hitler.

Invasion of Abyssinia (1935): Soon after, Mussolini invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Following were the major reasons for the invasion:

1. Mussolini wanted to avenge the loss of Italy in the 1896 war with Abyssinia. The victory would increase his prestige at home.
2. Mussolini wanted to divert public attention from the local problems and bring him popularity. It is to be remembered that Italy was still facing the impact of the Great Depression.

3. Italy would get an export market and help it tide over the economic problems.

In an attempt to revive the Stresa Front, Britain and France did not condemn Italy for the Abyssinian crisis in the media. Also, only half hearted measures were taken against Italy as the economic sanctions did not bar export of coal, steel and oil to Italy. These goods formed the major imports of Italy and without banning the trade in these goods, the sanctions failed to make Italy weak enough to force its exit from Abyssinia. Both Britain and France were economically and militarily unprepared for a war that may result from sanctions banning oil and coal export to Italy. Thus a Policy of Appeasement was followed by Britain and France. The League of Nations failed to ensure independence of Abyssinia. The League and its notion of Collective Security were discredited. Despite the fact that the sanctions were not too harsh, they angered Mussolini. The Stresa Front became a dead letter and Mussolini drifted more towards Hitler who had seized upon the opportunity to find an ally in Mussolini by not condemning the Italian aggression. In return, Mussolini did not object to annexation of Austria by Germany in 1938.

Italian role in Spanish Civil War (1936): The Spanish Civil war was fought between the right wing and the left wing factions. The leader of the Right wing faction was Franco. Mussolini sent troops to Spain to fight on the side of Franco. The excuse used by Mussolini was that he wanted to limit the spread of communism in Europe. But the real motive behind supporting Franco were:

1. Mussolini wanted naval bases in Spain to threaten France.
2. Mussolini desired another Fascist state in Europe which would act as an ally and shift the balance of power in favour of Italy.

Rome-Berlin Axis: In 1936, Mussolini joined hands with Hitler to declare the notion of a Rome-Berlin Axis. This implied that all the peace loving nations in Europe would revolve around the axis formed by the imaginary line between Italy and Germany. Thus Italy and Germany intended to form an Alliance system by bringing as many states as possible under their influence.

Anti-Comintern Pact: In 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact which now comprised of Japan, Italy and Germany. By signing the Pact the popularity of Mussolini among the Italians decreased as the public viewed it as a sign of aggressive posturing in international affairs. The masses in Italy feared that Mussolini would push Italy towards another war.

Munich Conference (1938): It resulted in Germany getting the German populated territory of Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia). The participation in the Conference resulted in temporary increase in Mussolini's popularity at home as the conference symbolized avoidance of war.

Invasion of Albania (1939): Mussolini invaded Albania in 1939. This was an unnecessary act of aggression as Albania was already under economic domination of Italy, the two countries had friendly relations and the annexation would not bring any more tangible profits. The motive here was to match the successes of Hitler who had recently annexed Austria (1938). Mussolini did not want to be left behind in the race for popularity with Hitler and wanted to be seen as an equal.

Pact of Steel (1939): This was signed between Italy and Germany. By this pact, Italy entered into full alliance with Germany and promised full military support in case of war.

42.1 Adolf Hitler & The Nazis

Some of the important events that characterized Hitler's conduct in International affairs from 1933-9 have already been highlighted in the text above. Before detailing those events further, it is pertinent to answer the question that "What were the aims of Hitler?"

Hitler's Aims: Hitler became the Chancellor in 1933. Before that he had articulated the aims of the Nazi Party if it were to come to power. Hitler desired to make Germany a great power and to restore its glory. Following can be described as the first set of his aims:

- 1) Destroying the Treaty of Versailles.
- 2) Building up a strong Army
- 3) Bring all Germans inside the Third Reich by annexing Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia & Poland, both of which had significant German minority population.

4) Recovery of Saar, Danzig and the Polish Corridor.

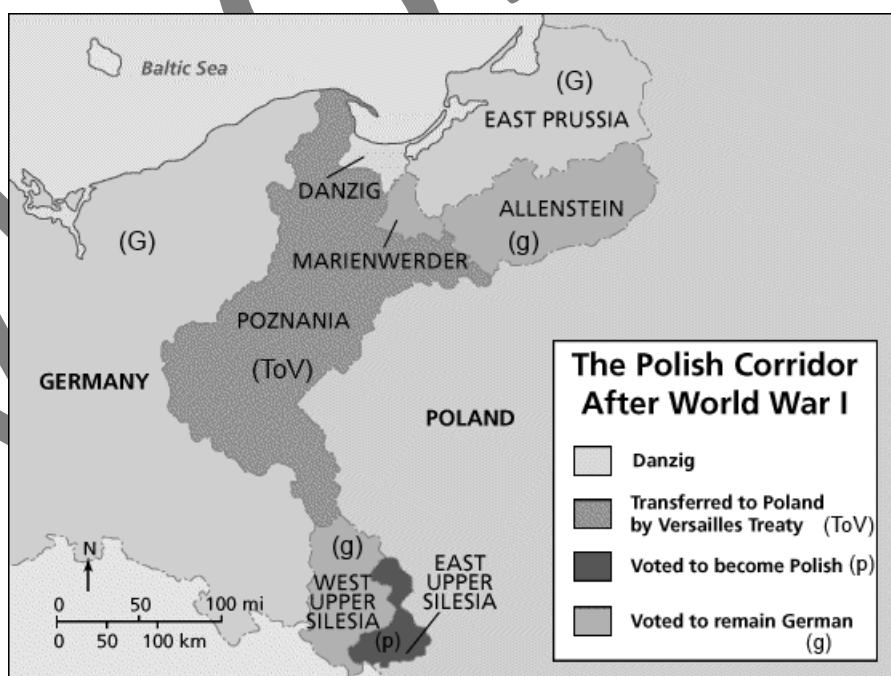
Now most of these aims were achieved by 1938 without war and therefore the question arises that why the World War II could not yet be avoided. This leads us to the second set of aims on which there is some disagreement among the scholars. These aims were:

- 1) **Lebensraum (Living Space):** Some scholars argue that Hitler's aim of annexation of Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland was just a beginning and he intended to follow it up with seizure of the whole of Czechoslovakia and Poland. He also aimed to occupy Russia as far as the Ural Mountains. Russia fearing German intentions had shifted many factories to the east of Ural Mountains. Annexation of these areas would give Germans the *Living Space or Lebensraum*. It would ensure the food security for the Germans and would serve as an area where the excess German population in the future could settle in and colonize. An additional advantage of such a plan would be the destruction of Communism.
- 2) Next stage will be the conquest of the African colonies of other European powers and setting up of bases in the Atlantic Ocean.

Some scholars argue that Hitler did not want a World War but only a limited war with Poland. Hitler did not know that Britain was serious with regards to its promise of protecting Poland. Poland was militarily weaker than Czechoslovakia and Britain had followed the Policy of Appeasement when Hitler annexed Czechoslovakia. Earlier at the Munich Conference (1938) Britain had literally gifted Sudetenland to Hitler. If Britain wanted to check German expansion then Czechoslovakia would have formed a better ally than Poland, so why would Britain risk going to war with a weaker ally.

Hitler's successes:

- 1) **World Disarmament Conference (1932-3):** Hitler withdrew Germany from World Disarmament Conference (1932-3) when France did not agree to German condition of parity in armament. Britain was sympathetic to the German stand as it saw it as a just demand. The diplomatic victory was that Hitler got an alibi for rearmament of Germany.
- 2) **Ten year Non-Aggression Pact with Poland (1934):** Poland was always anxious of the German designs. It feared that Germany would try to take back the Polish Corridor which included the following areas:



As it can be seen from the map, the Polish Corridor separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany and this served as a grievance for Germany. Polish Corridor provided Poland with access to the Baltic Sea, as promised by the war aims of the Allies, under the Treaty of Versailles. After getting the Polish Corridor there was an exodus of the Germans, who were a minority, from the area due to Polish oppression. The majority of the population in the area was Polish. Polish Corridor, since it provided with access to Baltic Sea, was very

crucial for economic independence of Poland. The Free city of Danzig was separate from both Poland and Germany. The **Non-Aggression Pact** had the following impact:

- a) Britain took it as an evidence of peaceful intent of Hitler.
 - b) The pact ruined the Little Entente which was a group of alliances signed between France and Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Poland. Little Entente depended very much on Poland for being a significant deterrent to German aggression.
 - c) The Pact guaranteed Polish neutrality if and when Germany decided to move against Czechoslovakia and Austria. Thus it was a strategic victory by Germany. He intended to first annex Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and then Austria. By keeping Poland out of the conflict, it strengthened its position for accomplishing these aims.
 - d) The Pact improved France-Russia relationship because both were threatened by German ambitions.
- 3) **SAAR (1935):** The Plebiscite in Saar was promised to be held after 15 years (from 1920) under the Treaty of Versailles. Till then its coal mines were to be used by France. The League's Mandate Commission held the plebiscite successfully and the territory was handed over to Germany after 90% of the people voted in its favour. Hitler, in an attempt to pacify France after the Non-Aggression Pact with Poland (1934), said that the transfer of Saar has removed all grievances between France and Germany.
 - 4) **Conscription (1935):** Conscription is the compulsory military service. The Treaty of Versailles had barred Germany from introducing it. Hitler introduced conscription in 1935. His excuse was that Britain had just increased the strength of its Air Force and France had increased the tenure of conscription from 12 to 18 months. Thus it is evident that France and Britain were also preparing militarily to deal with possible future aggression from Germany. With the introduction of Conscription, Hitler announced that he would raise an army of 6 lakh men. This was again a violation of Treaty of Versailles which had put a limit of 1 lakh men. Britain, France and Italy now wary of Hitler's intentions organized themselves into Stresa Front (1935) that condemned Hitler's move to introduce conscription and guaranteed Austrian Frontiers to pre-empt any German plan to annex Austria.
 - 5) **Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935):** This was again a strategic victory for Hitler as it resulted in breaking of the Stresa Front (1935). Britain went ahead with the agreement without consulting the Stresa Front allies. Under the agreement Hitler offered to limit German navy to 35% of British Navy. The reason for the British action was that it felt that it would be able to control the German armament after it had already introduced conscription. As Britain did not want a war, it felt this was the best way to ensure a non-threatening Germany. The impact of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement was that it led to a great increase in German rearmament. By 1938, Germany had 8 lakh men and the reserves, 5000 airplanes, 47 U-Boats (submarines) and 21 large vessels that included Battleships, Cruisers and Destroyers.
 - 6) **Rhineland Remilitarized (1936):** Hitler took advantage of preoccupation of Britain and France in the Abyssinian crisis to send troops to Rhineland. This was a violation of the Treaty of Versailles and the commitment given by Stresseman at Locarno Treaties (1925).
 - 7) **Rome Berlin Axis (1936):** It was an alliance between Italy and Germany. This implied that all the peace loving nations in Europe would revolve around the axis formed by the imaginary line between Italy and Germany.
 - 8) **Anti-Comintern Pact (1936):** This was an act of alliance formation. Germany and Japan were the original signatories. In 1937, Italy also joined the Anti-Comintern Pact. The alliance was targeted against the spread of Communism in respective countries. This was also a signal to the France and Britain that the aggressive stance of the members was more targeted towards Russia rather than them.
 - 9) **Spanish Civil War (1936):** Germany participated in favour of Franco. Hitler order bombing of Spain which resulted in huge casualties for innocent civilians. This terrified the Britain and France and they were inclined to appease Hitler in order to prevent such a devastating war that would exact a huge toll on the civilians.
 - 10) **Anschluss with Austria (1938):** Anschluss means union. Austria had millions of ethnic Germans. The

Treaty of Versailles had barred the union between Germany and Austria. In 1931, Germany made its first move towards the union by suggesting Austria-Germany Custom Union. France appealed at the Permanent Court of International which decided against the custom union even though the idea made an economic sense. Russia and Italy were also against the custom union as it symbolized growing German nationalism. Hitler made the first attempt at annexing Austria in 1934. This attempt was foiled by Italy as it sent troops to the border with Austria at the Brenner Pass when the German attack seemed imminent after the Austrian Nazis had killed the Austrian Chancellor. Hitler did not make any move fearing a war with Italy. But soon he made attempts at neutralizing the Italian opposition. When Mussolini invaded Abyssinia(1935), Hitler did not object. Also in 1936, he made an ally out of Italy by forming the Rome Berlin Axis in 1936. Italy withdrew its objections to annexation of Austria in return for Hitler not putting sanctions against Italy for annexation of Abyssinia. In 1938, the Anschluss finally happened. The Austrian Nazis held huge demonstration in Austria against the government. Germany gave 10 demands to Austria of which one was to put a Nazi in the post of Interior Minister. The Chancellor soon called for a Plebiscite on the question of Austria uniting with Germany. The Chancellor was somewhat confident of getting a negative verdict. Hitler unsure of the results threatened to invade Austria. He said that he would "make Vienna, the Spain of Austria". The Chancellor resigned and the consequent Nazi government invited Hitler to annex Austria. Britain and France only verbally protested. They feared war with Germany and wanted to prevent the possible huge civilian casualties as Hitler had bombed innocent civilians in the Spanish Civil War (1936). The impact of the Anschluss was that :

- a) It was a severe blow to Czechoslovakia which could now be attacked from three sides viz. from the south (Austria), west and north (Germany).
- b) Germany soon demanded and got Sudetenland at Munich Conference (1938) and thus Czechoslovakia lost much of its industries to Germany.

11) Munich Conference (1938): It resulted in Germany getting the German populated territory of Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia). Hitler hated Czechoslovakia for their democracy and because it was created by the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler desired Czechoslovakia to fulfill his dream of a Lebensraum for the Germans. He specifically wanted Sudetenland because it was industrially rich and had huge German population. Hitler began to argue that the Germans in Sudetenland are being discriminated by the government. This was based on the argument that the Germans had more unemployment than other groups. Nazis began to organize huge protests in Sudetenland. It was felt that Hitler might attack Czechoslovakia to annex Sudetenland and thus a conference in Munich was organized. In the Munich Conference, Italy, France, Britain and Germany participated. USSR and Czechoslovakia were not even invited. The decision of the conference was that Germany can annex Sudetenland but he would not lay claim to any more of Czechoslovakia. The Czechs were told by Britain and France that if they do not accept the Munich pact then Britain and France would not come to its aid in event of a German attack. This was against the Locarno Treaties where even though Germany had not guaranteed its frontiers with Czechoslovakia, the French did commit to aid Poland and Czechoslovakia if Germany attacks them. Czechoslovakia agreed to the Munich Pact. With the loss of Sudetenland, it lost 70% of its Heavy Industry and most of her fortifications against Germany. Soon due to the decreased authority of the government and the economic problems, Slovakia started demanding secession. Law and Order problems soon emerged on the ground.

12) Annexation of Rest of Czechoslovakia (1939): Under the circumstances that prevailed after Munich Conference, Hitler forced the President of Czechoslovakia to request German troops for restoring order. Soon the German troops marched in and Czechoslovakia was annexed. Britain and France protested only verbally. Britain said that the guarantee to the rest of Czechoslovakia does not apply since the latter itself had requested the German troops and thus technically it was not an invasion.

13) Invasion of Poland (1939): After the annexation of Czechoslovakia, Britain decided that there would not be any more appeasement of Germany. The annexation of Poland was unjustifiable. Till now Hitler had justified his claims of territorial expansion on the argument of Ethnicity and on the Treaty of Versailles. The annexation was the first act of taking over non-German populated territory. Britain and France reiterated their commitment to protection of Poland when Hitler announced that he wanted Danzig. Hitler also desired access to the Rail-Road Connectivity through Polish Corridor so the rest of Germany

could connect to East Prussia. Although these demands were not unreasonable since Danzig had 95% German population and economic connectivity to East Prussia made sense, but they came so soon after the Czechoslovakia debacle that the Poles feared full invasion soon after. Britain tried to pressure Poles but they did not agree to German demands. Hitler signed a **Non-Aggression Pact with Russia in 1939** to keep it neutral and moved ahead with full invasion of Poland. **With this act the World War II began.**

KEY THEME 4: Britain, and to a lesser extent France, adopt a policy of appeasement towards a resurgent Germany. Italy and Japan also get away with aggressive acts as the League of Nations proves to be a resounding failure in addressing the threat of expansionist tendencies.

Policy of Appeasement was one of the most important reasons for German success in violating the Treaty of Versailles and Japan and Italy being able to escape sanctions for their aggressive acts. Why was such a policy followed? There are multiple reasons:

- **Avoid War:** The other powers wanted to avoid war because they could not win such a war as they were not economically and militarily strong. Such a war would in all probability result in a stalemate. Britain and France feared bombing of cities and the civilians as demonstrated by the bombing of Spanish cities by Germany in the Spanish Civil War (1936).
- **Economic Crisis (1929):** Other European powers could not afford rearmament or bear huge war expenses. They had not fully recovered from the economic crisis.
- **Public Opinion:** The people in Britain were against war. After the World War I the public opinion towards war had changed dramatically. The businessmen were also against a war as it would hurt their economic interests. A war orients the whole economy towards military production and the shelling results in loss of infrastructure that hurt industrial interests.
- **Sympathy:** Many groups felt that Germany and Italy had genuine grievances. This prevented formation of a firm public opinion in favour of militarily tackling Germany and Italy. Especially in Britain, many leaders favoured a sympathetic attitude and called for revision of the harshest clauses of the Treaty of Versailles to remove the reason for war itself. Thus, British viewed the Treaty of Versailles as the real cause of a possible war and thus agreed to the German demands which were targeted towards nullifying the harshest of the clauses in the treaty. Thus they followed a policy of appeasement.
- **Failure of League of Nations:** League of Nations had proved to be ineffective and thus the British Prime Minister Chamberlain who was elected in 1937 believed that a personal contact among the leaders of different countries was important to make them respect international law through negotiations. He favoured the path of diplomacy rather than of war to resolve conflicts with Germany.
- **Economic Cooperation:** Germany was an export market to Britain and thus the British felt that the economic cooperation would be good for both the countries. Britain believed that if it helps in German economic recovery then Germany would be friendly to Britain.
- **Fear of Communist Russia** was greater than the fear of the Nazis. This was especially true among the conservative groups in Britain and France. They viewed the Nazi Germany as a buffer against the Communist expansion westward. Thus they favoured or allowed for the German rearmament.
- **To buy time:** Some scholars argue that British followed the policy of appeasement to buy time of self-rearmament. Because of economic problems due to the economic crisis and the earlier toll taken by the World War I, some leaders in Britain and France felt that the longer the appeasement process, the more time they would get for self-rearmament. Chamberlain increased rearmament alongside the Policy of Appeasement. He felt that the dual sword of Rearmament and Appeasement would act as a deterrent.

KEY THEME 5: The policy of appeasement helps the fascist powers but also leads to miscalculation by them, which ultimately leads to World War II. The attempt of European powers to check Germany ultimately comes to nothing.

Other aspects of Appeasement:

1. It created a perception among the Fascist powers which led to miscalculations. Hitler was convinced about the complacency and weakness of Britain and France. He thought that no one will act even if Germany invaded Poland (whose protection had been guaranteed by the British).
2. **Attempts of other powers to check Germany:**
 - a) France was against Appeasement. It had dragged Germany to the Permanent Court of International Justice over the proposal of Austria-Germany Custom Union (1931). It formed the Stresa Front (1935) against the German conscription (1935). The Stresa Front guaranteed the Austrian frontiers to check German aggression.
 - b) In 1934, Italy had prevented the first attempt at Anschluss.
 - c) France ensured that USSR enters the League of Nations in 1934. This was directed against the Germans. France wanted to build an anti-German alliance of Italy-France-USSR.
 - d) Italy had signed a **Non-Aggression Pact with USSR** in 1933. France signed an alliance with Russia in 1935. But the Russia-France alliance had no provision for military cooperation because the leadership in France distrusted the communists. This was so because Moscow for a long time had instructed the communists in France to not cooperate with other left wing parties in France.
3. **Hoare-Laval pact (1935):** It was a secret pact between Britain and France. It entailed partition of Abyssinia and giving most of it to Italy. The pact failed because the information was leaked and caused public outrage in Britain and France.
4. **Why did France follow Appeasement:** France failed to check appeasement and at times followed the policy of appeasement itself because in the 1930s, France got deeply divided into Left and Right wings. The right wingers favoured Hitler as a buffer against the Communist Russia.

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