



ALAGAPPA UNIVERSITY

[Accredited with 'A+' Grade by NAAC (CGPA:3.64) in the Third Cycle
and Graded as Category-I University by MHRD-UGC]

KARAIKUDI – 630 003

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION



M.A. [History]
321 23



HISTORY OF EUROPE (FROM 1789 TO 1945 A.D.)

II - Semester



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HISTORY OF EUROPE (FROM 1789 TO 1945 A.D.)

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INTRODUCTION

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In 1789, new ideas about how a nation should be governed resulted in the disintegration of the *Ancient Régime* of the Bourbons in France. From France, these ideas spread all over the continent. From 1789 to 1917, Europe was to witness many revolutions, both social and political; these revolutions formed the foundation of the modern world as we know it and changed the lives of workers, peasants, aristocrats, the middle class, women and minorities living in European countries. However, modern European history was also witness to many tragedies.

Wars were fought that killed more people than in any other point in history. The idealism embodied in the French Revolution and later the Russian Revolution and the power of the Industrial Revolution culminated into the two most horrifying events in the history of humanity- the two world wars. How could such horrors have been allowed to occur? What part did Nationalism and Imperialism play in the perversion of enlightenment ideas? This book, *History of Europe (From 1789 to 1945 A.D.)*, will try to answer such questions.

This book is divided into fourteen units. Each unit begins with an Introduction and Objectives. They introduce the reader to the text and provide an overview of important concepts and topics. ‘Check Your Progress’ questions are interspersed within the text for ensuring that the concepts have been understood well. Each unit ends with a Summary, followed by a list of Key Words and Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’ Questions. Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises encourage the recollection of information as well as the application of concepts. Further Reading lists the names of other books that can be referred to, for similar topics.

BLOCK - I
FRENCH REVOLUTION, NAPOLEON
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UNIT 1 FRENCH REVOLUTION

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The American Revolution and the War of Independence had a critical influence on the subsequent major political events of the world. Its immediate impact was witnessed in the European countries, especially in France. In addition to the influence of the American Revolution, there were many other factors that led to the French Revolution. The French people began to yearn for a revolution to overturn their corrupt and despotic government, just as they perceived the American colonies had done. For years, the French government had promoted the cause of the American Revolution. Thus, it was but natural for the French government to say nothing against the American model. It could not so readily demonize the secular and humanist model of the United States as it had the Protestant model of bygone years. The French hero Lafayette had fought for it, and the French architect L'Enfant was busy designing its capital on property donated by America's most prominent Roman Catholic family. The United States embodied the Enlightenment ideals that so many in France yearned for.

On 12 July 1789, Camille Desmoulins, the French journalist, provoked the people of Paris to arm themselves in fear that King Louis XVI was

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about to attack the city. Two days later, on 14 July 1789, the people of Paris attacked the fortress of the Bastille, murdered its governor and defenders as well as the city's magistrates. This brutal event was the commencement of elementary political changes in France and Europe that are now summed up as the outcomes of the French Revolution.

In this unit, you will read about the situation in France on the eve of the French Revolution, the causes, course and results of the French Revolution.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the situation in France on the eve of the French Revolution
- Examine the causes which led to the French Revolution
- Discuss the course of the French Revolution
- Describe the results of the French Revolution

1.2 FRANCE ON THE EVE OF FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution of 1789 brought forth issues that the European society was to debate throughout the 19th and early 20th century. Indeed, the chief causes of the French Revolution were also prevalent in other European societies. Thus, to understand why the French Revolution occurred, it is important to understand the socio-political structure that was prevalent in most of the societies of Europe in the 18th century.

European society in the 18th century was dominated by various aristocratic houses. France was ruled by Louis XVI, Spain by Charles III, Russia by Catherine the Great and so forth. Even the Parliament of Great Britain greatly depended on the patronage of the English nobility and its monarch George III. The monarchs of Europe in the 18th century were termed as 'Enlightened Despots'. Along with their relatives in the European aristocracy, these monarchs owned the majority of the land where common citizens worked for their livelihood. People had no power to influence how the aristocracy in these nations functioned. Many of them were considered serfs who did not have any individual rights granted to them. This resulted in the general public in Europe being strongly resentful towards the aristocracy.

The feudal structure of the society also contributed towards this resentment. In a feudal structure, the major burden of taxation is on the poor whose money is used for privileges that are only meant to be enjoyed by the nobility. European Feudal landlords acted as petty sovereigns, while the state's concern for common citizens was limited only to the collection of taxes. This

broke the humane link between the rulers and ruled and the exploitation of serfs at the hand of landlords became the order of the day. The church was of no help to people either. In fact, the church was one of the power centres which legitimized the exploitation of the masses by the nobility. Moreover, many of the Monarchs also had megalomaniac tendencies without any moral or ethical considerations in their relations with other nations. According to the historian Charles Downer Hazen, ‘the old regime in Europe was disloyal to the very principles on which it rested’. Those principles were the respect for the established order and regard for regality and engagements.

Along with this prevailing situation, the ideas of the Renaissance were slowly taking shape among the masses of Europe. There was spread of scientific inquiry and increasing questioning of religious dogmatism. The invention of the printing press allowed many of the ideas of great thinkers to become widespread. Many pamphlets and journals were published that attacked the church. Perhaps most important of all, the theory of the Divine Right of Kings was also increasingly questioned. All of these factors combined together to become the fuel for the upheaval that was to come to Europe at the end of the 18th century.

Check Your Progress

1. When did the French Revolution take place?
2. Mention any two developments that took place in Europe in the 18th century.

1.3 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND COURSE

The French Revolution was one of the few historical events that not only changed the shape of Europe, but its ideas also gave rise to a new type of political system. The Russian thinker and writer Peter Kropotkin, in his book *The Great French Revolution*, stated, ‘Two great currents prepared and made the Great French Revolution. One of them, the current of ideas, concerning the political reorganization of States, came from the middle classes; the other, the current of action, came from the people, both peasants and workers in the towns, who wanted to obtain immediate and definite improvements in their economic condition. And when these two currents met and joined in the endeavour to realise an aim, which for some time was common to both, when they had helped each other for a certain time, the result was the Revolution.’

The causes of the French revolution can be divided into social and political causes. They are enumerated as follows:

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1.3.1 Social Causes of the French Revolution

According to many historians, the revolution of 1789 was much less a rebellion against despotism than a rebellion against inequality. The socio-economic inequality that prevailed in France ultimately paved the way for the unrest that gradually usurped Louis XVI's regime of its status. French society at that time was divided into the haves and the have nots. The haves consisted of the clergy and the nobility whose total strength was about one percent of the population. While the haves enjoyed all privileges, the other 99 per cent of the population suffered misery and exploitation.

The division of society in France in the 18th century was based on the social hierarchy that was conceived in the Middle Ages called the 'estate of the realms.' This social hierarchy divided French society along three estates. Broadly speaking, the three estates of France were as follows:

- **First Estate:** The First Estate in France consisted of the entire clergy, which was traditionally divided into the 'higher' and 'lower' clergy. The 'Higher' clergy were essentially the nobility of the clergy, whose members came from the families of the Second Estate.
- **Second Estate:** The Second Estate in France consisted of the French nobility. The monarch of France was not a member of the Second Estate as he was considered to be outside the system of estates. They were divided into those who administered justice and civil government and those who were made up of the officers of the military.
- **Third Estate:** All those who were not part of the First and the Second Estate were members of the Third Estate. The Third Estate in France at the time of the French Revolution consisted of over 95 per cent of the population. They could be divided into two groups: urban and rural. The urban members of the Third Estate included those who had wealth but no titles, like the rich bourgeoisie or traders, as well as the poor wage-labourers. The rural members of the Third Estate were extremely poor, yet, they were forced to pay excessively high taxes compared to the other Estates. The members of the First and Second Estates lived off the labour that was produced by the Third Estate.

During the time of Louis XVI, there was a famous saying in France which said, 'The nobles fight, the clergy pray, the people pay'. In the 18th century, peasants made up to 90 per cent of the population but owned only a small amount of land that they cultivated. On the other hand, the nobility, the church and other rich members of the Estates owned 60 per cent of the land. The member of the first two estates enjoyed certain privileges by birth. The most important of these was that they were exempted from paying taxes to the state. The aristocracy also enjoyed feudal privileges. These included feudal dues, which they extracted from the peasants. The peasants were obliged to

render services to the feudal lord to work in his house and fields to serve in the army or to participate in building roads. During the reign of Louis XVI, the aristocracy had a monopoly of practically all the jobs in the army and the church. Like the nobility, the clergymen also enjoyed privileges. The 'higher' clergy had castles, cathedrals, palaces, invaluable pictures, rich investments and rental from land in the form of *tithes*. Moreover, the church extracted direct tax called *taille* and also a number of indirect taxes. The burdens of financing activities of the state through taxes were borne by the members of the Third Estate alone.

The members of the third estate were expected to pay taxes like *taille* or land tax, *vingtieme* or income tax, the *gabelle* or the salt tax and the *corvee* or the road tax. Estimates suggest that after paying all the taxes, a French peasant was left with only about 20 per cent of his total produce. According to the historian Professor Leo Gershoy, three principal causes determined the steady decline in the fortunes of the French peasantry in the 18th century. They were a sharp and continuous growth in population, a marked upward movement of prices without a corresponding increase in the real wages and the influence of the Physiocrats in stimulating agrarian reforms. The population of France rose from 23 million in 1715 to 28 million in 1789. This led to a rapid increase in demand of food grains. The production of grains, however, did not keep pace with this demand. Thus, the gap between the rich and poor widened with things becoming worse if a drought occurred.

Like the peasants, the bourgeoisie or the middle class also belonged to the Third Estate of French society. The bourgeois class consisted of professors, lawyers, physicians, bankers and merchants. However, unlike the peasants, the wealth of the bourgeoisie was almost equal to the aristocratic class. According to the famous 18th century French writer Voltaire, 'the middle class has enriched itself through industrial and commercial profits have increased, there is less luxury among nobility than formerly and more in middle class life so that the contrast between them is not so marked'. While the bourgeois class had wealth, they lacked any real political power. Being educated, the bourgeoisie believed that no group should be privileged by birth. Influenced by works of philosophers like John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* and Jean Jacques Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, the bourgeois dreamed of a society based on freedom and equal laws and opportunity for all. It was the social awakening of the bourgeois class that gave shape to the ideas of the French Revolution. It is for this reason that many refer to the French Revolution as the Bourgeois Revolution.

1.3.2 Political Causes of the French Revolution

Two important causes of the French Revolution of 1789 were the absolute concentration of power that the French monarch held and the inability of French rulers who followed the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715). The

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French monarchs were part of the Bourbon dynasty and built for them a grand palace at Versailles. All functions of government, administration of justice, recruitment and promotion to high offices were all concentrated in the hands of the crown. Had the Bourbon administration been efficient, this centralization might have served its end. However, the administration was totally inefficient. The legal system employed by the Bourbon's was also extremely cruel. People were routinely given severe punishment for ordinary offences. All of these factors added to the difficulties faced by the people of France. Although the Bourbon King Louis XIV worked hard and was the last competent emperor of France, he left behind a legacy of financial bankruptcy for his successor.

During the reign of Louis XV (1715-1774), France participated in a number of international conflicts. His reign was also characterized by a huge amount of pomp and extravaganza. Writing about Louis XV's court, the Austrian ambassador at Paris wrote, 'At court there is nothing but confusion, scandals and injustice'. Louis XV was devoted to hunting and the pleasures of the court. He was popular with the courtiers who bled the treasury in an irresponsible and selfish manner. Under his reign the bourgeois started getting increasingly restless as they were never consulted or involved in any government activity. Many believe that the decisions that Louis XV took during his reign played a huge part in the revolution that was to occur 15 years after his death. Louis XV managed to weaken the treasury considerably and helped to discredit the concept of absolute monarchy in France.

Louis XV was succeeded by Louis XVI (1774-1792). At the beginning there was high expectation from Louis XVI because Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, a friend of Voltaire and contributor to the Encyclopaedic was appointed the Minister of Finance and Comptroller-General under Louis XIV. Louis XVI tried his best to give France a fresh start after it had grown weary under the reign of his predecessor. Following Enlightenment ideals, Louis XVI abolished torture, serfdom, the land tax, and actively participated in America's struggle to gain independence from Britain. Under Louis XVI's reign and Turgot's direction, industry and commerce were freed of restrictions and the tax burden on the lower classes were reduced by transferring a share of taxes to the nobles and clergy. However, these measures were opposed vociferously by the clergy and the nobility. Faced by a hostile aristocracy, and failing to impose his will forcefully, Louis XVI was forced to dismiss Turgot in 1776.



Fig 1.1 King Louis XVI

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:LouisXVI-France1.jpg>

Turgot's successors also tried various reforms. However, most of them were directed towards preventing bankruptcy rather than reforming the society. A banker businessman Jacques Necker was another finance minister during Louis XVI's reign. Necker published the first account of the royal treasury i.e., the *Compte Rendu* which exposed the extravagances of the Queen Marie Antoinette and her friends. Antoinette was the daughter of Queen Maria Theresa of Austria and was looked upon by the people of France as a foreigner who sympathised with France's enemies. Her reputation of extravagance, along with the gossip that surrounded her, played a role in making the French people disillusioned of the monarchy in France. On the complaints of the Queen's friends, Necker was dismissed as finance minister and was replaced by Charles Alexandre de Calonne. Calonne, unlike Turgot and Necker, restored the lavish spending of the French aristocracy.

The financial bankruptcy that France saw facing was the spark that ignited the fire of the revolution. Facing financial bankruptcy, foreign bankers refused to lend more money to the crown. Matters turned to worse when the Parliament of Paris, a judicial body, defied the monarch and refused to enforce new taxes. In 1788 Louis XVI, as a last resort, called a meeting of the Estates-General. The last meeting of the Estates-General had taken place in 1614. The representatives of the Estates met at Versailles early in May 1789. However, the representatives could not reach any agreement. During the meeting, the representatives of the Third Estate felt that the other two estates were only interested in talking about taxes, while they wanted discussions on representations and how the Estates would operate. After several weeks, the representatives of the Third Estate gave up and decided to form the National Assembly. This signalled the start of the French Revolution.

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Check Your Progress

3. What was the basis of the division of society in France in the 18th century?
4. State two important causes of the French Revolution.

1.4 COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION

Let us now study the course of the French Revolution.

1.4.1 The Revolution and the Work of the National Assembly (1789-1791)

The Oath of the Tennis Court: On June 17 1789, the representatives of the Third Estate proclaimed a National Assembly and invited the representatives of other estates to join in the work of national reform. The king, under the influence of his courtiers, resolved to dictate the reforms that were to be introduced. When the members of the National Assembly met on 20 June, they found the hall where they had met before had been closed by the king. Thus, they proceeded to the tennis court and took the oath to ‘never to separate and to meet wherever circumstances demand, until the constitution of the kingdom is established and affirmed on solid foundations’. This is known as the Oath of the Tennis Court and is regarded as the beginning of the French Revolution. It marked the first time that French citizens had stood up to the king. After they refused to back down, the king gave in and ordered the sitting of the Three Estates together and vote by head as members of the Constituent Assembly. However, at the same time troops moved into Paris and Versailles indicating that the king was preparing to use force. When the Assembly requested the removal of troops, the king refused, stating that the troops were deployed as a precautionary measure. Public outrage at the king for calling troops resulted in the storming of the Bastille.



Fig 1.2 *The Tennis Court Oath*

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Anonymous_-_Prise_de_la_Bastille.jpg

The Storming of the Bastille: The Bastille, a fortress at the heart of Paris, was regarded as the symbol of Bourbon despotism. Its storming by the people of Paris is regarded by many historians as the beginning of the French Revolution. On 11 July, with troops in Paris and Versailles, the King dismissed his finance minister Jacques Necker who was sympathetic to the Third Estate. Parisians, fearing that Necker's dismissal marked the beginning of some sort of conservative coup, began to riot. The rioting mob in search for arms stormed the Bastille on 14 July 1789. The fall of the Bastille was a clear indication that the masses were with the National Assembly and not with the king. As a result, the Louis XVI backed down. He recalled Necker and agreed to dismiss the extra troops. The king made the instigator of the Oath of the Tennis Court the mayor of a new government in Paris called the *Commune de Paris*. He also gave full recognition to the national assembly and confirmed the appointment of the Marquis de La Fayette, one of the outstanding champions of constitutional monarchy, as Commander of the National Guard.

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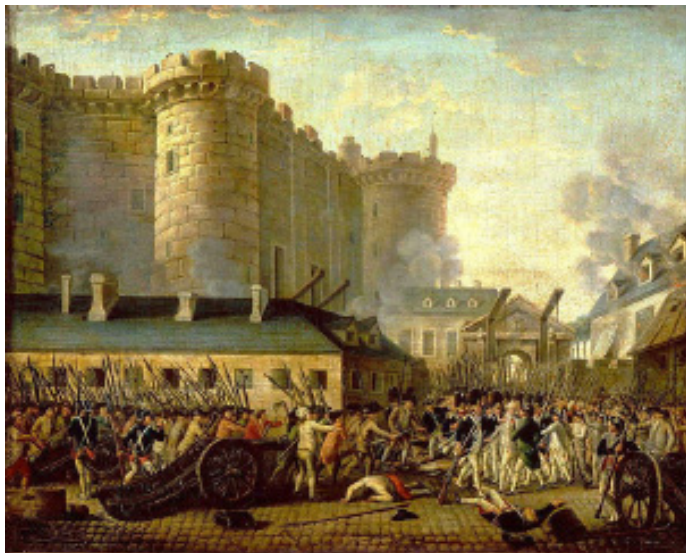


Fig 1.3 The Storming of the Bastille

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Anonymous_-_Prise_de_la_Bastille.jpg

The Working of National Assembly: On 4 August 1789, feudalism was abolished by the National Assembly. The assembly also abolished the special privileges given to the members of the first and the second estate. On 26 August, the Assembly published the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The declaration is still considered as being one of the most important documents of human rights. The Declaration opened by affirming 'the natural and imprescriptible rights of man' to 'liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression'. It also called for the destruction of aristocratic privileges by proclaiming an end to exemptions from taxation, freedom and

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equal rights for all men, and access to public office based on talent. According to the declaration, the power of the monarchy was restricted, and all citizens were to have the right to take part in the legislative process. The Declaration also asserted the principles of popular sovereignty and social equality among citizens by stating that, 'All the citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally admissible to all public dignities, places, and employments, according to their capacity and without distinction other than that of their virtues and of their talents'. The National Assembly also took on the task of drafting a new constitution for France. After a long series of negotiations, Louis XVI reluctantly agreed to a new constitution in 1791. The constitution of 1791 gave the National Assembly the power to make laws.

1.4.2 France becomes a Republic

The turmoil during the revolutionary war brought losses and economic difficulties to the people of France. Large sections of the population were convinced that the revolution had to be carried further as the Constitution of 1791 gave political rights only to the richer sections of the society. Political clubs became an important rallying point for people who wished to discuss government policies and plan their own reforms. The most successful of all these clubs was that of the Jacobins. The leader of the Jacobins was Maximilian Robespierre. On August 10, 1792, radicals led by the Jacobins massacred the Swiss guards who protected the King and his family. Louis XVI and his family were taken prisoner. The Jacobins supplanted the legal community with the revolutionary commune. An executive council was created to replace the king and his ministers. The National Convention, which was comprised of the constitutional and legislative assembly, abolished the monarchy and declared France a republic on 22 September 1792.

The Reign of Terror: The period from 1793 to 1794 is referred to as the 'Reign Of Terror' in France. During the two years an estimated 40,000 people were executed after being accused of counter-revolutionary activities. The National Convention in April 1793 had created the Committee of Public Safety, which acted as the de facto executive. The Committee of Public Safety came under the control of the leader of the Jacobins, Robespierre. Robespierre followed a policy of severe punishment for all those who were assumed or were seen as enemies of the Republic, i.e., ex-nobles clergy, members of other political parties, etc. Among the people executed during the reign of terror were the former monarch Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette. Even members of Robespierre's own party who did not agree to his ideas were arrested and tried by the revolutionary tribunal. The Reign of Terror unleashed by Robespierre made even the supporters of the Jacobins disillusioned. Finally, in July 1794, Robespierre was arrested and eventually executed by guillotine.

The Directory: After the excesses committed by Robespierre and his eventual execution, the new government drafted a new constitution. The new constitution limited the suffrage based on property, unlike the constitution of 1793 which had proclaimed universal male suffrage. The constitution of 1795 created a bicameral legislature made up of a Council of Elders and a Council of the Five Hundred. Executive power went to five ‘directors’. Many of the directors were known to be extremely corrupt and did little to make the life of the average French citizen better. Extremely unpopular with the people, the directors lasted only for less than four years (1795-1799). The political instability in France after the revolution eventually resulted in the army, under the leadership of the popular general Napoleon Bonaparte, to stage a coup to overthrow the French Directory. Bonaparte replaced the French Directory with the French Consulate, with himself as the head. The coup by Napoleon effectively marked the end of the revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic era.

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Check Your Progress

5. What did the fall of the Bastille indicate?
6. Who was the leader of the Jacobins?

1.5 RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The influence of the French Revolution was felt all through the Western world. Almost 2,000,000 army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution.

The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the nobility was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class. This assertion is challenged in the present-day analysis, but it is clear the men of property in spite of social background benefited from the Revolution. Women, not considering their rank, did not profit much from the Revolution and continued to be restricted to the private sphere.

In economic terms, the peasants profited from the end of the last remains of feudalism. But the confusion of the Revolution impeded the industrialization of France.

The major inheritance of the Revolution was in the sphere of politics. The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics. The Revolution brought about a massive growth of the power of government and gave it superior control over everyday life of its citizens. The Revolution also led to the rise of two major political ideologies—liberalism and nationalism.

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The most tangible results of the French Revolution were almost certainly achieved in 1789–91, when land was set free from traditional burdens and the old communal society was rapped up. This ‘abolition of feudalism’ encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors. The bourgeoisie that acquired social preponderance during the Directory and the Consulate was chiefly comprised officials and landed proprietors, and though the war enabled some entrepreneurs and contractors to make fortunes, it hindered economic development. The great reforms of 1789–91, however, established a durable administrative and legal system, and much of the revolutionaries’ work in humanizing the law itself was afterward incorporated in the Napoleonic Code, about which you will read in the next unit.

Politically, the Revolution was more important than successful. Since 1789, the French government has been either parliamentary, or constitutional, or based on the plebiscitary system that Napoleon inherited and developed. However, between 1789 and 1799, democracy failed. Recurrent elections bred apathy, and filling offices by recommendation became everyday event, even before Napoleon made it organized. The Jacobins’ fraternal and Jacobin controlled community ended in 1794, the direct democracy of the sansculottes was squashed in 1795, and the republic expired in 1804; however, as principles they carried on to motivate French politics and keep right and left, church and state, far at a distance.

The Revolution nonetheless freed the state from its medieval past, releasing such unparalleled power that the revolutionaries could defy the rest of Europe. Furthermore, that power acknowledged no self-control: in 1793 unity was imposed on the nation by the Terror. Europe and the world have ever since been learning what violations of liberty can issue from the ideas of national autonomy and the will of the people.

Historians extensively regard the Revolution as one of the most significant events in human history, and the end of the early modern period, which started around 1500, is usually attributed to the onset of the French Revolution in 1789. The Revolution is, actually, repeatedly seen as marking the ‘dawn of the modern era’. In France itself, the Revolution enduringly crippled the power of the aristocracy and depleted the wealth of the Church, though the two institutions survived in spite of the damage they sustained. After the disintegration of the First Empire in 1815, the French public lost the rights and freedoms earned since the Revolution, but they kept in mind the concept of the participatory politics, which characterized the period, with one historian commenting: ‘Thousands of men and even many women gained firsthand experience in the political arena: they talked, read and listened in new ways; they voted; they joined new organizations; and they marched for

their political goals. Revolution became a tradition, and republicanism an enduring option.’

Some historians debate that the French people underwent a deep-seated transformation in self-identity, evidenced by the abolition of privileges and their substitution by rights as well as the growing decline in social esteem that highlighted the law of equality throughout the Revolution. Outside France, the Revolution captured the imagination of the world. It had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.

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1.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The French Revolution took place in 1789 in France.
2. Two developments that took place in Europe in the 18th century are the following:
 - (i) The ideas of the Renaissance were slowly taking shape among the masses of Europe. There was spread of scientific inquiry and increasing questioning of religious dogmatism.
 - (ii) The invention of the printing press allowed many of the ideas of great thinkers to become widespread.
3. The division of society in France in the 18th century was based on the social hierarchy that was conceived in the Middle Ages called the ‘estate of the realms.’
4. Two important causes of the French Revolution of 1789 were the absolute concentration of power that the French monarch held and the inability of French rulers who followed the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715).
5. The fall of the Bastille was a clear indication that the masses were with the National Assembly and not with the king.
6. The leader of the Jacobins was Maximilian Robespierre.
7. The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the nobility was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class.
8. The French Revolution also led to the rise of two major political ideologies—liberalism and nationalism.

1.7 SUMMARY

- The French Revolution of 1789 brought forth issues that the European society was to debate throughout the 19th and early 20th century.

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- European society in the 18th century was dominated by various aristocratic houses. France was ruled by Louis XVI, Spain by Charles III, Russia by Catherine the Great and so forth.
- The French Revolution was one of the few historical events that not only changed the shape of Europe, but its ideas also gave rise to a new type of political system.
- According to many historians, the revolution of 1789 was much less a rebellion against despotism than a rebellion against inequality.
- The division of society in France in the 18th century was based on the social hierarchy that was conceived in the Middle Ages called the 'estate of the realms.'
- Two important causes of the French Revolution of 1789 were the absolute concentration of power that the French monarch held and the inability of French rulers who followed the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715).
- During the reign of Louis XV (1715-1774), France participated in a number of international conflicts. His reign was also characterized by a huge amount of pomp and extravaganza.
- The financial bankruptcy that France saw facing was the spark that ignited the fire of the revolution. Facing financial bankruptcy, foreign bankers refused to lend more money to the crown.
- On June 17 1789, the representatives of the Third Estate proclaimed a National Assembly and invited the representatives of other estates to join in the work of national reform.
- The Bastille, a fortress at the heart of Paris, was regarded as the symbol of Bourbon despotism. Its storming by the people of Paris is regarded by many historians as the beginning of the French Revolution.
- On 4 August 1789, feudalism was abolished by the National Assembly. The assembly also abolished the special privileges given to the members of the first and the second estate.
- The turmoil during the revolutionary war brought losses and economic difficulties to the people of France.
- Large sections of the population were convinced that the revolution had to be carried further as the Constitution of 1791 gave political rights only to the richer sections of the society.
- The influence of the French Revolution was felt all through the Western world. Almost 2,000,000 army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution.
- The major inheritance of the Revolution was in the sphere of politics. The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the

chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics.

- Politically, the Revolution was more important than successful. Since 1789, the French government has been either parliamentary, or constitutional, or based on the plebiscitary system that Napoleon inherited and developed.
- Some historians debate that the French people underwent a deep-seated transformation in self-identity, evidenced by the abolition of privileges and their substitution by rights as well as the growing decline in social esteem that highlighted the law of equality throughout the Revolution.

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1.8 KEY WORDS

- **Feudalism:** It was a European political system in which a lord owned all the land while vassals and serfs farmed it.
- **Bourgeoisie:** It refers to belonging to or characteristic of the middle class, typically with reference to its perceived materialistic values or conventional.
- **Aristocracy:** It is a class of people in some countries who have a high social rank and special titles.

1.9 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What were the social causes of the French Revolution?
2. Mention the political causes that led to the French Revolution.
3. Write a short note on the significance of the storming of the Bastille.

Long Answer Questions

1. The French Revolution is also referred to as the Bourgeois Revolution. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.
2. Discuss the course of the French Revolution.
3. Critically analyse the results of the French Revolution.

1.10 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2 NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Rise of Napoleon
 - 2.2.1 Early Life and Career
 - 2.2.2 Napoleon and the Revolution
 - 2.2.3 Napoleon and the French State
 - 2.2.4 Emperor of France
- 2.3 Early Victories, Reforms and Foreign Policy
 - 2.3.1 Early Victories
 - 2.3.2 Reforms
 - 2.3.3 Napoleonic Reforms
- 2.4 Napoleon Empire and the Continental System
- 2.5 Downfall and Impact of Napoleon
 - 2.5.1 Invasion of Russia
 - 2.5.2 Defeat of Napoleon
 - 2.5.3 The Downfall of Napoleon
 - 2.5.4 Factors that led to the Defeat of Napoleon
 - 2.5.5 Impact of Napoleon
 - 2.5.6 Causes of Napoleon's Failure
- 2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 Key Words
- 2.9 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 2.10 Further Readings

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the French Revolution. The Revolution had far-reaching impact on all the social classes of France. You have also read that the French Revolution influenced the rise Napoleon to power. This is being discussed in this unit. The reign of Napoleon, popularly known as the Napoleonic era, holds great significance in the history of France and the rest of the world. This era symbolized the finest display of commitment and love for the motherland. In this unit, we will discuss the early life and career of Napoleon; early victories, rise to power, reforms, foreign policy, war against Russia and its his defeat and its impact.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Napoleon's rise to prominence and power

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- State Napoleon's victories at the beginning of his rise, his reforms and foreign policies
- Summarize about Napoleon Empire and the Continental System
- Discuss the factors that caused the downfall of Napoleon

2.2 RISE OF NAPOLEON

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes. France was the centre of events in Europe. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars brought about a lot of changes that was instrumental in shaping Europe. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state. French Republic was established in 1793. The changes provoked reaction from the old European monarchies. These monarchs were apprehensive that revolutionary ideas would be 'exported' from France. The ideas of the Revolution were spread across Europe in spite of political and military interventions. Intellectuals and artists were attracted to these ideas. Same kind of reactions also provoked Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1799, he became the First Consul in France and announced the end of the Revolution and chaos. Although he was a 'child of the Revolution', he made certain changes to the surprise of his supporters. In 1801, Napoleon negotiated the Concordat with the Catholic Church and in 1804 he crowned himself the Emperor of France. This event shocked many of his contemporaries as he seemingly denied the ideas of the Revolution.

The regime in France was not democratic. It was so because Napoleon acted as an autocrat. He was totally against any possible opposition. He created numerous satellite states. Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also for the fact that 'Bonaparte was founding new Italian republics in which the ideals of the Revolution would be put into practise'. Although he seemingly 'exported' the Revolution, his rule was strongly centralized. He did not permit any resistance. The states annexed by him served mostly as sources of supplies during any kind of military campaigns. Due to these wars, France had to face many anti-Napoleonic coalitions and Bonaparte emerged as the main threat for European monarchies.

2.2.1 Early Life and Career

Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815. Napoleon (Figure 2.1), at the age of 25, had been expelled from the army. He was disgraced, hopeless and suicidal. Within one year, he became the youngest

general in France, and started winning battles with ragged troops who were at the verge of malnourishment. Madame Germaine de Stael, a writer and intellectual, says: ‘He was like an expert chess player, with the human race for an opponent, which he proposed to checkmate.’

Napoleon Bonaparte

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Fig. 2.1 Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon belonged to the Jacobin club. His father was a poor noble. Napoleon joined the Jacobins for the reason that, as he wrote in a letter to his brother, ‘Since one must choose sides, one might as well choose the side that is victorious, the side which devastates, loots and burns. Considering the alternative, it is better to eat than be eaten.’

Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as France’s leading military leader. He defeated the British when they entered France in 1793. In 1796, Napoleon beat the Austrians. The Austrian Hapsburgs wanted to re-establish the rule of the monarchs. Napoleon was defeated in Egypt; however, he did not let the news of the worst losses reach France. He sent people to study Egypt’s history, and they found out the Rosetta Stone. Napoleon wished to set up a base there so that France could assault England in both Africa and India.

After a victory at Austerlitz, he declared that he would adopt the children of all the soldiers. It was due to this announcement that Napoleon gained the love of the French people. He then asked the state to shell out money for the children’s support and education, organize marriages for the girls and get jobs for the boys; he allowed them all to add Napoleon to their names.

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In November 1799, in a coup de'tat, Napoleon overthrew the Directory. Although France was to remain a Republic, he appointed himself the First Consul for Life by proclaiming, 'I am no ordinary man'. In 1804, people decided and voted for him to become the Emperor. Napoleon requested the Pope to preside over his coronation. He took the crown from the Pope's hands and placed it on his own head to show that he owed his throne to nobody (Figure 2.2). You will read about his coronation in more details in the forthcoming section.



Fig. 2.2 Coronation of Napoleon

Napoleon was a great leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry. As the slogans of the new regime order, security and efficiency replaced liberty, equality and fraternity.

2.2.2 Napoleon and the Revolution

Napoleon used the radical vocabulary of the Revolution. He presented himself as an ally of the common man and an encouraged the motto 'equality of opportunity'. However, as a ruler, he was authoritarian. He held cautiously orchestrated elections to legitimize his political initiatives. He retained representative institutions but rendered them useless. He can best be viewed as an heir to or child of the Revolution in the context that he continued to centralize the French state and carried out to expansion of France and the spread of the Revolution to other Europe countries.

2.2.3 Napoleon and the French State

After acquiring the power, Napoleon set out to consolidate the French state by establishing a well-organized and centralized bureaucracy and a uniform legal system. He also worked hard to settle the conflict between the Church and state that had emerged during the French Revolution.

To resolve the dispute between the Church and state, Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (1800–1823). The Pope abandoned all claims to the property confiscated by the Revolution, agreed that the clergy would take an oath of loyalty to the state and agreed not to employ bishops without previous approval of the French government. Against this, Napoleon recognized Catholic Christianity as the religion of the maximum number of Frenchmen and decided to pay the salaries of the clergy. When the French fundamentalists called ideologues objected even to the few concessions Napoleon had made to the Pope, he declared that the clergy read government verdicts from the pulpit and made the church a department of state.

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Legal system

Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806. With this, he guaranteed the following:

- Rights to private property
- Equality before the law
- Freedom of religion

Napoleon gave every man the control of family by denying women the right to inherit, buy or sell property. He also centralized the bureaucracy. All power rested in the hands of the officials in Paris where the ministers of the government supervised a vast bureaucracy. In the *departments*, a *prefect* appointed by the central government enforced orders from Paris, conscripted soldiers, accumulated taxes and looked over the public works.

Napoleon established a new order of non-hereditary nobles to reward good service. These officials were called *notables* and gained their status because of their talent.

The First Consul

As you have read that Napoleon saved the Directory from the anger of the mob, he got a chance to hold some power and participation in the administration. He, thus, drafted the Constitution of the Year VIII and secured his own election as the First Consul. Thereafter, he decided to reside within the Tuileries. This made Bonaparte the most influential person in France.

In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered Italy. Here, French forces had been almost entirely driven out by the Austrians whilst he was in Egypt. The war started badly for the French after he made strategic errors; one force was left besieged at Genoa but managed to hold out and thereby occupy Austrian resources. This effort and French general Louis Desaix's appropriate reinforcements, permitted Napoleon hardly to avoid defeat and to triumph over the Austrians in June at the important Battle of Marengo. His brother Joseph negotiated peace in Lunéville and concluded

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that Austria, supported by the British, would not recognize France's newly gained territory. As negotiations became more and more fractious, Napoleon ordered one more to strike at Austria. France emerged victorious. As a result, the Treaty of Lunéville was signed in February 1801; the French gains of the Treaty of Campo Formio were reaffirmed and increased.

2.2.4 Emperor of France

Also, around this time, Napoleon became the Consul for life and soon after, he was crowned Emperor of France. However, as emperor, he still had several issues such as revolt in Haiti. Besides losing this war, Napoleon was defeated in a key naval battle of Trafalgar by Lord Nelson of the British Royal Navy.

Royalist and Jacobin plotted against Napoleon when he became France's ruler. These plots included the Conspiracy des poignards (Dagger plot) in October 1800 and the Plot of the Rue Saint-Nicaise (also famous as the infernal machine) two months later. In January 1804, the police of Napoleon came to know and averted an assassination plot against him that involved Moreau. It was apparently sponsored by the Bourbon former rulers of France. On the recommendation of Talleyrand, Napoleon ordered the kidnapping of Louis Antoine, Duke of Enghien, in infringement of neighbouring Baden's autonomy. After a covert trial, the Duke was executed, even though he had not been engaged in the plot.

On the basis of the assassination plot, Napoleon justified the recreation of a hereditary monarchy in France, with himself as the emperor, saying that a Bourbon reinstatement would be tricky if the Bonapartist succession was entrenched in the constitution. Napoleon crowned himself as Emperor Napoleon I on 2 December 1804 at Notre Dame de Paris and then crowned Joséphine the Empress. At Milan Cathedral on 26 May 1805, Napoleon was crowned King of Italy with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. He established eighteen Marshals of the Empire from amongst his top generals to secure the loyalty of the army.

Check Your Progress

1. How did the French Revolution affect the Church and the noble class?
2. In which year did Napoleon become the First Consul of France?
3. Why did Napoleon choose to join the Jacobins?
4. When did Napoleon defeat the British and the Austrians?
5. Which Agreement did Napoleon sign to resolve the dispute between the Church and the state?

2.3 EARLY VICTORIES, REFORMS AND FOREIGN POLICY

In 1795, Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader. It was the occasion when he successfully defended the National Convention against attack of mob by employing and using his artillery. He succeeded in saving the Convention from collapse and completely obliterated its enemies. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the Directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.

2.3.1 Early Victories

In 1796–97, Napoleon won victories against Austria and Sardinia and further enhanced his military fame. Thereafter, he decided to proceed against Egypt and Syria with a view to strike at the heart of the British Empire.

The idea received full support from the Directors, who considered Napoleon's presence in Paris as highly dangerous and saw it to their advantage to send him to Egypt on a military adventure. However, Napoleon's ambitions received a shattering blow when his forces suffered a defeat at the hands of Lord Nelson in Battle of Nile. Therefore, Napoleon was forced to make his way back to France.

Napoleon's Problems

Napoleon faced the following problems when reached at the peak of his might:

- Britain was very powerful as it had gathered the support of allies to beat France. Eventually, their collective forces beat Napoleon at Trafalgar. He gave up the thought of invading Britain. French troops were intercepted by Horatio Lord Nelson at Trafalgar.
- Spain and Germany assaulted on France. Spain used guerrilla tactics. Napoleon lost 300,000 men. He handed over the throne of Spain to his brother, and made changes in the religion. The Spanish did not like it, and when the French cruelly tried to crush the revolts, the Spanish got even crazier.
- Napoleon attacked Russia in 1812. During September of 1812, he arrived at the onset of one of the worst winters in the Russian history. This was a catastrophe. Of the 614,000 men who had accompanied him, only 40,000 came back. The temperature got to -30°C when they were returning.

2.3.2 Reforms

The Napoleonic era saw reforms in many spheres. Let us discuss them one by one.

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Legal reforms

In 1804, Napoleon reformed the French legal system. The system of laws was in a highly disturbed state. Laws were not codified and were formed on the Roman law, ancient custom or monarchical paternalism. During the Revolution, several laws were altered. It was easier said than done to decide what law applied in a particular situation, and laws were not uniformly applied to everyone.

The muddle of laws were codified and written noticeably in order that the people could decide what law applied. It included much of the Roman law. For the very first time in history, the law was based on logic and founded on the concept that all men were equal before the law. It assured individual rights (except for women and blacks) and the protection of property. In short, it codified the various ideals of the Revolution. The Napoleonic Code became overwhelmingly influential to other European nations in the 19th century.

Governmental reforms

Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. The taxes were applied to all evenly.

Educational reforms

Napoleon built several new lycees (the lycée is the second, and last, stage of secondary education in the French educational system), schools for boys age 10 to 16. He identified the significance of education in producing citizens competent for filling positions in his administration and military. Although he did not build a system of mass education, education was more accessible to the middle class than previously. At a meeting in 1807 he declared:

Of all our institutions, public education is the most important. Everything depends on it, the present and the future. It is essential that the morals and political ideas of the generation which is now growing up should no longer be dependent upon the news of the day or the circumstances of the moment. Above all, we must secure unity: we must be able to cast a whole generation in the same mould.

He assumed education as a means of indoctrinating 'right-thinking' citizens from an initial age. He did not think about the need to educate girls, because they could learn everything they needed from their mothers. They were not supposed to be active citizens of the country.

Napoleon also developed a more comprehensive educational system than before. He started using the clergy as teachers and decreed that primary schools were to be maintained by every Commune under the general supervision of Prefects and Sub prefects. During his rule, secondary or grammar schools provided special training in French, Latin and elementary

science. Whether supported by private or public funds, after Napoleon's reforms, all schools came under the control of the government. The *lycees* or high schools were opened in every important town; moreover, special schools like technical schools, civil schools, and military schools were brought under regulation. Napoleon also established the University of France in 1808. All these schools promoted ethical principles of Christianity and taught loyalty to the head of state.

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2.3.3 Napoleonic Reforms

Administrative reforms: After becoming First Counsel and later Emperor, Napoleon initiated a series of administrative reforms in France. Napoleon centralised the whole system of local government in France. Under him, the elective bodies paid direct obeisance to the central government. Their powers were wielded by prefects and sub prefects who were appointed by Napoleon and were responsible only to him. Mayors were nominated by the government and criminal courts were set up in the *departments*. Moreover, judges were appointed by the First Counsel to try common law offences.

Fiscal Reforms: After assuming power, Napoleon tried to improve the financial situation of the country. The chaos of the revolution and ensuing wars had not allowed any serious look at the fiscal problems facing France that went back to the pre-revolutionary days. Napoleon centralised the fiscal administration in an effort to consolidate his hold over the nation. In 1800, the Bank of France was established. Through the Bank, the government got capital from private sources with accounts being regulated through national agents; this resulted in corruption being significantly reduced. Moreover, Napoleon also centralised the tax collection system. 1801-02 Napoleon succeeded in balancing the budget. This resulted in Napoleon's popularity increasing in the business and merchant community.

The Concordat of 1801: In order to gain the support of the Catholics, Napoleon signed the Concordat with Pope Pius VII. Through the Concordat of 1801, the church became tied to the national government and the state undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. Moreover, the First Counsel nominated the Bishops while the Bishops appointed the priests. Religious minorities like the Calvinists and Lutherans were given freedom to practice their faith in France. Even Jews were granted special privileges and also were allowed to organise on a national basis, though they were still subject to restrictions.

Napoleonic Code: Perhaps the most durable part of Napoleon's reforms was the formation of the Napoleonic legal codes. Napoleon once said, 'My true glory is not to have won 40 battles... Waterloo will erase the memory of so many victories. But what will live forever, is my Civil Code.' The Napoleonic Code still has importance today in a quarter of the world's jurisdictions and has influenced legal codes of nations in Europe, the Americas and Africa.

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Napoleon wanted to reform French laws in accordance with the ideas of the French Revolution. He felt that the old laws were vestiges of the pre-revolutionary days. In 1804, Napoleon drafted the Civil Code, which was followed by the Criminal Procedure Penal code and the Commercial Code. Some of the important edicts of the legal codes were that it forbade privileges based on birth, allowed freedom of religion, and specified that government jobs should go to the most qualified.

Public works: Under Napoleon, Paris was reconstructed in 1802. Wide roads, known as *boulevards*, were further enhanced. The art treasures brought by Napoleon from Italy were catalogued and brought together at the *Louvre*. Napoleon also oversaw the construction of bridges, network of canals and waterways. During his rule, the principal sea ports were enlarged and fortifications built, especially at Cherbourg and Toulon.

Check Your Progress

6. In which year did Napoleon get an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader?
7. Why did Napoleon's attack on Russia in the year 1812 fail?
8. In which year did the Napoleonic Code become overwhelmingly influential to other European nations?

2.4 NAPOLEON EMPIRE AND THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

After becoming the Emperor of France, Napoleon won victories in the War of the Third Coalition against Austria, Prussia, Russia, Portugal and allied nations. His notable victories include the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, where Napoleon defeated the armies of the Russian and Austrian Empire and the Battle of Friedland in 1807 where another army of the Russian Empire was defeated. His military victories gave Napoleon the reputation of being a great military strategist. In 1807, Napoleon signed the Treaty of Tilsit, which effectively ended two years of war on the European continent. The series of wars that Napoleon fought have come to be collectively known as the Napoleonic Wars. Through these wars Napoleon extended the rule and influence of France over much of Western Europe and into Poland. Napoleon's victories resulted in France becoming the supreme power on the European continent. During the height of its power, the French Empire under Napoleon had 130 départements, ruled over 44 million subjects, maintained an extensive military presence in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Duchy of Warsaw, and could count Prussia and Austria as nominal allies.

The Continental System: The period from 1806 to 1814 in European history can be considered to be the struggle between Napoleon's France and Great Britain. After effectively taking control of the European continent, Napoleon wanted to turn Europe into a closed economy. To do this, he had to first contend with the British. Napoleon's reason for turning Europe into a closed economy was because he wanted to protect French commerce and trade from British competition. Through this, Napoleon wished to restore the French colonial empire. Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree in 1806 which proclaimed a state of blockade against the British Isles and closed French and allied ports to ships from Britain or its colonies. The Berlin Decree was extended by the Decrees of Warsaw and Milan in 1807 and Fontainebleau in 1810. However, the defect in the Continental system soon became apparent. The boycott of British goods did not hurt the British significantly; however, as a lot of European countries were dependent on English goods, the boycott resulted in the Austrians, Prussians and Russians turning against Napoleon. Moreover, the French Empire proved to be too vast to be governed effectively; the blockade of the British Isles also did not work effectively since Napoleon lacked a strong navy. The disastrous Russian invasion of 1812 ended Napoleon's hold on the European continent. Napoleon was finally defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 by the Seventh Coalition, an amalgamation of armies from Britain, Netherlands, Prussia, Hanover, Nassau and Brunswick. After his defeat, the British exiled Napoleon to the island of St. Helena, 1870 kms from the west coast of Africa, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

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Check Your Progress

9. Which were Napoleon's most notable victories after he became the Emperor of France?
10. In which year did Napoleon sign the Treaty of Tilsit?
11. Which period in the European history can be considered to be the struggle between Napoleon's France and Great Britain?
12. When did Napoleon issue the Berlin Decree and what did it proclaim?

2.5 DOWNFALL AND IMPACT OF NAPOLEON

Let us now study the downfall and the impact of Napoleon on the world.

2.5.1 Invasion of Russia

The Congress of Erfurt decided to protect the Russo-French coalition, and the leaders had a gracious personal relationship after their first meeting at Tilsit in 1807. However by 1811, tensions had built up and Alexander, the Russian Emperor, was under pressure from the Russian nobility to call the alliance off.

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An initial symbol that showed that the ties had deteriorated was the Russian's virtual desertion of the Continental System, which resulted in Napoleon threatening Alexander with grave consequences if he formed a coalition with Britain. By 1812, Alexander's advisors advised on a possibility of an invasion of the French Empire and the recapture of Poland. After receiving intelligence reports on Russia's war groundwork, Napoleon expanded his Grande Armée to more than 450,000 men. He ignored repeated suggestion against an incursion of the Russian heartland and organized for an offensive campaign; on 23 June 1812, the invasion started.

In an effort to gain increased support from Polish nationalists and patriots, Napoleon named the war 'the Second Polish War'—the First Polish War was the Bar Confederation uprising by Polish nobles against Russia in 1768. Polish patriots wished for the Russian portion of Poland to be joined with the Duchy of Warsaw and an independent Poland established. This demand was rejected by Napoleon. He states that had promised his ally Austria this would not take place. He refused to manumit the Russian serfs due to concerns this might incite a reaction in his army's rear. The serfs later assigned atrocities against French soldiers during France's retreat.

The Russians foiled Napoleon's aim of a decisive engagement and rather retreated deeper into Russia. A short attempt at resistance was made at Smolensk in August; the Russians were overpowered in a series of battles, and Napoleon resumed his move forward. The Russians again prevented battle, however, at a few places this was only achieved because Napoleon unusually hesitated to attack when the opportunity arose. Due to the Russian army's scorched earth tactics, the French found it very difficult to forage food for themselves and their horses.

The Russians finally offered battle outside Moscow on 7 September: the Battle of Borodino resulted in about 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead, wounded or captured, and may have been the bloodiest day of battle in history up to that point in time. However, the French had won, the Russian army had recognized, and withstood, the major war Napoleon had hoped would be decisive. According to Napoleon, 'The most terrible of all my battles was the one before Moscow. The French showed themselves to be worthy of victory, but the Russians showed themselves worthy of being invincible.'

2.5.2 Defeat of Napoleon

The Russian army retreated back and left Moscow city. Napoleon entered the city, thinking its fall would end the battle and Alexander would come to negotiate peace. However, on orders of Feodor Rostopchin, the city's governor, instead of capitulation, Moscow was burned. After a month, thinking about the loss of control back in France, Napoleon and his army left (Figure 2.3). Thus, Napoleon could not win the war; however, by the time of his return, the harshest winter had set in. Due to this, more than half

of his remaining army died on the way to France. He was terribly defeated in this war and never ever could recover from the losses.

Napoleon Bonaparte



Fig. 2.3 Napoleon Returns from Russia

The French suffered greatly in the course of a ruinous retreat, including from the harshness of the Russian Winter. The Armée had begun as over 400,000 frontline troops, but in the end fewer than 40,000 crossed the Berezina River in November 1812. The Russians had lost 150,000 in battle and hundreds of thousands of civilians.

2.5.3 The Downfall of Napoleon

Defeat in the war with Russia changed the fortunes of Napoleon. This prompted the other European power to form a coalition and defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. Due to more defeats by the Austrians in Italy and the British in Spain, Napoleon relinquished his crown in the April of 1814. The French government was handed over to the king Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. Louis XVIII restored the White Flag of the Bourbons and recognized Catholic Christianity as the state religion; however, he left most did not alter many changes that were incorporated due to the Revolution. Despite Louis XVIII's attempts at conciliation, Napoleon remained extremely popular. In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic and died there in 1821. Louis XVIII retained the French throne and France was permitted to retain the borders of 1790.

2.5.4 Factors that led to the Defeat of Napoleon

It is just not possible to point out every factor that resulted in Napoleon's defeat. However, among the main causes of his defeat, the following can be pointed out:

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- Napoleon never had adequate naval power. Even after the Battle of Trafalgar, the Royal Navy, which had held the dominance for many years before, was almost unchallenged. Napoleon's lack of sea power meant that the French danger of invasion to Britain was done away with.
- Without sufficient naval power, Napoleon's Continental System had several loopholes. This System became a far greater burden to the nations that fell under Napoleon's control instead of to Britain, whose natural resources backed her wealth and authority to increase quickly during these years, in spite of her considerable losses to privateers and the numerous bankruptcies.
- Napoleon's catastrophic Moscow campaign of 1812 had its origins in Alexander's denial to carry on his support of the Continental System in his effort to manage the whole coastline of Europe.
- Thereafter, Napoleon attacked both Spain and Portugal. He misjudged the national resistance to him in both these countries.
- He also made a serious miscalculation after British forces had entered Portugal under Wellesley in 1808. British sea power was once again of vital significance in this case.
- The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of a united British and Spanish army, followed by Fuentes D'Onoro, 1811 and Salamanca, 1812. The French never recovered from these defeats.
- Nationalism had its maximum support from the middle class of Europe which was unfavourably affected by Napoleon's taxation and Continental System.
- After 1807, Napoleon's judgment declined; for instance, he believed that Moscow was the heart of Russia and that to confine it would result in Russian defeat. This was of course proven wrong.

2.5.5 Impact of Napoleon

There are very few examples of men who have dominated an age; Napoleon is one of them. He had many characteristics that made him great, such as the following:

- He was charismatic.
- He was a master psychologist and politician.
- He was ambitious to the point of self-destruction.

He started wars that resulted in vast devastation and a new political order. He shaped his times, but was also product of his times as he went with the currents of his respective history and adeptly diverted those currents to suit his own requirements. However, he ultimately failed in his venture.

To a great extent, Napoleon's career was the outcome of the military and political forces, which he obtained from the Revolution and mended for his own aims. In military affairs, he was lucky to take over the military improvements that came into fashion during the French Revolution such as mass conscription, which made feasible the use of block tactics to attack in column and get rid of the need for supply lines, thus, making French armies highly mobile. Therefore, the two main features of Napoleonic warfare—massed firepower and mobility—were previously present when he began his career. However, it was Napoleon's brilliance that knew how to use them efficiently in his first Italian campaign against the Austrians.

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Politically, France had suffered a complete decade of revolutionary chaos by 1799, rendering the government unsteady and corrupt. Church policies were disliked, principally since they had triggered uncontrolled inflation. People were sick of this chaos and desired a more stable government that would render their lives more secure. Thus, the interaction of military innovations that made Napoleon a national hero and the desire for a strong, secure government that Napoleon assured resulted in his seizure of power in 1799. More military victories against the Austrians in Italy permitted him to strengthen his position of power and he declared himself the emperor of France in 1804.

Napoleon was also a very active administrator. His internal reforms did a great deal in consolidating a few accomplishments of the French Revolution and suppressing others. One way to review his government of France is to look at how it conformed to the revolutionary motto: 'Liberty, fraternity (i.e., nationalism), and equality'. For political and civil liberties, Napoleon mainly suppressed them with firm censorship and the organization of a virtual police state to protect his authority.

However, Napoleon saw equality as a politically practical idea that he could keep up with little threat to his power. After all, everyone, at least all men, were equally under his power. One of his main achievements as a ruler was the institution of the Napoleonic Civil Law Codes, which made all men equal under the law. At the same time, these codes maintained men's legal power over women.

Napoleon saw nationalism as crucial to maintaining the faithfulness of the French people to his government. After all, it was the fortitude of nationalism that had inspired its armies in an extraordinary series of victories that had in particular benefited Napoleon and permitted his rise to power. For Napoleon, the trick was to establish a personality cult around himself so that the French people would recognize him with France itself and, thus, make loyalty to him comparable to loyalty to France. Though, by identifying public loyalty with one man, Napoleon unintentionally weakened the inspiring force of nationalism and, thus, his own authority.

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In general, Napoleon's internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns. Naturally, he founded his style of rule in the countries he won. However, he incorrectly thought that the administrative and legal changes of the Revolution he carried to the rest of European countries could be separated from the concepts of Nationalism and Liberalism (liberty and equality) that had offered those reforms life and substance. Thus, Napoleon's imperial rule unintentionally promoted these concepts of nationalism and liberalism.

Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century. Europeans took these concepts, along with the influential new technologies set free by the industrial revolution, to set up colonies all over the globe by 1900. Paradoxically, these European powers, like Napoleon became victims to the power of these concepts when their subjects used them in their own freedom struggles after the World War II.

2.5.6 Causes of Napoleon's Failure

Napoleon attained the height of his power after signing the Treaty of Tilsit with Russia in 1807. However, his decline began soon after. Historians attribute his downfall to many reasons. The most important of which was the disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812. Although Napoleon's campaign in Russia initially went well, the onset of the Russian winter resulted in catastrophic losses for Napoleon's army and signalled the turning point in the Napoleonic Wars. Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, considered by many to be the greatest novel ever written, delineates in graphic detail the invasion by Napoleon and the effect it had on Russian society. Other than the invasion of Russia, the other causes of Napoleon's failure were the following:

- Failure of the Continental System
- Tactic of constant warfare known as Napoleonic War
- His ego which led him to constantly want more and more land
- Guerilla warfare in Spain that tied down his army; Napoleon himself stated that it was 'the Spanish Ulcer' that ruined him
- Limitations of human genius despite aspirations

The French Revolution followed by the rule of Napoleon gave France a new system of governance. For a few years after the revolution absolute monarchy was replaced by universal franchise, something that was unthinkable before. Although dictatorial rule was once again established by Napoleon, the formation of the Napoleonic codes showed that the order of feudalism was coming to an end and a new order was emerging in the world. Even Napoleon maintained that he was the child of the revolution. Looking back from the future, we can safely say that the torch of 'Liberty, Equality

and Fraternity' was lit by the French Revolution of 1789 and it was one of the most significant moments in the evolution of modern democratic nation-states.

Napoleon Bonaparte

Check Your Progress

13. How many people were killed in the Battle of Borodino?
14. Who fought the Battle of Talavera (1809)?
15. Which class of Europe supported nationalism the most and why?

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2.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state.
2. Napoleon became the First Consul of France in 1799.
3. Napoleon chose to join the Jacobins because he believed that if one had to choose sides, then one might better choose the side that is victorious instead of that which is weak.
4. Napoleon defeated the British when they entered France in 1793. In 1796, Napoleon beat the Austrians.
5. To resolve the dispute between the Church and state Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (1800–1823).
6. Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader in 1795.
7. Napoleon's attack on Russia in the year 1812 failed because it was at the time of the onset of one of the worst winters in the Russian history. This was a catastrophe. Of the 614,000 men who had accompanied him, only 40,000 came back. The temperature got to -30°C when they were returning.
8. The Napoleonic Code became overwhelmingly influential to other European nations in the 19th century.
9. After he became the Emperor of France Napoleon's most notable victories included the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, where Napoleon defeated the armies of the Russian and Austrian Empire and the Battle of Friedland in 1807 where another army of the Russian Empire was defeated.
10. Napoleon signed the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807.
11. The period from 1806 to 1814 in European history can be considered to be the struggle between Napoleon's France and Great Britain.

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12. Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree in 1806, which proclaimed a state of blockade against the British Isles and closed French and allied ports to ships from Britain or its colonies.
13. The Battle of Borodino resulted in about 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead.
14. The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of a united British and Spanish army, followed by Fuentes D'Onoro, 1811 and Salamanca, 1812.
15. The middle class of Europe supported nationalism the most because it was unfavourably affected by Napoleon's taxation and the Continental System.

2.7 SUMMARY

- Napoleon Bonaparte was known as an outstanding strategist who had earned the admiration of his men through valour and heroism under fire, careful planning and an unusual approach towards warfare.
- Napoleon overthrew the Government and with the help of his army, he joined forces in a *coup d'état* to remove the Directory from power and set up the Consulate.
- 1800 saw Napoleon as the First Consul of France and in a position of total power.
- In 1795, Napoleon displayed his qualities as a daring military leader.
- He was successful in saving the Convention from collapse and completely eliminated all those against it. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the Directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.
- Napoleon carried out reforms in the following domains:
 - o Legal
 - o Governmental
 - o Educational
 - o Administrative
 - o Fiscal
- Napoleon's foreign policy was dynamic. His trade policy is one of the highlights of his dynamic foreign policy.
- In order to break England's dominance on the market of France, Napoleon imposed exorbitant duties on British goods.
- Napoleon captured Malta from England in an effort to defeat the British at sea.

- He also affected the internal affairs of Switzerland and dissolved its Unitary Constitution, replacing it with Federal Constitution.
- The Continental System or Continental Blockade was also one of the foreign policies of Napoleon in his conflict with England and Ireland. This was a reaction to the marine embargo of the French coasts endorsed by the British government on the 16 May 1806.
- Napoleon released the Berlin Decree on the 21 November 1806, which resulted in an enormous embargo against British trade. This embargo ceased on 11 April 1814, following Napoleon's first abdication.
- One of the reasons for the downfall of Napoleon was the failure of the Continental System. England was able to manufacture goods cheaper and better than any country.
- Another big reason for his downfall was the conquest of Russia. His invasion of Russia destroyed his own army, which resulted in his enemies grouping together and attacking him.

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2.8 KEY WORDS

- **Checkmate:** It refers to a check from which a king cannot escape.
- **National budget:** It is a government budget; a legal document that is often passed by the legislature, and approved by the chief executive-or president.
- **Ideologues:** It refers to an adherent of an ideology, esp. one who is uncompromising and dogmatic.
- **Civil code:** It is a systematic collection of laws designed to comprehensively deal with the core areas of private law.
- **Department of State:** It is a department or ministry of the government.
- **Clergy:** It refers to the body of all people ordained for religious duties, esp. in the Christian Church.
- **Lycee:** It is a school for students intermediate between elementary school and college.
- **Napoleonic Code:** It was the French civil code, established under Napoleon in 1804.
- **Commercial Code:** A commercial code is a code once used to save on cablegram costs.
- **Duchy:** It refers to the territory of a duke or duchess; a dukedom.

2.9 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short Answer Questions

1. What changes did Napoleon incorporate in the French legal system?
2. What problems did Napoleon face when he reached the peak of his power?
3. What administrative reforms did Napoleon introduce?
4. Define the Concordat of 1801.
5. What characteristic features made Napoleon great?

Long Answer Questions

1. Napoleon's rise to power was a result of his military genius, luck, and timing. Do you agree? Justify your answer in detail.
2. Describe the changes incorporated by Napoleon in the French state.
3. In addition to the invasion of Russia, what were the other causes of Napoleon's failure?
4. Evaluate Napoleon's foreign policies and the manner in which they affected his domestic achievements.

2.10 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 3 FOREIGN POLICY OF NAPOLEON AND AFTERMATH

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Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Foreign Policy of Napoleon
- 3.3 The Congress of Vienna, 1815
 - 3.3.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress
 - 3.3.2 The Holy Alliance
- 3.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Words
- 3.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 3.8 Further Readings

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, the four powers which were instrumental in overthrowing Napoleon in a series of wars (the Napoleonic Wars), convened the Congress of Vienna at Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. The Vienna Congress was drafted to restore peace in Europe and realign the social and political order to prevent imperialism within Europe. But the Congress was shaped with conservative political and social views. What it achieved politically was to reinstate balance of power and legitimacy. Socially, the Congress stopped most revolts and uprisings. From 1815 to 1848, the Congress of Vienna was successful in ensuring peace and order in the region.

Metternich, the chief minister of autocratic Austria and the country's representative at the Congress, wanted to contain France. To ensure that France remains politically and militarily weak, the Congress of Vienna purposely surrounded the country by stronger nations. Metternich also wanted legitimate governments in these countries. Hence, the Bourbons of France, Spain, and Naples were restored, so were the ruling dynasties in Holland, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Modena. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England formed a Concert of Europe that promised gave each other support, if revolutions broke out. The Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England agreed to defend the status quo against any threat to the balance of power. Spain revolted in 1820 and the revolution was suppressed by the French

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troops. Also in 1820, Austrian troops were ordered to stop the revolution of Naples.

In this unit, you will learn about the Congress of Vienna, an effort by the four major adversaries of Napoleon to rob France of its power and in the process redraw the map of Europe.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the foreign policy of Napoleon
- Analyse the significance of the Congress of Vienna, 1815

3.2 FOREIGN POLICY OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon contributed to administrative reforms in European countries. He introduced far-reaching reforms in France to strengthen the administration. Some of the reforms introduced by him included recruitment to government posts on the basis of merit; establishment of a common system of law to assure equality to all French Citizens; religious freedom to all citizens; and improvement in the system of judicial administration, etc.

These reforms were so popular that the successors of Napoleon could not diverge from them. Even the people of other European countries were attracted by these reforms and tried to copy his administrative system in their country. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were:

- Holland
- Belgium
- Spain
- Federal State of Rhine
- The Grand Duchy of Warsaw
- Switzerland
- Italy

In most of these countries, feudalism and serfdom were totally abolished and the citizens were assured full religious freedom. They also significantly borrowed from Napoleon's legal code. No wonder the reforms introduced by Napoleon in France were gradually introduced in other European countries.

Napoleon, to a great extent, contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe. In his enthusiasm to make France a great nation, he brought a

number of other European countries like Spain, Germany, Portugal, Prussia, etc., under his control.

The French soldiers by their presence in these countries taught the people that nation was above everything else and no sacrifice was big enough for the cause of the nation. It was this spirit of nationalism that ultimately inspired the people of various European countries to rise against Napoleon and assert their independence.

Finally, Napoleon unconsciously contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy. He contributed to the unification of Germany by amalgamating a number of small German states into a federal unit and providing them an excellent system of administration. Thus, he taught the Germans, first lessons of unity which ultimately culminated in the unification of Germany in 1870.

Similarly, he also promoted the spirit of national unity among the Italians by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a Republic of Italy. Foscolo, the Great Italian poet, has described Napoleon as the liberator of Italy.

Thus, we can say that despite enormous loss of human lives, which was caused due to military adventures of Napoleon, his rule proved to be a boon for the countries of Europe insofar as he implanted the principles of French Revolution, encouraged the growth of democracy, provided impetus to reforms, promoted nationalism and contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy.

Check Your Progress

1. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Name the prominent European countries who introduced these reforms.
2. When did the unification of Germany take place?

3.3 THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1815

The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to the twenty-five years of war. Napoleon's eastward march to Russia spelled his doom. The strong French army of 422,000 soldiers was left to die in the harsh winter of Russia in 1812. Though Napoleon managed to return home with 30,000 troops, Paris was lost in 1814 and Napoleon had to flee.

The Allies (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) began negotiations and realignment of European territories even though Napoleon made a dramatic return to rule France for a Hundred Days (March–July,

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1815). The Congress' signed the Final Act (the Second Peace of Paris) nine days before Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo on 18 June 1815.

The fall of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult situations for diplomats of the time. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by his enterprises, all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814-June 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. Present were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.

3.3.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress

The main task of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, returned to his throne, and Genoa was returned to him. There was a general understanding that the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the re-arrangement of Europe. That is to say, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should be restored. However, this principle was ignored according to the suitability of the Allied powers.

Demands of Russia

The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given back to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the 18th century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus, largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality, to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian emperor was to be King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Prussia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces on the condition that she should be indemnified elsewhere. She, therefore, fixed her attention upon the rich kingdom of Saxony with important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, as compensation. Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims, but Austria, England and France opposed them stoutly. The latter even agreed to go to war to prevent the aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favourable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him. They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coast line on the Baltic.

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Russian acquisitions

Russia emerged from the Congress with a good number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks, also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian acquisitions

Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.

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Fig. 3.1 A Portrait of the Vienna Congress

Source: <http://pub.uvm.dk/2008/democracycanon/images/figur25.jpg>

English acquisitions

England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.

The Map of Italy

Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took possession, as has been said, of the richest and, in a military sense, the strongest provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louises, wife of Napoleon, and as princes, connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to their thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also re-established.

No union or federation of these states was affected. It was Metternich's desire that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, a geographical expression, and such it was.

Changes in the map of Europe

Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these:

- Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden
- Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all
- Frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched

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Fig. 3.2 Map of Europe

Source: <http://edtech2.boisestate.edu/lockwoodm/FrenchRev/images/CongVien.jpg>

Character of the Congress

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

Criticism of the Congress

Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years.

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It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavours. Phrases, such as ‘the reconstruction of the social order’, ‘the regeneration of the political system of Europe’ durable peace based upon a just division of power were used by the diplomats of Vienna to impress the people of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage. But the people were not deceived. They witnessed the unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of people, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

3.3.2 The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies—Prussia and Austria—and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign.

The document stated that it was the intention of the powers, henceforth, to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. The other powers, thus, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the ‘holy allies’.

The Quadruple Alliance

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The Congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

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Check Your Progress

3. Name the two more significant documents that were signed by the allies in addition to the Treaties of Vienna.
4. Name the famous battle in which Napoleon was defeated ending the Napoleonic era.

3.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were:
 - Holland
 - Belgium
 - Spain
 - Federal State of Rhine
 - The Grand Duchy of Warsaw
 - Switzerland
 - Italy
2. The unification of Germany took place in 1870.
3. In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance.
4. Napoleon was defeated in the battle at Waterloo on 18 June 1815.

3.5 SUMMARY

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- Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, the four powers which were instrumental in overthrowing Napoleon in a series of wars (the Napoleonic Wars), convened the Congress of Vienna at Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815.
- The Vienna Congress was drafted to restore peace in Europe and realign the social and political order to prevent imperialism within Europe.
- The Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England agreed to defend the status quo against any threat to the balance of power. Spain revolted in 1820 and the revolution was suppressed by the French troops.
- Napoleon contributed to administrative reforms in European countries. He introduced far-reaching reforms in France to strengthen the administration.
- Napoleon, to a great extent, contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe. In his enthusiasm to make France a great nation, he brought a number of other European countries like Spain, Germany, Portugal, Prussia, etc., under his control.
- The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to the twenty-five years of war.
- The Congress' signed the Final Act (the Second Peace of Paris) nine days before Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo on 18 June 1815.
- The fall of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult situations for diplomats of the time.
- The main task of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814.
- The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe.
- Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces on the condition that she should be indemnified elsewhere.
- Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the

Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley.

- England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire.
- The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome.
- In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance.

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3.6 KEY WORDS

- **Imperialism:** It refers to a country extending its political control and influence over another country.
- **Serfdom:** It prevailed in medieval Europe in which a tenant farmer was bound to a hereditary plot of land and to the will of his landlord.
- **Nationalism:** It is the desire of attaining political independence of people of a country controlled by another nation.

3.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the foreign policy of Napoleon.
2. What is the significance of the Congress of Vienna, 1815?
3. List some reforms introduced by Napoleon in France to strengthen the administration.

Long Answer Questions

1. How did Napoleon contribute to the unification of Germany?
2. Discuss the changes which happened in the map of Europe post Congress of Vienna, 1815.
3. Do you think that the actions taken by the Congress of Vienna, 1815 were fair and just? Give reasons for your answer.

3.8 FURTHER READINGS

NOTES

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UNIT 4 THE CONCERT OF EUROPE AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848

*The Concert of Europe
and the Revolutions of
1830 and 1848*

NOTES

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Concert of Europe
- 4.3 Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in France
 - 4.3.1 Revolution of 1848
- 4.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Key Words
- 4.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Readings

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The 19th century in European history was a period marked by the collapse of many empires such as the Spanish, French, Chinese, Holy Roman and Mughal. This paved the way for the growing influence of empires like that of the British, Russian, German as also Japan and the United States, imposing armed warfare in addition to developments in technology and discoveries. Following the fall of the French Empire and its allies during the Napoleonic Wars, the British Empire transformed to the world's most powerful empire, taking over one fourth of the world's population and one-fifth of the total land territories. It established Pax Britannica, supported trade and fought against growing piracy. The 19th century was a period of inventions and discoveries, with major advancements in the domains of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, electricity and architecture that formed a base for the technological developments of the 20th century. The Industrial Revolution started in Great Britain. The Victorian time period was disreputable for making young children work in mills and mines, in addition to strict moral legislations related to virtue and gender aspects. Japan commenced on a programme of brisk modernization after the Meiji Restoration, prior to defeating China, under the Qing Dynasty, during the First Sino-Japanese War.

As you know, Europe, in the 19th century, saw many revolutions and redrawing of the political maps. It was a time of upheaval that continued even into the 20th century, in the form of the First and Second World Wars. Both wars caused a lot of destruction and can be marked as the turning point in the history of mankind.

In this unit, you will learn about three important landmarks in the history of Europe—the Concert of Europe and the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and the causes for each.

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4.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Examine the Concert of Europe
- Explain the factors and background of the Revolution of 1830 in Europe
- Discuss the background and causes of the Revolution of 1848 in Europe

4.2 CONCERT OF EUROPE

The idea of a Concert of Europe was suggested by the Austrian Chancellor, Kaunitz, in 1771 and it found expression in the Treaty of Chaumont which was made in March 1814, by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The same four Powers tried at the Congress of Vienna to effect “a regeneration of the political system of Europe.” The Congress of Vienna sealed the triumph of reaction and restored the pre-revolutionary conditions as far as possible.

However, the fear of revolution was so great that the European Powers could not rest contented until they had devised some means to secure the permanence of Vienna Settlement.

With that object in view, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered on 20 November 1815 into the Quadruple Alliance for the maintenance of the treaties with France and for the consolidation “of the intimate relations now uniting the four sovereigns for the welfare of the world.”

The Powers also agreed to hold periodical meetings “either under the immediate auspices of sovereigns or through their ministers.” Those meetings were to be “devoted to the grand interests they have in common, and to the discussion of measures which shall be judged to be most salutary for the repose and prosperity of the nations and for the maintenance of peace of Europe.” It was in this way that the Concert of Europe was formed.

This system of diplomacy by conferences was one of the most interesting experiments of 19th century. The period that followed the Quadruple Alliance is known as the Era of Congresses. On many occasions, the members of the European Concert met at different places to discuss questions that needed collective deliberations.

In these Congresses, the dominating personality was the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich Under his leadership and guidance, the Quadruple

Alliance practically established a dictatorship of the Powers. However, the Concert of Europe broke up in 1823 after holding four conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, at Troppau in 1820, at Laibach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822.

*The Concert of Europe
and the Revolutions of
1830 and 1848*

Check Your Progress

1. Who suggested the idea of a Concert of Europe?
2. In which year was the Quadruple Alliance signed?

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4.3 REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848 IN FRANCE

In 1820, there was revolution in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies against the autocratic rule of King Ferdinand I. As a result of the revolutions, liberals were able to extract a constitution from him. Metternich acted swiftly and secured the support for the principle of intervention from the King of Prussia and the Czar of Russia. An Austrian army was invited to restore order. The opposition collapsed and the constitution was abrogated. In 1821, soldiers mutinied in Piedmont and King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated in favour of his brother, Charles Albert, who was sympathetic to the liberal cause. Charles Albert proclaimed a constitution but, Austrian troop intervened again and absolute monarchy was re-established.

On 16 September 1824, Charles X came to the throne of France. He was the younger brother of Louis XVIII, who, after the defeat of Napoleon I, and through the agreement among Allied powers, had been made the King of France. Both Louis and Charles had come to be rulers due to their hereditary rights rather than through popular consent, and this was one of the two key causes for *Les Trois Glorieuses*, or the ‘Three Glorious Days’ of the July Revolution.

After Napoleon resigned from power in 1814, the political affairs of continental Europe, and France in particular, were in complete chaos. The Congress of Vienna convened to rearrange the power equation in the continent’s political dynamics. At a time when a large number of European countries were making their presence felt in the Congress, four big powers held the power to make decisions—United Kingdom, represented by her foreign secretary Viscount Castlereagh; Austria, represented by the Chief Minister (and chairman of the Congress) Klemens, Fürst von Metternich; Russia, represented by Emperor Alexander I; and Prussia, represented by King Frederick William III. One more extremely dominant personality at the Congress was Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, a French envoy representing Napoleon. Even though France was regarded an adversary, Talleyrand was

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not stopped from being part of the Congress since he announced that it was under compulsion that he had to submit his forces to Napoleon. Talleyrand's suggestion was that Europe be given back its lawful (i.e., before the invasion of Napoleon) frontiers and governments. This plan was ultimately accepted by the members of the Congress, although with some changes. France returned to its 1789 borders and the House of Bourbon, deposed by the Revolution, was restored to the throne. In the eyes of the Congress, normalcy had been restored to the political dynamics in France and Europe. However, the new king, Louis XVIII, knew that ideas of nationalism and democracy still remained in his country; hence the establishment and signing of the *Charte constitutionnelle française*, the French Constitution otherwise known as *La Charte*. The document, *La Charte* was the second key cause of the July Revolution of 1830.

The revolutionary disturbances in France in 1830 had the effect of spreading to Central Italy, where liberal rebels were looking for support from Louis Philippe, the new French King who had come to the throne after the 1830 Revolution. In the Papal state, the Italian tri-color of red, white and green was raised as a symbol of democracy and nationalism. There were also outbreaks in Parma and Modena against the Hapsburg rulers. These revolutions were once more crushed by Austrian troops.

Italian nationalists advocated a variety of solutions to achieve their goal of a united Italy. In the context of that time, the most radical solution was the republican solution, associated with the name of the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872). Mazzini, whose nickname was the Beating Heart of Italy, was the son of a University professor, from Genoa. As a young Carbonari, Mazzini had been driven into exile by events of 1821. He conducted a persistent campaign of agitation and directed many unsuccessful raids and plots. However, these failures did not dampen his zeal and enthusiasm. Mazzini believed in the free association of people, his slogan being 'God and the people'. Though his outlook was religious, Mazzini had little respect for the Papacy. He founded the political movement Young Italy (*La Giovine Italia*) in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause. Mazzini once stated, 'the tree of liberty does not fructify unless it is planted by the hands of citizens and rendered fertile by the blood of citizens and guarded by the swords of citizens'. His banner had the slogan unity and independence on one side and liberty equality and humanity on other side.



Fig. 4.2 Joseph Mazzini

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4.3.1 Revolution of 1848

In 1848, disturbances in Italy began even before the February uprising in Paris. The first signs in Italy appeared in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where King Ferdinand II was forced to accept a liberal constitution. After the revolution in France, Charles Albert granted a constitution in March 1848, providing for a Parliament elected by tax payers, ministerial responsibilities, the suppression of feudal privileges and granting of individual liberties. When the news of Metternich's fall in Vienna was received, revolutions broke out in Austria-held territories. Austrian troops led by General Radetzky were driven out of Milan and the people demanded the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia-Piedmont.

In Venice, a republic was proclaimed under Daniel Manin (1804-1857). Following the expulsion of Austria from Lombardy, Charles Albert declared war on Austria to drive them out of the territory remaining in their hands in Northern Italy. His forces were joined by detachments from the Two Sicilies, the Papal State, Tuscany and Lombardy. But this enthusiasm was short-lived and in May 1848, the Pope declared that he could not fight Catholic Austria. The troops of the Two Sicilies were also withdrawn with King Ferdinand II having crushed the revolution there. Consequently, in July 1848, Charles Albert was defeated by Radetzky at Custoza and Austria re-occupied Lombardy. The Italian extremists were not deterred and staged an uprising in the Papal States in the beginning of 1849. The Pope fled to Naples and a Roman Republic was proclaimed under Joseph Mazzini's leadership. The Republicans also gained in the Two Sicilies and in Tuscany. Charles Albert also tried to revive the struggle but was again defeated at Novarra. Disappointed, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had proclaimed the second Republic in France, intervened in Rome.

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Ignoring the constitutional provision not to act against a fellow Republic, Napoleon III sent an expedition to Rome. The French forces were gallantly resisted by Mazzini's followers, led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, but were defeated in July 1849. Pope Pius IX was restored as ruler and now turned hostile to liberals and nationalists. The rulers of Tuscany were restored with Austrian aid while Sicily was brought under Ferdinand's control. In Venice the Republic collapsed as well. Thus, the Revolution of 1848 failed in Italy, except for Sardinia-Piedmont, which remained the only state to retain its constitution. This would prove to be extremely significant for future events.

Nationalist sentiments in Italy did not lessen despite the failures of 1848-49. A few revolutionaries remained Republicans, while most nationalists were converted to a movement directed against the provincial governments and the influence of the clergy. One such nationalist was Daniele Manin. Manin led a new organization called the Italian National Society (*Società Nazionale Italiana*) which put forward the idea of a united Italy under Victor Emmanuel II. This program was so broadbased that it attracted all shades of nationalist opinions.

Cavour's Rise

After the Revolution of 1848, the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy. The man responsible for this achievement was Count Camillo Di Cavour. Born in 1810, Cavour belonged to a noble Piedmontese family. As a teenager, he served in the Sardinian army. His extensive reading of English writings and his subsequent visit to Britain made him a typical mid-nineteenth century liberal. Being of a practical bent of mind, he understood the importance of the scientific and technological changes of his time.

In 1847, when censorship was relaxed, he founded a newspaper in which he proposed moderate reforms and Italian unity. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies where he made an immediate impact. In 1850, he was made Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and two years later, became Prime Minister. He modelled his welfare state on the English liberal models. Sardinia-Piedmont already had a parliamentary system of government. Under Cavour's directions, a flourishing commerce and industry was established. Tariffs were reduced, factories were built and the use of machinery encouraged. An improvement in communications was brought about through expansion of roads and the railways. Not only did Cavour believe in individual liberty in economic, political and social matters, but he also believed in equality. Thus, in Sardinia taxes were equitably distributed.

Cavour was a pragmatist and therefore, was willing to seek the support of different political elements – Right, Centre and Left – for the realization of his aim of Italian unity. He seized whatever opportunity that presented itself, taking decisions based on sound judgments. He had no patience for the

revolutionary ideologies of the Republicans. He reduced the influence of the Church, for he believed that reactionary conservatives were as dangerous as radicals. Thus, Jesuits were expelled and monastic establishments suppressed. Cavour maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.

Metternich

Klemens Wenzel von Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance can be estimated from the phrases such as 'era of Metternich' and 'system of Metternich'. He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the 19th century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomatists, thoroughly at ease amid all the intriguing of European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born 'to prop up the decaying structure' of European society. He felt the world rested on his shoulders.



Fig. 4.3 Klemens Wenzel von Metternich

My position has this peculiarity he says, that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be. He asks the question, Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how? He admitted at the end of a long career that he had 'never strayed from the path of eternal law', that his mind had 'never entertained error'. He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

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On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His lifelong role was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in violent and lurid phrases. It was ‘the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with open jaws to swallow up the social order’. He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself God’s lieutenant in supporting it. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. He regarded the talks of liberty, equality and constitutions as pestilential. He defied himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced he was the resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence and aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only ‘change daylight into darkest night’. Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the centre of the European stage.

Check Your Progress

3. Which were the two key causes of the Revolution of 1830?
4. When did Charles X occupy the throne of France?

4.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The idea of a Concert of Europe was suggested by the Austrian Chancellor, Kaunitz, in 1771.
2. The Quadruple Alliance was signed in 1815.
3. The two key causes of the revolution of 1830 were: first, the fact that both Louis and Charles had come to be rulers due to their hereditary rights rather than through popular consent and second, the establishment and signing of the *Charte constitutionnelle française*, the French Constitution otherwise known as *La Charte*.
4. On 16 September 1824, Charles X came to the throne of France.

4.5 SUMMARY

- The idea of a Concert of Europe was suggested by the Austrian Chancellor, Kaunitz, in 1771 and it found expression in the Treaty of Chaumont which was made in March 1814, by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria.
- With that object in view, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered on 20 November 1815 into the Quadruple Alliance for the

maintenance of the treaties with France and for the consolidation “of the intimate relations now uniting the four sovereigns for the welfare of the world.”

- On many occasions, the members of the European Concert met at different places to discuss questions that needed collective deliberations.
- In 1820, there was revolution in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies against the autocratic rule of King Ferdinand I.
- On 16 September 1824, Charles X came to the throne of France. He was the younger brother of Louis XVIII, who, after the defeat of Napoleon I, and through the agreement among Allied powers, had been made the King of France.
- After Napoleon resigned from power in 1814, the political affairs of continental Europe, and France in particular, were in complete chaos.
- The revolutionary disturbances in France in 1830 had the effect of spreading to Central Italy, where liberal rebels were looking for support from Louis Philippe, the new French King who had come to the throne after the 1830 Revolution.
- In 1848, disturbances in Italy began even before the February uprising in Paris. The first signs in Italy appeared in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where King Ferdinand II was forced to accept a liberal constitution.
- Ignoring the constitutional provision not to act against a fellow Republic, Napoleon III sent an expedition to Rome. The French forces were gallantly resisted by Mazzini’s followers, led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, but were defeated in July 1849.
- After the Revolution of 1848, the Kingdom of Sardinia–Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy.
- Cavour was a pragmatist and therefore, was willing to seek the support of different political elements – Right, Centre and Left – for the realization of his aim of Italian unity. He seized whatever opportunity that presented itself, taking decisions based on sound judgments.
- Klemens Wenzel von Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance can be estimated from the phrases such as ‘era of Metternich’ and ‘system of Metternich’.

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4.6 KEY WORDS

- **Congress of Vienna:** It was the Congress drafted to restore peace in Europe and realign the social and political order to prevent imperialism within Europe, in the year 1814.

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- **Young Italy:** It refers to a political movement founded by Joseph Mazzini in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause.
- **Three Glorious Days:** This alludes to the three days of the July revolution of 1830.

4.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What was the significance of the Concert of Europe?
2. Write a short note on Cavour's career, relating it to the Revolution of 1848.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the developments that led to the Revolution of 1830.
2. Describe the developments before and after the 1848 Revolution.

4.8 FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK - II

Napoleon III

NAPOLEON III AND UNIFICATION OF NATIONS

NOTES

UNIT 5 NAPOLEON III

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 Domestic and Foreign Policy of Napoleon III
- 5.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Words
- 5.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 5.7 Further Readings

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the Concert of Europe, and the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in France.

In simple words, Napoleon's foreign policy was much less successful than his domestic policy. Largely, the objectives of his foreign policy were to present France as the supporter of oppressed people throughout Europe, to create new countries, which would be grateful to France, to establish cordial relation with Britain and to maintain a balance of power between Austria and Prussia. Napoleon's foreign policy was shown effective in the Crimean War 1854-56. His objectives were to increase French prestige, to isolate Austria, to lessen Russian influence and to maintain good relation with Britain.

In this unit, you will study about the domestic and foreign policy of Napoleon III.

5.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the domestic policy of Napoleon III
- Examine the foreign policy of Napoleon III

5.2 DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY OF NAPOLEON III

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In this section, we will discuss some of the major political happenings in the Napoleonic era.

1. The Coup d'état of December, 1851

On 2 December 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck and struck hard. During the early morning hours many of the military and civil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were arrested and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent to occupy the Legislative Chamber. Posters were posted on all the walls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purposes, which included a remodelling of the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I at the time of the Consulate. 'This system, created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her again.' The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these suggestions.

2. The Massacre of the Boulevards

The President had not neglected to make preparations for the uprising. His police controlled all the printing establishments, as in the period of crisis emerged flaming appeals to revolt, also all the bell towers, which were accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection. Nevertheless the third barricades were raised. On 17 October 1851 occurred 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards.' Over 150 were killed and a large numbers were wounded. Paris was cowed. Thousands of arbitrary arrests were made and martial law was implemented. Probably a hundred thousand arrests were made throughout France.

All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported out of country or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the republicans, who were for years completely silent. Having thus, abolished all opposing leadership, Louis Napoleon appealed to the people for their opinion, as to entrusting him with power to remodel the Constitution along the lines indicated in his proclamation. On 20 December, 7,439,216 voted in favour of so doing, and only 640,737 voted in the negative. While the election was in no sense fair, the issue presented was neither clear nor simple, while force and intimidation were resorted, to, yet it was evident that a large majority of Frenchmen were willing to try again the experiment of a Napoleon.

3. The Second Empire Established

The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign. It was a mere formality when a year later (21 November 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of re-establishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte the emperor.

Hence, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of France, and the Second Empire was established.

Internal Policy

The President, who, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favourable circumstances, had known how to become an emperor, was destined to be the ruler of France and a leading figure in European politics for eighteen years. He announced at the outset that what France needed, after so turbulent a history, was a government by an enlightened and benevolent autocrat. Then when the necessary work of reorganization had been carried through and the national life was once more in a healthy state, the autocrat would give way to a liberal form of government which the country would then be in a condition to manage and enjoy. Hence, although he promised ‘reasonable freedom’, he considered necessary to bring in effect the measures of a police state.

As a matter of fact, the history of the Second Empire falls into two divisions—autocracy unlimited from 1852 to 1860, and a growing liberalism from 1860 to 1870, when the Empire collapsed, its programme woefully unrealized. The political institutions of the empire were largely based on those of the Consulate. The machinery was elaborate, but was mainly designed to deceive the French people into thinking that they enjoyed self-government.

The principle of universal suffrage was preserved but was ingeniously rendered quite harmless to the autocrat. There was a legislative body and there was a Senate, but their powers were very slight. The important fact was not the activity of these bodies but of the one man. France was no longer a land of freedom. The new ruler was particularly ruthless in his policy of crushing the Republicans, as he had a very clear instinct that they would never forgive him for having overthrown by violence the Republic, which had honoured him with its highest office and which he had solemnly sworn to protect from all enemies.

The Empire—both Repressive and Progressive

In politics a despot stamps out every possible spark of independence. Napoleon was, however, in many other ways progressive. Particularly, he sought to develop the wealth of the country, and his reign was one of increasing economic prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged. It was a period of great business enterprises and fortunes

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were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknown in France. Paris was modernized and beautified on a most elaborate scale and became the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe.

For the prosperity and ‘greatness of France’, he promoted public works, encouraged construction of railroads, establishment of credit institutions and other means to further agriculture and industry. He showed special interest towards the needy. He assured their lower price for bread, hygienic dwellings for workers and established boards of arbitration.

In 1853, Napoleon III married a young Spanish lady of remarkable beauty and of noble birth, Eugenie de Montego, ‘a marriage of love’ as the Emperor told the French people. The Tuileries immediately became the centre of a court life the most brilliant and luxurious of the 19th century.

Concessions to the Liberals

Feeling that his popularity was waning, Napoleon decided to win over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting in 1868 certain reforms which, they had constantly demanded—larger power to the Legislative Chamber and greater freedom of the press. The Empire thus, entered upon a frankly liberal path. The result was not to strengthen, but greatly to weaken it. Many new journals started which were assailed with amazing bitterness. A remarkable freedom of speech characterized the last two years of Napoleon’s reign.

The elections of 1869, fought with virulence, brought more than three million votes for opposition deputies. The results induced Napoleon III to appoint the former Republican Émile Ollivier to form a responsible ministry. After further turbulence following a Bonaparte scandal, the Emperor resorted to plebiscite, and on May 8, 1870, more than 7,300,000 Frenchmen voted to accept all liberal reforms introduced by Napoleon III since 1860.

Foreign Policy

Louis-Philippe wanted to make France a great power again by breaking up the European system created by the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which, incidentally, had imposed great humiliations on France. The Crimean War provided the opportunity to achieve one of his biggest dreams—to form an alliance with Great Britain to stop the Russian march. In 1859, he became aware of his desire ‘to do something for Italy’. And together with Piedmont-Sardinia, he went to war against Austria in order to expel it from Italy. He was convinced with his victory in the Battle of Solferino in June 1859 that he could win this war as well. But due to fear of a possible intervention from the German Confederation he made peace again. His activities in Italy were, however, arousing suspicion among the British. Napoleon, however, knew he had to prove himself through conquests in order to secure legitimacy. But his military adventurisms were unsuccessful. In Mexico he wanted to establish

a satellite government for French export. Despite his military defeat, glory came to France in other areas. Napoleon obtained permission from Egypt to build the Suez Canal. Ferdinand de Lesseps and the creation of the eighth wonder of the world gave France huge glory. It created an expanse of trade, increased revenue and market income for the French. This pleased the British and the two countries kept a friendly relation.

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1. The Congress of Paris (1856)

In 1856, Napoleon III was at the zenith of his power. The Empire had been recognized by all the other states of Europe. The Emperor had, with England and Piedmont as allies, waged a successful war against Russia in the Crimea. He was supposed to have the best army in Europe, and was honoured in the face of the entire world by having Paris chosen as the seat of the congress which drew up the treaties at the end of that war. And now an heir was born to him, the Prince Imperial, as interesting in his day and as ill-fated as the King of Rome had been in his. Fortune seemed to have emptied her full horn of plenty upon the author of the *coup d'état*.

2. Napoleon's Mexican Expedition

Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless and disastrous enterprise.

Mexico was a republic but there was a faction among the Mexicans which wished to overthrow it. This faction, under French inspiration and direction, held an assembly which decreed that Mexico should henceforth be an Empire and that the imperial crown should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria. This assembly represented, perhaps, 350,000 people out of about 7,000,000. It offered a fatal gift. This young prince of 31 was of attractive and popular manners, and of liberal ideas.

Young, handsome, versatile, half poet, half scientist, he was living in a superb palace, Miramar, overlooking the Adriatic, amid his collections, his objects of art, and with the sea which was his passion always before him. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May 1864.

3. Disastrous Outcome of the Mexican Adventure

This entire project, born in the brain of Napoleon III, was to prove hopeless from the start, disastrous to all who participated in it, to the new Emperor and Empress, and to Napoleon. The difficulties confronting the new monarch were

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insuperable. A guerrilla warfare was carried on successfully by Juarez, using up the French soldiers and putting them on the defensive. A greater danger threatened the new empire when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The United States had looked from the first with disapprobation upon Napoleon's project. Now that the Civil War was over, she threatened intervention.

Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico. Maximilian could not remain long an Emperor without Napoleon's support. His wife, Carlotta, returning to Europe to persuade Napoleon in frantic personal interviews not to desert them, received no promise of support from the man who had planned the whole adventure, and in the fearful agony of her contemplation of the impending doom of her husband became insane. Maximilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot on 19 June 1867. The phantom Empire vanished.

4. Napoleonic Wars in Europe

The Mexican expedition was the most expensive enterprise for the French emperor. It has dried the financial resources of his country, which was already disorganized.

It had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in central Europe in 1864–1866, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importance of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitious, aggressive, and powerful military state, Prussia. It had damaged him morally before Europe by the desertion of his protégés to an appalling fate before the threats of the United States. It had lessened his prestige at home.

The Menace of War

Thus clouds were gathering, thicker and ever darker, around the throne of Napoleon III. There were domestic troubles, but, in the main, it was the foreign relations that inspired alarm. The astonishing success of Prussia, which Napoleon might have prevented, that was the sore point. A reorganization so sweeping in central Europe as the overthrow of Austria, her expulsion from Germany, and the consolidation and aggrandizement of Prussia, a powerful military state, upset the balance of power. A feeling of alarm spread through France. 'Revenge for Sadowa,' was 'a cry often heard henceforth. Its meaning was that if one state like Prussia should be increased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a right to a proportionate increase that the reciprocal relations might remain the same.

'Revenge for Sadowa,' was a cry commonly heard hereafter. It meant that if a state, such as Prussia expanded in terms of area and became more powerful, France, which had agreed to it, also was entitled to a fair increase in the same proportion.

In the time period between 1866 and 1870, people started accepting the idea that war would eventually break out between Prussia and France. The governments on both sides also came to believe in this eventuality. Several French citizens wished for ‘revenge for Sadowa.’

Bismarck desired war as a technique of ensuring the unification of Germany because it was clear that Napoleon would not be keen to give his nod to extend the Confederation so as to embrace states in south Germany.

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The Hohenzollern Candidacy

Given the displeasure amongst the conscientious statesmen, conflict was inevitable. Yet, the battle between France and Prussia began suddenly, and took Europe by storm. What was unimagined till the 1st of July, 1870, just broke out on July 15. It all happened in a roundabout way. Due to a revolution in Spain, Queen Isabella had been forced to flee the country. Therefore, there was no Spanish monarch. On July 2, Paris was informed that Leopold of Hohenzollern, who was related to the King of Prussia, had agreed to be the King of Spain. Bismarck had a hand in this, and supported this move even though he was aware of Napoleon’s hostile stand. France did not approve, as was clear from the reports in the papers and the reaction of the French Parliament. A crisis began to brew. There was intervention from other powers, who were all in favour of peace. Eventually, on July 12, Hohenzollern withdrew his candidature.

France Declares War against Prussia

With the withdrawal of Prince Leopold’s candidature, the tension was at once relieved. The fear of war that was looming large, soon vanished. However, there were two people who did not approve—Bismarck and Gramont, the French minister of Foreign Affairs. The former felt so humiliated that he thought he should put in his resignation and give up his public life altogether. The latter, who was known to be an irresponsible and thoughtless politician, was not happy with his diplomatic triumph, and wanted yet another victory, which would further add to Prussia’s discomfort. The Ministry of France demanded that the Prussian King should promise to never ever renew Hohenzollern’s candidacy. The King, however, refused to give in to this demand and gave Bismarck the authority to publish a report on the occurrence. Bismarck, who was waiting for a chance like this, used it to incite the French into declaring war. In his own words, the report was aimed as ‘a red flag for the Gallic bull.’

The impact of the report was evident almost instantly. It made both the countries furious. The Prussians took it as an insult to their King, while the French felt their ambassador had been insulted. In addition, the newspapers were full provocative and false reports in both the countries. Those who were promoting peace were ignored in the ensuing chaos and furore. France declared war on July 15.

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This war went on to be one of the most devastating and catastrophic in French history. Though the French had declared war on the Prussians, the manner in which they did so drove the states of south Germany to join Bismarck's side. France had banked upon the support of these south German states. They felt that the French had insulted them by demanding that the King of Prussia should vow never to accept the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Prussia was joined by Bavaria, Baden and Wurttemberg. The French military failed to estimate the level of difficulty of the work confronting them. They were ill-prepared and ill-equipped. Their numbers were small and their commanders lacked prowess as compared to their Prussian counterparts. Other than a handful of success stories, the war was more a reflection of their failures. The Germans managed to cross the Rhine and successfully entered Alsace and Lorraine.

The French army met with failure at Sedan, and was forced the very next day to surrender to the Germans. Napoleon himself was captured as prisoner of war. On these two days, almost 1,20,000 French soldiers were either killed, injured or taken prisoners.

Such horrendous tragedies resonated throughout the world. France's army ceased to exist. While one had surrendered at Sedan, the other was locked up in Metz. The following mail was received from the Emperor on 3 September: 'The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself am a prisoner.'

Being a prisoner Napoleon could not head the government of France. Therefore, in Thiers words, there was a 'vacancy of power'. The very next day, on 4 September, Sunday, the legislative body was summoned. However, even before they could begin discussing, they were mobbed. Slogans of 'Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!' resounded. Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jules Ferry, followed by the crowd, continued on to the Hotel de Ville where they declared the Republic. The Empress was forced to flee. A Government of National Defence was put together, headed by General Trochu, which remained the actual government of France through the remaining part of the war.

The war between France and Germany spanned approximately six months, from 1 August, 1870 to 1 February, 1871. This war fits into two periods, the Imperial and the Republican. During the Imperial period, that is, in August, the regular armies were, either destroyed or bottled up. Then the Empire fell and the Emperor was imprisoned in Germany. The second period was five-month long. Under the Government of National Defense, France courageously defended itself with full spirit despite the discouraging conditions.

5. The Siege of Paris

The Germans proceeded to Paris, leaving just enough of the army to continue the siege of Metz. Then, on 19 September, one of the most famous sieges in history began, which spanned four months and amazed Europe. Huge stores were gathered in the city, the citizens were given arms, and the defence was full of power and energy. The people of Paris were confident of being able to hold on till the time new armies could be collected and the diplomacy could intervene. To be able to organize new armies, a delegation led by Gambetta, from the Government of National Defense, escaped from Paris by balloon. They went on to set up a seat of government, first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, who was energetic, articulate and highly patriotic, was easily able to impress and succeeded in raising new armies. The Germans were amazed by the power of resistance of these armies, but since they could not be trained due to paucity of time, they could not succeed. They failed to break into the strong iron barricade that protected Paris.

Once the Empire was overthrown, all that was left in the name of war was the siege of Paris, and the armies' endeavoured to break that siege. These efforts did not bear any fruit because Metz fell on 27 October 1870. Starvation led to the 6000 officers and 173,000 men surrendering with hundreds of cannons and war supplies. This was probably the greatest of surrenders recorded in history. After a month, Strasbourg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers became prisoners of war.

The surrender of Metz was catastrophic, especially as it made it possible to send more German armies for the reinforcement of the siege of Paris, and to assault the forces being gathered by Gambetta in the rest of France. These armies were unable to relieve Paris. The troops in Paris could not break through them either. The siege was reduced to a mere exercise in endurance.

Capitulation of Paris

The Germans started bombarding the city in the beginning of January. Some parts suffered immense losses and were destroyed by fires. The people of Paris were on the brink of a famine. There was no beef or lamb available after the second week of November. After the second week of December, people had access to only thirty grams of horse meat daily, per person, which cost approximately two dollars and half a pound; By the second week of January, even bread, of the worst quality, was rationed to three hundred grams. People consumed anything they could lay their hands on, even cats and rats. Rats were available in the market for two francs per piece. By the end of January there was no food available, in any form. As if that was not enough, the winter during that period was one of the worst. The supply of coal and firewood could not meet the demand. Trees in the Champs Elysees (shonza-le-za) and the Bois de Boulogne (bua de bo-Ion) were felled and fires were lit in public

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squares where the poor could warm themselves. Even the wine stored in casks froze. On January 28, Paris surrendered following a gallant struggle.

The Treaty of Frankfurt

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Bismarck's terms of peace were unusually harsh. These terms were stated in the Treaty of Frankfurt, which was signed on 10 May 1871. France was forced to give up Alsace and a big segment of Lorraine, which included the fortress of Metz. France was to pay an absolutely exceptional war compensation of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within three years. France was also expected to support a German army of occupation, which was to be slowly withdrawn as the instalments of the indemnity were paid.

Completion of Italian Unification

In the meantime, other events had taken place as an outcome of the war. Italy seized Rome and thus accomplished her unification. The Pope's rule was therefore terminated. The French battalion which lent its support to the Pope was withdrawn. This happened as a result of the battle of Sedan. The troops of Victor Emmanuel invaded the Pope's own troops, overcame them, and gained entry into Rome on 20 September, 1870. This completed the unity of Italy and Rome was made its capital.

Completion of German Unification

Germany's unification was a more important outcome of the war as also the formation of the Empire. Bismarck had felt it was necessary to engage in a war with France to unify Germany. During the war, Prussia and the South German states negotiated and drew up treaties. The confederation was expanded to cover all the German states. King William I was announced to be the King of the German Empire on 18 January, 1871. As a result of the war of 1866, Austria was expelled from Germany and Italy. With the war of 1870 the unification of both countries was accomplished. While Berlin became the capital of a federal empire, Rome became capital of a unified Kingdom.

Check Your Progress

1. When did the 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards' take place?
2. Mention two significant works undertaken by Napoleon III to enhance the prosperity of France.
3. In which year was the Congress of Paris held?
4. When was the Second Empire established?

5.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. On 17 October 1961 occurred 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards.'
2. Two significant works undertaken by Napoleon III to enhance the prosperity of France are the following:
 - (i) Napoleon III sought to develop the wealth of the country, and his reign was one of increasing economic prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged. It was a period of great business enterprises and fortunes were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknown in France.
 - (ii) Paris was modernized and beautified on a most elaborate scale and became the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe.
3. The Congress of Paris was held in 1856.
4. In November 1852, the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of re-establishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte the emperor. Hence, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of France, and the Second Empire was established.

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5.4 SUMMARY

- On 2 December 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck and struck hard. During the early morning hours many of the military and civil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were arrested and taken to prison.
- The President had not neglected to make preparations for the uprising. His police controlled all the printing establishments, as in the period of crisis emerged flaming appeals to revolt, also all the bell towers, which were accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection.
- All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported out of country or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the republicans, who were for years completely silent.
- The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign.
- The President, who, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favourable circumstances, had known how to become an emperor, was destined to be the ruler of France and a leading figure in European politics for eighteen years.

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- In politics a despot stamps out every possible spark of independence. Napoleon was, however, in many other ways progressive.
- The elections of 1869, fought with virulence, brought more than three million votes for opposition deputies. The results induced Napoleon III to appoint the former Republican Émile Ollivier to form a responsible ministry.
- Louis-Philippe wanted to make France a great power again by breaking up the European system created by the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which, incidentally, had imposed great humiliations on France.
- In 1856, Napoleon III was at the zenith of his power. The Empire had been recognized by all the other states of Europe.
- The Mexican expedition was the most expensive enterprise for the French emperor. It has dried the financial resources of his country, which was already disorganized.
- The Germans started bombarding the city in the beginning of January. Some parts suffered immense losses and were destroyed by fires.
- Germany's unification was a more important outcome of the war as also the formation of the Empire. Bismarck had felt it was necessary to engage in a war with France to unify Germany.

5.5 KEY WORDS

- **Martial law:** It is the *law* administered by military forces that is invoked by a government in an emergency when the civilian *law* enforcement agencies are unable to maintain public order and safety.
- **Sovereign:** It refers to a person who has supreme power or authority. a group or body of persons or a state having *sovereign* authority.
- **Universal suffrage:** It means that every citizen above the age of 18 is allowed to vote.

5.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Coup d'état of December, 1851.
2. What was the outcome of Napoleon's Mexican Expedition?
3. List the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Frankfurt.

Long Answer Questions

Napoleon III

1. Why is the establishment of the Second Empire in France considered both repressive and progressive?
2. Critically analyse the foreign policy of Napoleon III.
3. Describe the war between France and Prussia fought the leadership of Napoleon III.

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5.7 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 6 UNIFICATION OF ITALY

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Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Political Divisions of Italy
 - 6.2.1 The Napoleonic Era
 - 6.2.2 The Role of Joseph Mazzini
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- 6.5 Summary
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6.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the domestic and foreign policy of Napoleon III. It is to be noted that the political unity of Italy was largely affected due to several reasons. There were several events such as the Revolution of 1820, 1830 and 1848 which eventually led to the unification of Italy. Nonetheless, the role and contribution of Joseph Mazzini and Count Camillo Di Cavour cannot be neglected in this reference. This unit, will introduce you to the course of Italy's unification as well as its results.

6.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the political division of Italy
- Explain the course of Italy's unification
- Analyse the results of Italy's unification

6.2 POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF ITALY

The roots of Italian unity can be traced back to ancient times - to the time of the Roman Empire. However, after the decline of Rome, Italy had become a geographical entity characterized by regional diversity. The commercially important towns of the Italian region in the Middle Ages were Milan, Venice,

Genoa and Florence. These towns managed to become autonomous so that, by 1500, they became like Greek city states of the past. Moreover, Italy had only a vague link with the Holy Roman Empire and in spite of the aspirations of a few Italian patriots and the development of a common language and literature, political unity under a monarchy had not been built up.

This lack of political unity was due to the following reasons:

- The medieval German Emperor, who had unsuccessfully tried to dominate Italy, had left behind two conflicting groups, the Ghibellines who supported the maintenance of a tradition connected with Germany and the Guelphs, who rejected that doctrine.
- The Pope, who had both religious and temporal power over Rome and its neighbouring districts.
- The early commercial development of Italian towns had led to trade rivalries.
- The wealth of Italy was immense. The most famous of the banking families was that of the Medicis of Florence, who patronized art and learning and financed geographical expeditions. As a result of this, the Italian peninsula became a counter in the power struggle of the Great powers of Europe from the days of the Renaissance. Italy first passed into Spanish and then to the Austrian sphere of influence. The Bourbons of France had their influence over the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was situated in the southern tip of Italy.

6.2.1 The Napoleonic Era

Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in Northern and Central Italy. At the same time, the southern part of the peninsula was placed under Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat. Napoleon gave Italy a modern administration and Italians became aware of concepts of liberalism and freedom. The territorial re-arrangement showed how delicate the existing structure in Italy was. Due to the seepage of Napoleonic ideas, the revolutionary secret society of Carbonari (Charcoal Burners) was set up. Its aim was the liberation of Italy from foreign control and the obtaining of constitutional government.

The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement Austria was given a commanding position in Italy. This meant the overwhelming influence of Count Metternich, the conservative chancellor of Austria, on Italy. He wanted a return to the old order and the status-quo of pre-revolutionary Europe and was the personification of reactionary aristocracy. In Northern Italy, the regions of Venetia and Lombardy were administered as part of the Austrian/Hapsburg Empire.

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Austrian princes ruled in the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Modena. These together with the Papal States formed central Italy, while the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was in southern Italy. Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, was friendly both with the Pope and with Ferdinand I, the Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies. The system of government of the Metternich era was one which the Italian people found burdensome, especially after they had been exposed to the revolutionary ideas of freedom and liberty. The only ruler in the peninsula with Italian interests at heart was the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I. However he too was soon forced to toe the Austrian line.

Beneath this surface of Metternich conservatism, liberal ideas were gaining acceptance among the middle classes, professionals and business men. This liberal agitation had the twin emphases of constitutional reform and national unity. However, due to severe government controls, Italian liberals had to operate underground. Thus, the Carbonari and the Free Masons conducted their activities through secret societies. The Carbonari had widespread support in Naples and Sicily.

6.2.2 The Role of Joseph Mazzini

Italian nationalists advocated a variety of solutions to achieve their goal of a united Italy. In the context of that time, the most radical solution was the republican solution, associated with the name of the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872). Mazzini, whose nickname was the Beating Heart of Italy, was the son of a University professor, from Genoa. As a young carbonari, Mazzini had been driven into exile by events of 1821. He conducted a persistent campaign of agitation and directed many unsuccessful raids and plots. However, these failures did not dampen his zeal and enthusiasm. Mazzini believed in the free association of people, his slogan being 'God and the people'. Though his outlook was religious, Mazzini had little respect for the Papacy. He founded the political movement Young Italy (*La Giovine Italia*) in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause. Mazzini once stated, 'the tree of liberty does not fructify unless it is planted by the hands of citizens and rendered fertile by the blood of citizens and guarded by the swords of citizens'. His banner had the slogan unity and independence on one side and liberty equality and humanity on other side.



Fig 6.1 Joseph Mazzini

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Giuseppe_Mazzini.jpg

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Check Your Progress

1. What was the main aim of the secret society of Carbonari?
2. In which year was the Peace Settlement of Vienna signed?
3. Who founded the political movement Young Italy and when?

6.3 COURSE OF UNIFICATION

Let us go through the events which led to Italy's unification.

6.3.1 Unification of Northern and Central Italy

Cavour knew that the slogan, *Italia fara da se* (Italy will manage alone) was impractical. The cause of Italian unity would require much more to take on Austria. To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the Crimean War in 1854, on the side of France and Britain, against Russia. Cavour hoped that because of Sardinia's participation, Britain and France would agree to help the cause of Italian unification. Cavour also expected Austria to join Russia in the Crimean War, however, Austria remained neutral. Sardinia did gain something by her participation in the Crimean War. Cavour attended the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, and here he brought up the question of Austrian domination over Italy. He sought the support of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, in expelling Austria from the Italian peninsula and, thus, creating an Italian state.

Napoleon III, who was convinced that his uncle had fallen when he had opposed the national will in Italy and Germany, was responsive. Napoleon III thought that a war with Austria would get him the support of French

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liberals. He also hoped to get some concessions from Sardinia. He saw himself redrawing the map of Europe. Yet, Napoleon III hesitated in helping Sardinia because of the following reasons:

- An Austrian war could be risky because Austria was strong
- A united Italy could be a rival to France in the Mediterranean
- Many French Catholics were opposed to any attempts at Italian unity, which might decrease power of the papacy

An attempt on his life in January 1858 by Felice Orsini made Napoleon III realize that he would have to act on the cause of Italian unity. At a secret meeting held at Plombieres in July 1858, Napoleon proposed that France would help Sardinia drive Austrian troops out of Lombardy and Venetia, which would be incorporated into Sardinia, while the smaller central states and some Papal territories would constitute another state, which Napoleon III secretly thought could be ruled by a Bonaparte. The southern part of Italy would remain unchanged and the Pope would still be sovereign in Rome. In return for this assistance, France would receive Nice (Mediterranean Port) and Savoy (an alpine Province). Napoleon III went on to obtain a promise of Russian neutrality, playing on the Russian resentment of Austrian neutrality during the Crimean War. The marriage of Napoleon III's cousin Prince Victor Napoleon with the Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel II's daughter Clotilde sealed the bargain, which came to be known as the Pact of Plombieres. To win public opinion, Austria was to be made to appear as the aggressor. War broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino.

The success caused peaceful revolutions to break out in Tuscany, Modena and Parma. Nationalists assumed control in these provinces and the rulers were driven into exile. They demanded incorporation of these central Italian states, including the Papal States, into a united Italy under the King of Sardinia. Napoleon III was not prepared for this. The French Catholics blamed their Emperor's intervention for the national movement in the Papal States. Prussia mobilized along the river Rhine. The Austrian troops in Venetia were receiving reinforcements. Not wanting to go to war with Prussia, Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at Villafranca in 1859, without consulting Sardinia. This was a huge setback for Sardinia.

As a result of the conference in Villafranca it was agreed that:

- Lombardy would be given to Sardinia
- Venetia would remain with Austria
- The princes in Central Italy would be restored to their thrones and
- The Pope would become President of an Italian federation

After the conference Italian nationalists and French liberals denounced Napoleon III as a traitor. Cavour resigned as Prime Minister of Sardinia,

convinced that the cause had been lost. The Sardinian King now played his role in Italian unification. The King of Sardinia decided to accept the terms made at the conference of Villafranca and consolidate whatever few gains had been made. The terms of the settlement were formalized in the Treaty of Zurich. The addition of Lombardy to the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont marked the completion of the first stage in the Italian unification.

Villafranca had made the nationalists in central Italy even more determined not to accept their old rulers. They took up the slogan 'Italy will take care of itself'. The people of the central Italian states and of a part of the Papal States held plebiscites and voted to join Sardinia. At first, Napoleon III refused to recognize this. Subsequently, Cavour returned to office and bargained with Napoleon III. Disregarding the conference of Villafranca Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II consequently signed the Treaty of Turin in 1860. Through this treaty, Sardinia gave to France, Nice and Savoy and in return France recognized not only the union of Lombardy with Sardinia but also of Parma, Modena and Tuscany and of the papal province of Romagna. Nice and Savoy had belonged to the first French Republic and the first Napoleonic Empire and had been given to Sardinia-Piedmont by the Vienna Settlement of 1815. The Union of the central Italian States including Papal territory with Sardinia Piedmont marked the second stage of the Italian unification movement.

6.3.2 Movement in the South and Garibaldi's Role

Following the unification of Northern and central Italy there was also a similar movement in the south of Italy. The man largely responsible for the growth of nationalism in the south was Joseph Garibaldi (1807-1882). Garibaldi was a native of Nice and had been sailor in the Sardinian navy. Inspired by the nationalist and republican ideals promoted by Young Italy, he thus took part in a mutiny on his warship and was consequently condemned to death. He escaped and fled to South America, where as a member of the Italian legend, he fought in revolutionary wars for fourteen years. He returned to Italy and led a volunteer army in the Sardinian War of 1848 against Austria and defended the Roman republic. After the defeat of 1849, Garibaldi went to New York where he made a good deal of money. In 1854, he returned to Italy and waited for an opportunity to fight for the freedom of his beloved land.

Southern Italy continued to be ruled in a dictatorial manner under Francis II, the successor of Ferdinand II. In 1860, the people of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies rose in revolt, inspired by the events in Northern and Central Italy. Garibaldi had played his role by mobilizing the masses in support of Victor Emmanuel II, putting his loyalty to Italian unity before his republican sympathies. On receiving the news of the outbreak in Sicily, Garibaldi assembled a volunteer army of 1,000 red shirts, as they were called, to assist the rebels. However, the Governments of Sardinia and the Two

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Sicilies were at peace. With all this diplomatic skill, Cavour openly threatened Garibaldi and his Red Shirts with arrest, but secretly indicated to Garibaldi that he could proceed. The English fleet, patrolling the Mediterranean, helped Garibaldi to land in Sicily. The defending army in Sicily gave in and within three months, Garibaldi and his Red Shirts controlled the island. Garibaldi then crossed over to the mainland, taking possession of Pales. King Francis II fled and took refuge in the fortress of Gaeta.



Fig 6.2 Giuseppe Garibaldi

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Giuseppe_Garibaldi_on_Caprera...jpg

Garibaldi was so popular at this juncture that he could have become a republican dictator. However, he announced that he would march to Rome and hand over Southern Italy to Victor Emmanuel II. This was however dangerous because Napoleon III's French troops were stationed there since 1849 and loyal Catholics opposed an attack on Rome, the seat of the Pope. Cavour and Victor Emmanuel II decided to intervene and Sardinian troops were sent into the Papal State. They then passed on into Naples, where they joined the Red Shirts. Cavour announced the incorporation of Papal territory, except for Rome and its neighbouring districts, into Sardinia, despite the protests of the Pope. Garibaldi put aside his personal preference and handed over the Two Sicilies to King Victor Emmanuel II. King Francis II surrendered and went into exile. Plebiscites were held in the papal states of Marches and Umbria, confirming their annexation to Sardinia-Piedmont. This completed the third stage in the Italian unifications. There were no obstacles, as Austria was in no position to play any role in Italy. British public opinion was also in favour of the Italian cause. From the French point of view, the result far exceeded the wishes of Napoleon III. Consequently, Napoleon III could only strengthen the garrison at Rome and warn Sardinia not to move into what remained of Papal territory.

The first parliament, representing the united Italian nation, excluding Rome and Venetia, met in 1861. Victor Emmanuel II took the title of King of Italy instead of the King of Sardinia-Piedmont. Cavour died six months later, having seen most of his objectives completed.

6.3.3 Venetia and Rome

The new Italian Government entered into an alliance with Prussia against Austria in 1866. When the Austria-Prussian War broke out that year, Italian troops invaded Venetia. However, Italian troops were repulsed by Austrian troops, as was the Italian squadron by the fleet in the Adriatic Sea. However, by the Treaty of Prague in 1866 Austria had to cede Venetia to Italy.

In 1864, a Franco Italian convention had been entered into, whereby French troops were to leave Rome in two years and after the Austria-Prussian War in 1866, the French quit. However, Garibaldi's reappearance on the Roman scene brought the French back.

The Franco-Prussian War in 1871 completed both German and Italian unifications. On the eve of the war, Napoleon III withdrew the French garrison from Rome. Pope Pius IX was left with only his personal guards. When it became clear that Napoleon III could not send his troops back, the Italian government sent its troops to invade and occupy the Papal state. The Pope tried to put up resistance, but a plebiscite vote in favour of the union of the Papal state with the Italian Kingdom decided the issue. Rome became the national capital in 1871 and Italian unity was completed.

6.3.4 Results of Italian Unification

A unified Italy, along with Germany, which unified a few years later, permanently altered the strategic dynamic on continental Europe. On the one hand, Italy never became the dominant military power that Germany, unified under Prussia, did. But on the other, Italy posed a threat on Austria-Hungary's southern flank, and its independence ended hundreds of years of French involvement with the politics on the peninsula. Though they fought unification on the battlefields, Austria almost immediately made overtures to Italy, who joined them in the Triple Alliance in 1882. The unification preceded a degree of cultural unity, as regions of the nation that previously had almost nothing in common with each other found themselves under the same political head.

Check Your Progress

4. What did the Pact of Plombieres denote?
5. Name the two parties who signed the Treaty of Turin in 1860.
6. In which year was the first parliament, representing the united Italian nation held?

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6.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

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1. The main aim of the secret society of Carbonari was the liberation of Italy from foreign control and the obtaining of constitutional government.
2. The Peace Settlement of Vienna was signed in 1815.
3. Joseph Mazzini founded the political movement Young Italy in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause.
4. The marriage of Napoleon III's cousin Prince Victor Napoleon with the Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel II's daughter Clotilde came to be known as the Pact of Plombieres.
5. Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II consequently signed the Treaty of Turin in 1860.
6. The first parliament, representing the united Italian nation, excluding Rome and Venetia, met in 1861.

6.5 SUMMARY

- The roots of Italian unity can be traced back to ancient times - to the time of the Roman Empire.
- Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in Northern and Central Italy.
- The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement Austria was given a commanding position in Italy.
- Following the unification of Northern and central Italy there was also a similar movement in the south of Italy.
- The new Italian Government entered into an alliance with Prussia against Austria in 1866.
- A unified Italy, along with Germany, which unified a few years later, permanently altered the strategic dynamic on continental Europe.

6.6 KEY WORDS

- **Censorship:** It refers to supervision and control of the information and ideas that are circulated among the people within a society.

- **Plebiscite:** It is a direct vote by eligible voters to decide an important public question, such as a change to the constitution, secession, or a similar issue of national or regional importance.

6.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What were the reasons for the lack of political unity of Italy?
2. What were the terms and conditions of the Peace Settlement of Vienna signed in 1815?

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the course of Italy's unification.
2. Comment on the significance of Italy's unification.

6.8 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 7 UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

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Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Objectives
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7.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the political divisions of Italy, the course of Italy's unification and its results. It is to be noted that several attempts were made to unify Germany. One of the early obstacles by the mid-19th century was the idea of a "greater" Germany versus a "smaller" Germany. The first effort at unifying the German states came in the revolutionary year 1848. The next attempt at German unification, a successful one, was undertaken by Otto von Bismarck, the Prime Minister of Prussia. This unit, will discuss in detail all these events which eventually led to the unification of Germany.

7.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Recognize the early attempts to unify Germany
- Discuss the course of Germany's unification
- Analyse the results of Germany's unification

7.2 EARLY ATTEMPTS TO UNIFY GERMANY

Like Italy, Germany also had been characterized by a lack of unity. By the early 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire was restricted to the German speaking peoples, although theoretically it claimed political predominance over all Christian rulers and peoples of Central and Western Europe. By this

period, the German people had become conscious of a common language, a common tradition and a common nationality. They recognized that their political institutions were outdated and needed reform. However, there were conflicts between various groups concerning the methods and goals of reform. There were princes, free cities and knights quarrelling with one another. Moreover, religious dissensions had left half of the German population Protestant while the other half was Catholic. The former were further subdivided into Lutherans and Calvinists. Each German state was devoted to its own form of Christianity rather than to German nationalism.

While there was growth of capitalism in German cities at the beginning of the 16th century as well as the growth of a middle class profiting from Spanish and Portuguese overseas explorations, civil wars had weakened the Holy Roman Empire economically and politically. After the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) the strength of independent German princes grew, having become enriched by the confiscation of property owned by religious organizations. The German princes got rid of local assemblies and established their autocratic rule. Some princes increased their power by conquest or matrimonial alliances. As these independent German states became stronger, the Holy Roman Emperor grew weaker. By the 18th century, Austria was the most famous and influential German state, the Holy Roman Emperor being chosen from the ruling dynasty of Austria, the Hapsburgs. However, Austria included widely different dominions like Bohemia and Hungary. Brandenburg-Prussia, ruled by the Hohenzollerns, was a great power, having a strong army. Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover were the other important states.

Napoleonic Era

During the Napoleonic Era, the number of German states was reduced from three hundred to less than a hundred, through the confiscation of a number of ecclesiastical lands and free cities. Some of these cities to the east of the Rhine River became part of France. After the Holy Roman Empire came to an end a new Confederation of the Rhine under the protection of the French Emperor was formed by some of the German states. In Northern and Western Germany, a kingdom was carved out of German states including Prussia and was governed by Napoleon's brother, Jerome. The most important effect of the Napoleonic conquest of Germany was the abolition of feudalism and serfdom, the recognition of equality of all citizens before law and the application of principles and precepts of the Napoleon Code.

Peace Settlement of Vienna

The Peace Settlement of Vienna, signed after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, made no effort to restore the ecclesiastical states and petty principalities or to resurrect the Holy Roman Empire. Instead, a German confederation of thirty eight states, with a legislature known as the Diet

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was set up. The German Confederation was presided over by the Austrian emperor. Austrian dominance was apparent from the outset even though the confederation was placed nominally under the guarantee of all the powers, all of whom were signatories to the Vienna settlement. At this time, Austria was under control of its conservative chancellor, Prince Clemens Metternich. Metternich was a believer in the old order and a defender of the status-quo. He knew that he could count on the support of smaller German states, all of whom were jealous of Prussia. Thus, any attempt to achieve the promise in the Constitution of the Confederation that a representative form of government would be adopted in the feudal system was curbed by Austria. Though some south German states retained the Napoleonic Code of laws and granted charters, the princes placed restrictions on the press and Parliament while police activities kept liberals under check.

In Northern and Central Germany, conservative rule was rigorously imposed. Prussia abolished provincial tariffs and established free trade within the Kingdom in 1818. The liberal spirit was kept alive in the universities where the students formed secret societies. The middle classes wanted participation in government while the lower classes wanted social reform. The Carlsbad Decrees introduced in the German Confederation in 1819 made detailed provisions for the supervision of university students and professors, restricted the press and forbade the grant of any constitution that was inconsistent with the principle of monarchy. Thus, the forces of reaction remained firmly in control in the German Federation.

The Revolution of 1830

The 1830 Revolution in France had mild repercussions in Germany. In Saxony, Hanover and Hesse rioting by liberals led to their rulers granting constitutional concessions, all of which were short lived. One important effect of the 1830s Revolution in France on Germany was the completion of the *Zollverein* or German Customs Union under Prussian leadership. In the 1840s the ideas of Socialism inspired by Saint-Simon, Fourier and Cabet began to appear in German publications. A paper advocating the principles of national tariffs was brought out. In German and Austrian universities liberals looked to the university professors for leadership. They espoused the cause of national unity and greater freedom, but they were a small group.

Frankfurt Parliament

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France and Metternich fell from power in Austria, crowds of agitators mainly comprising of students and workers, demanded a constitution from King Frederick William IV of Prussia. They took to rioting and put up barricades. The King gave in and appointed a liberal ministry and a constituent assembly, issued a proclamation in favour of unification and even paraded in the streets of his capital Berlin wearing the

revolutionary colour of red, black and gold. This success of the revolutionaries led to the demand for constitutions in the smaller states, where constitutions were subsequently granted. The Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfurt also kept pace trying to change itself into a liberal parliament by modernizing its organization, annulling repressive laws and adopting the flag of red, black and gold. Elections to a German National Assembly were held and liberals obtained a majority. The liberals were mainly lawyers, judges and businessmen. The assembly, known as the Frankfurt Parliament, met with no opposition from existing governments. Even the rival Diet of the Confederation sent greetings to it.

The Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and selected a liberal Austrian prince named Archduke John of Austria as temporary head because it was assumed that the new German Empire would include the German parts of the Austrian Empire. The Assembly also assumed that the new Germany would be a federation and a constitutional monarchy, with a bicameral parliament and ministerial responsibility. One chamber in the parliament would represent the states and the other the people. A declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German Nation was adopted. This declaration has been regarded as a classic expression of mid-19th century European liberalism.

The parliament next commissioned Prussia to act on its behalf against Denmark. The ruler of Denmark, King Frederick VII had tried to integrate the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein on the peninsula, between Denmark and Germany, more closely with the rest of his Danish domains. Thus, Prussia went to war against Denmark. The war ended with a compromise in 1852 called the London Protocol that satisfied neither side.

Counter-Revolution

In the meanwhile, the tide had turned against the Revolution in the Hapsburg Empire in Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Italy and Hungary. Conservatives in Prussia, who were mainly landlords and clergymen, were exerting pressure to halt the work of the Prussian liberals in the Constituent Assembly. The Prussian liberals wanted to abolish the nobility, make the King a mere figurehead and send an army to aid the revolutionaries at Vienna. King Frederick William IV acted, replacing his liberal ministers with conservatives and used his troops to frighten both the Constituent Assembly and the population of Berlin. He then exiled and dissolved the Constituent Assembly, drafted a constitution, whereby power would be with the king and his ministers, though he would consult with a parliament, representing the upper classes and the richer sections of the middle classes.

The liberals at Frankfurt had provided in the constitution adopted in 1849 that the King of Prussia would be head of united Germany. Frederick William IV was hesitant. While he was attracted to nationality, whereby the

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prestige of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns dynasty would be increased, he disapproved of the source of the offer, i.e., the popular elected representatives. He declared that he could not accept the crown from the 'gutter'. He knew that the other German princes might become jealous, not to mention the Hapsburg emperor of Austria. This marked the end of the Frankfurt Assembly, which led to an extremist reaction. Efforts were made to dethrone princes and establish republics. But these were short lived and were suppressed by Prussian troops. German republicans were jailed or exiled.

Yet Frederick William IV was not opposed to the idea of German union. He invited the other German states, without Austria, to form a new union under his presidency but only the lesser states responded and the Erfurt Parliament met in 1850. Austria challenged the proposed Union and was supported by the South German states and Hanover. A showdown between Prussia and Austria seemed imminent. However, rather than face war against Austria, Prussia gave in. Subsequently, a treaty called the Treaty of Olmutz was signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg, Metternich's successor. According to the treaty, Prussia would abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership. The treaty was seen as a complete humiliation for Prussia, with the treaty being called the 'humiliation of Olmutz'. Sometime later, the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt repealed the declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German Nation.

Watching the proceedings at Frankfurt was a young Prussian named Otto Von Bismarck. He concluded that the great questions of the day were not to be resolved by speeches and resolutions but through a policy of 'blood and iron'. This observation was to be of great significance for German unification.

Check Your Progress

1. What was most important effect of the Napoleonic conquest of Germany?
2. What was the main objective of Carlsbad Decrees introduced in 1819?
3. When was the Treaty of Olmutz signed and by whom?

7.3 COURSE OF UNIFICATION

The Italian example and Cavour's war with Austria in 1859 provided the inspiration for a revival of the national movement in the German regions. Plans for unity varied, some wanted a strong central state, others a federation. While some looked to Austria for leadership, others looked to Prussia; however, no one was sure how to solve the Austro-Prussian relationship. New

societies were formed and the liberals spoke out in favour of institutions in several German states. The weakness of Austria had been apparent in 1859 and led to doubts whether she could lead Germany to unity at all. Opinions were now increasingly expressed in favour of Prussian leadership, especially by Prussian conservatives who were dominant in Prussia. They recalled how Frederick William IV had to give in to Austria in 1850 and abandon his plans of a German union.

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Bismarck's Rise to Power

In 1858, Frederick William IV became mentally unstable and Prussian affairs passed into the hands of his brother, William I. William I was conservative and religions-minded, believed in divine right of kings and had a great deal of interest in military matters. William I initiated army reforms. He appointed General Helmuth Von Moltke as chief of the army and Albrecht Von Roon as minister of war. Under William I's reign the number of men conscripted annually into the army increased and the modernization of the army's equipment was carried out.

In 1859, the fear that Napoleon III might invade Austria following Austria's defeat by Franco-Italian forces and Napoleon's subsequent annexation of Nice and Savoy made Prussia think about keeping watch on the River Rhine. Napoleon III's slogan of 'national boundaries' also made the reform of the Prussian army more urgent. William I had plans for expansion but the lower house of the Prussian Diet opposed them. The liberals wanted to make Prussia a constitutional monarchy and thought that by blocking finance for military reform they could make the king give in. Consequently, the king dissolved the lower house and ordered new elections but the result was a majority for the progressives who wanted to make the King promote liberal policies. Thus, a deadlock followed. To break up the stalemate, King William I summoned Otto von Bismarck.

Bismarck belonged to a Prussian Junker family. The Junkers were the landed country gentry who enjoyed influence in Prussian society. Bismarck was brought up to combine the traditions of the aristocracy with patriotism. He did not do well as a student and was considered to lack regularity and discipline, which earned him his dismissal from the civil service. Bismarck was a staunch monarchist and in 1848, had been in a minority of two in voting against the vote of thanks to King Frederick William IV, when the king promised to grant a constitution.

Bismarck's Realpolitik

Bismarck believed in Realpolitik and defended the existing Prussian set up against the liberals. He approved of the constitution of 1850 with the Parliament, but he was active in promoting a conservative party, which opposed the liberals. In 1851, he entered the Prussian diplomatic service

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and from 1851-1859 served as Prussian representative to the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt. This gave him valuable insights into German politics and heightened his dislike of Austria. As ambassador of Prussia at Petersburg from 1859-1862, Bismarck learned Russian and won the regard of the Czar. He also served as Ambassador to Paris for a few months where he correctly gauged the character of Napoleon III. In 1862, he was summoned to Berlin by King William I, on the advice of von Roon, to break the impasse with the Prussian Parliament.

Thereafter, Bismarck was to be in charge of Prussian affairs. At the outset, Bismarck tried to negotiate with the progressives in the Prussian Parliament, but this did not achieve any results. In 1863, the progressives refused to vote for the Budget, unless Bismarck was dismissed. Consequently, Bismarck by passed the legislators, collected taxes without Parliament's vote and went ahead with army reforms, applying the budget of the preceding year for the current year.



Fig 7.1 Otto Von Bismarck (left) Albrecht Von Roon (center) and Helmuth Von Moltke (right)

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BismarckRoonMoltke.jpg>

Relations with Austria

After becoming in charge of Prussian affairs, Bismarck was determined to make a definite settlement of the Austro-Prussian issue. He knew that this could involve war, since Austria would not easily give up her prime position in Germany. Bismarck felt that even if war occurred, the reformed army

could be used to create a unified Germany, in which Prussia would occupy the chief position and Austria would be excluded by force.

Throughout the 1860s, Bismarck directed the course of events towards the realization of this aim. To Bismarck, war was a tool to achieve ends; however, diplomacy was still preferable. Like a good craftsman, Bismarck used the appropriate tool at the right time and for the proper purpose. Thus, when the Revolution of 1863 broke out in Poland, Bismarck used this event to gain the support of the Czar of Russia. He offered the Czar his assistance and signed the Alvensleben convention in 1863, while other powers provided Russia with interfering advice. In the same year, Austria proposed a reform of the German Confederation, but Prussia refused to participate.

Austro-Prussian War

Bismarck knew that the answer to opposition by Liberals at home was accomplishment abroad. The occasion presented itself when the King of Denmark tried to capture the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein into a centralized German state in opposition to the will of the German Confederation. Prussia joined Austria in a concise successful war against Denmark. Bismarck, however, was sure that Prussia needed to completely subsume the northern German confederation, which would require the expelling of Austria from German matters. Bismarck's first task was to ensure that there was no coalition against him. He had no problems gaining support from Alexander II of Russia because of the Alvensleben convention in 1863. Bismarck was also able to charm Napoleon III with blurred promises of territorial gains along the Rhine River, which he did not intend to keep. Bismarck, actually, had very little for Napoleon III, once referring to Napoleon III as the 'sphinx without a riddle'. When Austria declined to renounce its role in German affairs, Bismarck was prepared.

In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in war. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in a Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating the Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of the senior Germanic state. This resulted in a clearer partition between Austrian and German interests and forced the smaller states to line up themselves alongside the Prussians, with whom they shared more economic ties because of the Zollverein customs agreement.

After Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia at the Battle of Sadowa, Bismarck showed his mastery of 'realpolitik'. He provided Austria with liberal terms, as he knew well that he might need the neutrality, if not the collaboration, of Austria in the future. Austria paid no compensation and lost no land to Prussia. However, Austria was forced to cede Venice to Italy. After the war, the German Confederation was disbanded and Austria decided to withdraw from German affairs. The territories north of the Main River were

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joined into a new North German Confederation led by Prussia. The Catholic states of the south remained autonomous, although they formed coalitions with Prussia.

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Bismarck next turned to the parliament. He understood that nationalism was his main weapon to force the parliament to accept his terms and conditions. During the attack on Austria in 1866, he had progressively tied Prussia's destiny to the 'national development of Germany'. He established a new federal constitution for the North German Confederation. In this constitution, each state held its own local government, but the Prussian King became the president of the confederation and the chancellor – Bismarck - was answerable only to the president. The federal government (literally comprising of King William I and Bismarck) managed the army and foreign matters. The legislature had two houses; one appointed by the states, the other elected by the universal male suffrage. He then secured his border in Prussia by asking the Prussian Parliament to issue a special indemnity bill to endorse (after the fact) all the government's expenditure between 1862 and 1866. Here, Bismarck's success in uniting the northern German states and establishing a legislature where all could take part was paid off. The liberals saw achievement beyond their wildest dreams and agreed to cooperate.

7.3.1 Completion of German Unification

The Franco-Prussian war broke out in July 1870. The Second Empire of France found that it had no sympathizers. Napoleon III thought that Austria might join him but Austria wanted to first observe the likely outcome of hostilities between the two sides and this was not favourable to France. As for Italy, Napoleon's willingness to withdraw the French garrison from Rome deprived him of the bargaining power with Victor Emmanuel II. The South German states joined Prussia. The French forces were no match for Moltke's efficient and more numerous military machines. The French defeat at Sedan in September 1870 marked the first phase of the struggle and led to the collapse of the French Second Empire. Bismarck let it be known that he would not make peace with France unless Germany should be safeguarded against future French intervention. This was to be secured by taking the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. However, the new republican government of France declared that it would not give up any territory. Thus, the war between the two sides continued until January 1871, when the German armies marched into Paris. The subsequent surrender by the French led to an armistice so that elections could take place to elect a French National Assembly, which could have the authority to conclude peace. By the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and agreed to pay an indemnity of 1 billion dollars (5 milliard francs). The German occupation army remained in Northern France until the indemnity was paid in 1873.

The most important result of the war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

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7.3.2 Comparison between German and Italian Unification

The similarities and differences between German and Italian unification are enumerated as follows:

Similarities

- In both Italy and Germany, unification was achieved through war
- In both countries the obstacle to unification was Austria but in Germany, Austria was not a hated foreign power but the leader of the German states
- Both unification movements used the same methods of risk taking, provocation and diplomacy

Differences

- Unlike the House of Savoy, the Hohenzollerns of Prussia were new challengers for control in their respective countries
- Prussia, unlike Sardinia-Piedmont, was a great power and tackled her problems with her own resources and did not have to depend upon foreign aid
- Prussia counted more on her economic leadership in the Zollverein, than on liberalism. Moreover, the strength of her armed forces was another factor while public opinion counted only in the last stage of the unification movement
- It has been stated that Prussia did not lead the German states to unity as Sardinia-Piedmont had in Italy, but imposed unity

7.4 RESULT OF GERMAN UNIFICATION

Let us discuss the consequences of German Unification in the 19th century.

- **Entente Cordiale:** Before Germany, France was the largest western European land that always affected their neighbours through the French revolution and Napoleon. France later lost Alsace-Lorraine and forced to seek compromise with Britain, their traditional enemy.
- **Industrialization:** Germany began to industrialize fast and created huge industries that outperformed other lands in Europe. This

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influenced other nations like Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia to learn from Germany so they could compete with it.

- **Eastern Europe Question:** As Russia began to replace the Ottomans in dominating Eastern Europe under the ideals of pan-slavism, new lands were formed and threatened Germany's interest to build the proposed Berlin-Baghdad railway that could import oils from the Middle East without the need of the Suez Canal. Both Germany and Russia became enemies and later started the First World War.
- **Dual Alliance:** After Austria lost the German unification war to Prussia, the Habsburgs were forced to compromise with Hungary to create Austria-Hungary. The empire was inhabited with multi-ethnic people with different languages that always caused tensions which made Austria-Hungary to become more dependent on Germany.
- **Franco-German enmity:** Before Germany, France were the rivals to the Habsburgs due to competition between catholic monarchs in which France was successful until Germany defeated France. This enmity became a contest between romance vs Germanic culture in Europe which caused tension in neutral lands like Belgium and Luxemburg.

Check Your Progress

4. What were the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Frankfurt signed in 1871?
5. Mention two similarities between the Unification of Italy and Germany.

7.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The most important effect of the Napoleonic conquest of Germany was the abolition of feudalism and serfdom, the recognition of equality of all citizens before law and the application of principles and precepts of the Napoleon Code.
2. The Carlsbad Decrees introduced in the German Confederation in 1819 made detailed provisions for the supervision of university students and professors, restricted the press and forbade the grant of any constitution that was inconsistent with the principle of monarchy.
3. The Treaty of Olmutz was signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg, Metternich's successor.
4. By the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and agreed to pay an indemnity of 1 billion dollars (5

milliard francs). The German occupation army remained in Northern France until the indemnity was paid in 1873.

5. Two similarities between the Unification of Italy and Germany are the following:
- (i) In both Italy and Germany, unification was achieved through war
 - (ii) In both countries the obstacle to unification was Austria but in Germany, Austria was not a hated foreign power but the leader of the German states

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7.6 SUMMARY

- Like Italy, Germany also had been characterized by a lack of unity.
- While there was growth of capitalism in German cities at the beginning of the 16th century as well as the growth of a middle class profiting from Spanish and Portuguese overseas explorations, civil wars had weakened the Holy Roman Empire economically and politically.
- During the Napoleonic Era, the number of German states was reduced from three hundred to less than a hundred, through the confiscation of a number of ecclesiastical lands and free cities.
- The Peace Settlement of Vienna, signed after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, made no effort to restore the ecclesiastical states and petty principalities or to resurrect the Holy Roman Empire.
- The 1830 Revolution in France had mild repercussions in Germany. In Saxony, Hanover and Hesse rioting by liberals led to their rulers granting constitutional concessions, all of which were short lived.
- The Italian example and Cavour's war with Austria in 1859 provided the inspiration for a revival of the national movement in the German regions.
- Bismarck belonged to a Prussian Junker family. The Junkers were the landed country gentry who enjoyed influence in Prussian society. Bismarck was brought up to combine the traditions of the aristocracy with patriotism.
- Bismarck belonged to a Prussian Junker family. The Junkers were the landed country gentry who enjoyed influence in Prussian society. Bismarck was brought up to combine the traditions of the aristocracy with patriotism.
- After becoming in charge of Prussian affairs, Bismarck was determined to make a definite settlement of the Austro-Prussian issue.
- Bismarck knew that the answer to opposition by Liberals at home was accomplishment abroad.

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- The Franco-Prussian war broke out in July 1870. The Second Empire of France found that it had no sympathizers.
- Before Germany, France was the largest western European land that always affected their neighbours through the French revolution and Napoleon.
- After Austria lost the German unification war to Prussia, the Habsburgs were forced to compromise with Hungary to create Austria-Hungary.

7.7 KEY WORDS

- **Capitalism:** It is an economic system where private entities own the factors of production.
- **Ecclesiastical:** It means belonging to or connected with the Christian Church.
- **Socialism:** It is an economic system where everyone in society equally owns the factors of production.
- **Armistice:** It is an agreement between countries who are at war with one another to stop fighting and to discuss ways of making peace.

7.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What were the early attempts to unify Germany?
2. Write a short note on the Revolution of 1830.
3. Mention the steps taken by the Frankfurt parliament after the break out of the Revolution of 1848.
4. Briefly mention the results of unification of Germany.

Long Answer Questions

1. Critically analyse the rise of Bismarck to power in Germany.
2. Evaluate the political events which completed the unification of Germany.
3. Compare and contrast the similarities and difference between the unification of Germany and Italy.

7.9 FURTHER READINGS

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**BLOCK - III
EASTERN QUESTION, WARS AND
PEACE SETTLEMENT**

**UNIT 8 THE EASTERN QUESTION
AND OTHER EVENTS**

Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of the 19th Century
- 8.3 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
 - 8.3.1 Greek War of Independence
 - 8.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
- 8.4 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
 - 8.4.1 The Crimean War
 - 8.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano
- 8.5 Treaty of Berlin (1878)
- 8.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 8.7 Summary
- 8.8 Key Words
- 8.9 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 8.10 Further Readings

8.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the unification of Germany. In this unit, you will study about the relationship that European nations had with one of the most important empires that transcended Europe and Asia—the Ottoman Empire.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, due to its proximity to the European continent, the Ottoman Empire did not remain unaffected due to the outcomes of the influential wars among the European powers. In addition, the events and political instability within the empire itself rendered it in the middle of the complex affairs. These causes prepared a fertile ground for the clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers.

In this unit, you will read about the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, the Greek War of Independence, British ascendancy over Turkish Sultan, Russian suggestion for dismemberment of Turkey, Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin.

8.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century
- Discuss events such as the Greek War of Independence
- Explain the reasons for British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
- List the causes and consequences of the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars
- Discuss the highlights of the Treaty of Berlin

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8.2 OTTOMAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The modernization of the Ottoman Empire started during the worst days of European imperialism. In the 19th and 20th century, all across the world, Europeans were capturing and colonizing the lands of other nations. The British, French, Germans, Austrians and Russians employed modern techniques of warfare to build great empires. Only a few lands in Asia or Africa could not be captured; these included Japan, Liberia, Thailand, Turkey and a few regions too remote for European powers to reach. However, Turkey's success in remaining its own master is not often cherished. The nation remained independent because it fought with and survived the pressure put forward by the European powers.

The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior. The European Imperialist powers sensed a great opportunity to take away lands occupied by the Ottomans and making them their own colonies and thus constantly plotted the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. Against the powerful Western European imperialist armies, the Ottomans were at a great disadvantage since they lacked European education, European industry or powerful European armies. They were forced to struggle and lose wars while defending their empire. Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly Russia. As and when they tried to bring new changes in their social system, their resources and finances were directed towards the wars being fought and in the defence of the country, instead of modernization. Russian armies took away Rumania and Bulgaria from the Ottomans; Britain captured Cyprus and Egypt; Austria got hold of Bosnia. Eventually Britain and France divided the lands of the Ottoman Arab lands between them. The worst calamity that

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occurred was the exodus of millions of Turks and other Muslims from the conquered lands into what remained the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman losses demanded massive expenses. Just as the Ottoman reform had started to rejuvenate their lands in Europe, those lands were captured by others. Great amount of money was spent in modernizing areas, and then more money was spent to protect them; however, all regions were lost. Millions of expatriates had to be housed which caused a huge strain on the Ottoman economy. The Ottomans were thus forced to take loans at ruinous rates both to modernize and to defend themselves, until even the interest could not be paid.

The Ottomans may have been sick, but they were not permitted to cure themselves. In its place, those around them did what they could to make sure that the illness led to death. Like other nations, the Ottoman Turks eventually could not stand against the forces of European Imperialism. This is in no way surprising. The extraordinary fact is not that the Ottomans lost land to European imperialists (there were numerous non-European countries that lost land to these powers), but that the Ottomans held on so long. Their losses to more dominant Europeans started at the end of the 17th century and went on for more than 200 years. In spite of their military weakness, the Ottomans survived European imperialism for more years than the United States has existed up to now. The Ottoman Empire finally did yield during the First World War. Yet even at its end, the empire held on astonishingly well. Combating against the English, the French and the Russians, the Ottomans lasted through almost four years of war. And at the end of those four years, the Turks regrouped to keep hold of their independence.



Fig 8.1 Ottoman Empire and European Powers

The astonishing fact of modern Turkey is that the Turks managed to forge a nation for themselves when numerous others were falling under the grasp of European Imperialism. In the history of the world, it was extremely unusual that the Turks could endure militarily against all odds. It is also extraordinary that the Turks could modernize their society and economy, under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, along European lines and were able to maintain their independence from the European powers. Despite the attempts of his neighbours, the ‘Sick Man’ of Europe recovered and lives on.

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Check Your Progress

1. Why was the Ottoman Empire known as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’?
2. Name the European powers which were militarily far superior to the Ottoman Empire.

8.3 GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND BRITISH ASCENDANCY OVER THE TURKISH SULTAN

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the influence of the British on the Turkish sultan are one of the most significant events to have occurred in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Let us discuss them one by one.

8.3.1 Greek War of Independence

In the previous section, you read that Cyprus was captured by Britain. This links our discussion to the brief history of Greece; especially, the Greek War of Independence. The land of Greece has been famous the world over for Alexander the Great. In ancient times, Greece was one of the most advanced civilisations in the world. Their influence was such that the ideas of Greek philosophers like Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, etc., shaped the enlightenment movement of the European Renaissance more than a millennia later. In fact, most western intellectuals trace the history of ‘Western Civilisation’ back to the days of the Greek city states. In the Middle Ages, however, Greece came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In the early 19th century, the war fought for the establishment of the free Greece republic is known as the Greek War of Independence.

The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and

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France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, which was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia.

After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, a huge portion of Greece came under Ottoman rule. During that time, there were recurrent rebellions by Greeks attempting to gain independence. In 1814, a secret society called the Filiki Eteria was established with the objective of fighting for the freedom of Greece. The Filiki Eteria planned to start revolutions in the Peloponnese, the Danubian Principalities and Constantinople. The first of these revolts started on 6 March 1821 in the Danubian Principalities; however, it was soon subdued by the Ottomans. Due to these events in the north, the Greeks in the Peloponnese sprung into action and on 17 March 1821, the Maniots declared war on the Ottomans. As the month ended, the Peloponnese was in open rebellion against the Ottomans and by October 1821, the Greeks, led by General Theodoros Kolokotronis, had captured Tripolitsa. The Peloponnesian revolt was rapidly followed by revolts in Crete, Macedonia and Central Greece, which was eventually curbed. In the meantime, the temporary Greek navy was attaining successes against the Ottoman navy in the Aegean Sea which helped them to thwart the Ottomans from sending reinforcements by the sea.

Soon, different Greek factions developed tensions that led to two consecutive civil wars. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Sultan negotiated with Mehmet Ali of Egypt. The latter decided to send his son Ibrahim Pasha to Greece with an army to suppress the rebellion in return for territorial gains. In February 1825, Ibrahim landed in the Peloponnese and had instant success; by the end of 1825, most of the Peloponnese had fallen to Egyptian forces. The city of Missolonghi, which was put under siege by the Ottomans since April 1825, fell in April 1826. Although Ibrahim was beaten in Mani, he succeeded in repressing most of the rebellion in the Peloponnese and retaking Athens.

After long-lasting negotiation, three great European powers, i.e., Russia, the United Kingdom and France, agreed to interfere in the war and each nation sent a navy to Greece. The allied fleet intercepted the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino once they came to know that the combined Ottoman–Egyptian fleet was going to attack the Greek island of Hydra. Following a standoff that lasted for a week, a battle started that resulted in the annihilation of the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet. With the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.



Fig 8.2 *Battle of Navarino*

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Naval_Battle_of_Navarino_by_Garneray.jpg

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8.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan

The year 1842 witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan Abdülmecid I. Abdülmecid I ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of Stratford Canning, who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841. A man of commanding personality, majestic bearing, and haughty address, Canning soon obtained a complete moral ascendancy over the weak and well-meaning young Sultan.

Immediately after becoming ambassador, Canning sought to check the growth of Russian influence and prevented Czar Nicholas I from crowning his triumph in the Russian-Turkish war through the treaties of Adrianople and Hünkâr İskelesi by further oppressive treaties in 1848 and 1853.

In 1848, the revolution in France caused waves of revolutions in Lombardy, Hungary and Danubian principalities. Czar Nicholas I was determined to curb democratic revolutions on his own border. He had long cherished the role of being the 'policeman of Europe' maintaining the balance of power that had been established through the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 and suppressing all revolutionary uprisings in Europe. Therefore, Nicholas I sent his army to Moldavia under the terms of Treaty of Adrianople and asked the Turks to repress the movement at Bukharest. He then proceeded to use Moldavia as a base for operations against the Hungarian rebels. When the Ottoman Empire protested, the Czar adopted a dictatorial attitude. Canning encouraged the Turkish sultan to resist the Czar's demand. Things assumed serious dimensions after some Hungarian leaders took refuge on Turkish soil. Austria and Russia demanded the extradition of the leaders who were given asylum by the Ottomans at the instigation of Canning. Thereupon, Russia and Austria broke off its relations with Turkey. The Czar ordered his

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troops to proceed to Bersarbia, but was greatly surprised to find English and French fleets at the entrance of Hellespont. This convinced Nicholas I that the Ottomans were not alone and Russia would have to encounter resistance from the English and French fleets. Therefore, on 7 November 1849, he withdrew the demand for extradition. This was seen at the time as being a great rebuff for the Russian Empire.

Canning's term in Constantinople lasted from 1842 to 1852, and during this period, he emerged as one of the most important figures in Constantinople. Using his guile, Canning was able to use the Turkish Sultan to stop Russian designs. As British influence over the Ottoman Court increased, the Turks came to be seen increasingly as British clients. When Canning's old friend Edward Stanley, now Earl of Derby, formed the government in 1852, Canning hoped to accept position of Foreign Secretary, or at least the position of ambassador in the Paris embassy. However, Canning was raised to peerage as the Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, in the County of Somerset. Canning came back home in 1852, but when Aberdeen's coalition government was established, he was sent back to Constantinople once again.

Canning came back to Constantinople in the midst of a disaster caused due to the dispute between Napoleon III and Nicholas I over the safety of the holy places. Nicholas I wanted to renew a Russo-Turkish Alliance on the pattern of the Treaty of Hünkâr Ýskelesi. With this object he had sent as ambassador to Constantinople, General Prince Menshikov with a proposal to support Turkey with an army of 400,000 men against any Western Power, in return for an extension of the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainadji, by the recognition of a further Russian Protectorate over the Orthodox Christians. Stratford cleverly undermined the position of the Russian ambassador by arguing that any Russian treaty would result in the Ottoman Empire becoming a protectorate under Czar Nicholas I. Canning thus successfully convinced the Sultan to reject the Russian offer. The result of the Sultan's rejection would lead to the Crimean War. After the Crimean War ended in 1856 with the Russian Empire being defeated, Canning left Constantinople for the last time in 1857 and resigned from his post early next year.

Check Your Progress

3. What was the Greek War of Independence?
4. In which year was Greece recognized as an independent nation?

8.4 RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Throughout their existence, the relations between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were extremely tense. In a space of about 300 years,

they fought a total of 12 wars. As you have studied, in the middle of the 19th century, after the Turkish Sultan rejected Menshikov's proposal based on British advice, the Ottomans and the Russians were to fight another war in Crimea, but this time, the war would also involve other great European powers.

8.4.1 The Crimean War

In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the Crimea. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control. Alarmed by the Russian expansion, Britain and France made efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of Russian troops. They feared that the Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as the Ottoman Empire was too weak to stop Russian advances. Britain and France also feared the possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul. However, the attempts at a peaceful settlement failed as the Turkish Sultan was reluctant to grant concessions to the Czar. Turkey formally declared war on Russia on 23 October 1853. When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.



Fig 8.3 Russian annihilated the Turkish fleet at the Battle of Sinope

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Battle_of_Sinop.jpg

The major part of the Crimean War took place in the Crimean region. On 20th September 1854, the Allied army defeated the Russian Imperial Army at the Battle of the Alma; however, the Battle of Balaklava in October 1854 proved to be indecisive. Perhaps the most important battle of the war was the Siege of Sevastopol. Sevastopol was the home of the Czar's Black Sea fleet which threatened British and French interests in the Mediterranean. The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides with over 250,000 soldiers killed during the siege. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the

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Treaty of Paris. As a result of Treaty of Paris, Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube River. Moreover, the treaty made the Black Sea neutral territory which was a huge setback for Russian influence in the region.

The Crimean War was one of the bloodiest wars fought in the 19th century. Many of the dead in the war were not because of battle wounds, but because of diseases that occurred in filthy field hospitals. The war also shattered the idea of great powers working in a united manner. The Treaty of Vienna which had governed the balance of power in the region was broken. The war also was one of the major reasons for the formation of centralized states in Italy and Germany.

8.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano

Despite the Treaty of Paris, tensions remained between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, primarily because of British influence in the Turkish Court. In 1877, the Russian Czar used the excuse of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire. Although the Turkish armies fought valiantly, the Russians advanced within few miles of the Turkish capital Constantinople. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some fierce fighting. On 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrianople. Alarmed by all the Russian advances, the British in early 1878 moved its fleet to Besika Bay. However, by the time it reached the Dardanelles, the Russians had captured San Stefano. Facing disaster, the Turkish Sultan appealed to European powers for mediation in the conflict. Germany's refusal to take part in mediation between the two made the British apprehensive that Russia, supported by Germany, would try to force its own terms on Turkey. In early January, the British ambassador to Russia made it clear to the Russians that any treaty between Russia and Turkey affecting the treaties made in 1856 and 1871 must be a European treaty in order to be valid.

However, the Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on March 3, 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had the treaty been carried out, Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe. But great objections were raised to this settlement by the Greeks and Serbians, who opposed the creation of a 'Greater Bulgaria' because they wanted parts of Macedonia for themselves.

Far more serious was the opposition that came from Britain and Austria. The former did not wish to sit tamely by and see Turkey dismembered to the advantage of Russia, who would, in all likelihood, dominate the new states.

Austria, on her part, was ambitious to get a port on the Aegean, perhaps Saloniki, which the Treaty of San Stefano, if carried out, would put out of its reach. The Czar was clearly told that the Balkan situation was a matter for all of Europe to settle, and that war would be declared against Russia unless it submitted the whole matter to the judgment of an international conference.

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Check Your Progress

5. What was the significance of the Siege of Sevastopol?
6. What were the terms and conditions of the Treaty of San Stefano?

8.5 TREATY OF BERLIN (1878)

As you have read, the Treaty of San Stefano was not accepted by other European powers. Facing threats by Britain and Austria, Russia was forced to agree to another treaty. In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish met in Berlin in what came to be known as the Congress of Berlin. The task of the Congress was to settle the 'Eastern Question' that had led to numerous wars on the European continent. The Congress of Berlin was attended by the most famous statesmen of the day including Otto von Bismarck, who was the President of the Congress, Benjamin Disraeli, who scored diplomatic triumphs as England's envoy, and Prince Alexander Gorchakov, who came as the champion of Russia. The Congress of Berlin totally disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the Treaty of Berlin.



Fig 8.4 Painting depicting the Congress of Berlin by the German painter Anton von Werner

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Berliner_kongress.jpg

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The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were as follows:

- Montenegro, Serbia and Romania were declared entirely independent of Turkey
- Greater Bulgaria was split into three parts: Bulgaria proper was made an autonomous state with the Sultan as her suzerain; Eastern Rumelia was given 'administrative autonomy' under a Christian governor and Macedonia was allowed to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire
- Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the understanding that they were legally to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire
- Turkey also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar
- England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus while Greece got the provinces of Thersalay and Epymys
- The Russian Empire, who alone had defeated Turkey, got almost nothing. It was allowed to exchange with Rumania the Dobrudja district for the strip of Bessarabia on the northern bank of the Danube
- Russia also received Batum, Ardahan and Kars in the Caucasus. After thus partitioning most of the dominions of the Sultan, the European powers again solemnly guaranteed the 'integrity' of Turkey

According to Stanley Lane Poole, a British orientalist and archaeologist, 'rightly or wrongly, in supporting the Christian provinces against their sovereign, the powers at Berlin sounded the knell of Turkish domination in Europe.' Another expert on the matter, Allen, is highly critical of the Treaty of Berlin. He says, 'It was concluded in a spirit of shameless bargain with a sublime disregard of elementary ethics, and in open contempt of the rights of civilized people to determine their own future. It was essentially a temporary arrangement concluded between rival Imperialist States. And it sowed the seed of the crop of "nationalist" wars and risings in which the Balkan people were to be embroiled for the next half century.' Thus, it can be stated that the Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

Check Your Progress

7. What was the main objective of the Congress of Berlin?
8. State two provisions of the Treaty of Berlin.

8.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Ottoman Empire was known as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’, because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior.
2. The British, France, Germany, Austria and Russia were militarily far superior to the Ottoman Empire.
3. The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire.
4. Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.
5. The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Paris. As a result of Treaty of Paris, Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube River.
6. The Turkish Sultan signed the Treaty of San Stefano with Russia in 1878. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, ‘Greater Bulgaria,’ consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania.
7. The main objective of the Congress of Berlin was to settle the ‘Eastern Question’ that had led to numerous wars on the European continent.
8. Two provisions of the Treaty of Berlin are the following:
 - Montenegro, Serbia and Romania were declared entirely independent of Turkey
 - Turkey also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar

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8.7 SUMMARY

- The Ottoman Empire was known as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’, because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior.
- The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries

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between 1821 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France.

- An allied fleet consisting of Britain, France and Russia annihilated the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino. Moreover, with the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.
- The year 1842 witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan Abdülmecid I. Abdülmecid I ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of Stratford Canning, who was posted as Great Britain’s ambassador to Constantinople, Ottoman Empire’s capital, in December 1841.
- In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the Crimea. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control.
- Alarmed by the Russian expansion, Britain and France made efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of Russian troops. They feared that the Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as the Ottoman Empire was too weak to stop Russian advances. Britain and France also feared the possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul. However, the attempts at a peaceful settlement failed as the Turkish Sultan was reluctant to grant concessions to the Czar.
- Turkey formally declared war on Russia on 23 October 1853. When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.
- The most important battle of the war was the Siege of Sevastopol. Sevastopol was the home of the Czar’s Black Sea fleet which threatened British and French interests in the Mediterranean.
- The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides with over 250,000 soldiers killed during the siege. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Paris.
- Despite the Treaty of Paris, tensions remained between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, primarily because of British influence in the Turkish Court. In 1877, the Russian Czar used the excuse of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire.

- Although the Turkish armies fought valiantly, the Russians advanced within few miles of the Turkish capital Constantinople. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some fierce fighting. On 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrinople.
- Facing disaster, the Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on March 3, 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had the treaty been carried out, Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe.
- The Treaty of San Stefano was not accepted by other European powers. Facing threats by Britain and Austria, Russia was forced to agree to another treaty. In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish met in Berlin in what came to be known as the Congress of Berlin.
- The Congress of Berlin totally disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the Treaty of Berlin.
- The Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

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8.8 KEY WORDS

- **Siege:** It is a military operation in which an army tries to capture a town by surrounding it and stopping the supply of food, etc., to the people inside.
- **Fleet:** It is a group of military ships commanded by the same person.
- **The Eastern Question:** In European History, the term 'Eastern Question' refers to the problems that occurred in Europe due to the decay of the Ottoman Empire. In the 19th century, Many European powers felt that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was imminent and thus engaged in a huge power struggle to control the colonies of the Ottoman Empire. The Eastern Question was only resolved after the end of the First World War with resulted in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.
- **Expatriate:** It refers to a person who lives outside their native country.

8.9 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short Answer Questions

1. What were the outcomes of the Greek War of Independence?
2. Why was the Treaty of San Stefano not accepted by other European powers?
3. Identify the main features of the treaty of Berlin of 1878.

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the status of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the 19th century.
2. Explain how the British managed to hold 'influence' over the Turkish Sultan.
3. Discuss the Crimean War and Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. How did these wars shape the history of the Ottoman Empire on one hand, and of the European powers on the other?
4. Why did the Treaty of Berlin fail to resolve the 'Eastern Question'?

8.10 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 9 THE BALKAN WARS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

NOTES

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 Balkan Wars
 - 9.2.1 The Rise of Nationalism in Balkan States (1870-1914)
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- 9.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
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9.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the Eastern Question, Greek War of Independence, Crimean War and Berlin Congress. The Balkan Wars are largely regarded as the major political event which formed the background to the outbreak of the First World War. In this unit, you will study about the Balkan Wars; causes, course and results of the First World War.

9.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the Balkan Wars
- Explain the events of the First World War
- Analyse the results of the First World War

9.2 BALKAN WARS

In the 7th century, Islam came into being in Arabia. The followers of Islam founded an immensely strong empire and started invading other regions

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in an effort to spread their faith. The Turks were converted to Islam in the 11th century. Some centuries later, the Ottoman state was founded in Anatolia in 1299 by the Oghuz Turks. In 1453, the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople (Istanbul) and transformed their state into one of the most powerful Islamic kingdoms in history. The Turks went on to conquer south-eastern Europe, i.e., the Balkans. The Balkan region was inhabited by a variety of people which included the Serbs, the Albanians, the Greeks the Rumanians and the Bulgars. Most of these people belonged to the Slav group and most of them belonged to the Orthodox Church but some were Roman Catholics as well. Others, for example, the Albanians, were Muslims.



Fig. 9.1 Balkans in 1870

Source: Wikipedia

Throughout Turkish rule, the Balkans remained an underdeveloped region. Officials were corrupt, torture was legal, and no demonstrations against Turkish rule were permitted. By the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire began to decline due to a series of factors. The weakening of the Ottoman Empire corresponded with an increase in European interests in the Balkan region. In an effort to undermine the Turks, Russia clandestinely started supporting nationalistic feelings amongst the various peoples that inhabited the Balkan region. With their eyes firmly on the colonies of the Ottoman Empire which they coveted, European diplomats began to ponder over a series of questions which came to be known as the Eastern Question.

The basic issues of the Eastern Question were the following:

- (a) What was to happen to the European territories of the crumbling Ottoman Empire?

- (b) Who would benefit from Turkey's collapse?
- (c) What was to take the place of Turkey in the event of its disappearance from Europe?

These were the central issues of the Eastern Question.

From the second quarter of the mid-19th century nationalism became increasingly strong among the Balkan people who were united in their detestation of oppressive Ottoman rule. But the story of the Eastern Question is not a simple tale of oppressed peoples rising against foreign rule. It was complicated by the ambitions and fears of European colonial powers-Russia, Britain, Austria, France and later Germany and Italy-and by the rivalry amongst the Balkan people themselves. So the Eastern Question led not only to revolts against the Turks but also to conflicts in which the great powers took part and to wars between the Balkan people. The question took different shapes at different times but one of its constant factors was the ambition of Russia at the expense of the Ottomans. Now let us discuss the interests of various European powers in the Balkans.

I. Russian Interest

If Turkey was considered the 'sick man of Europe', then Russia looked forward to the day when the 'sick man' died. Russia had already made considerable territorial gains in the 18th century. She further hoped to make the Black Sea a Russian lake and Constantinople a Russian city. In fact Russia was anxious to gain the warm-water year-round outlet, which was her only exit to the Mediterranean Sea. This required that Russia had freedom of movement throughout the straits of Dardenelles and Bosphorus, for her navy as well as merchant shipping. Russia wished to achieve her goal by championing the liberation of subject nationalities in Balkans from Turkish tutelage provided new states that emerged would be subject to her influence. There were obvious reasons and possible excuses for such an attitude of Russia. The majority of the Balkan peoples were members of the Orthodox Church, just like the Russian people. However, Russia had to move cautiously in the Balkans lest she would unduly antagonize the other powers.

II. Austrian Interest

Austria's interests were more vital than Russia or Britain. It was an almost landlocked Empire with only a short coastline at the head of the Adriatic Sea where her position was precarious. Thus, Austria was badly placed for sea borne traffic. Economically, it was essential for Austria to secure an outlet to the sea and for this she needed to expand in the direction of ports. She was hence quick to take fright at any extension of Russian power or influence in the Balkans. Besides the importance of the Danube and the Black Sea as trading routes, there were other reasons for Austria to fear Russian ascendancy in the Balkans. The expansion of the Russian Empire to Austria-Hungary's

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eastern borders would have seriously threatened her security. Moreover, Austria-Hungary feared the rise of nationalism among the people of the Balkans. Austria-Hungary itself was inhabited by diverse groups of people, many of whom were Slavs, and Austria felt that Balkan nationalism would eventually spread to her own empire. These factors led to Austria propping up Turkey. This was done by crippling and confining the leading Slav state of Balkans-Serbia. Austrian interests in the Balkans increased when Prussia displaced her as the leader of the German States. While the other Western powers were busy in the scramble of Africa, Austria pursued the policy of expansion in the Balkans which not only antagonized Russia but also thwarted national aspirations of the Serbs.

III. Britain's Interests

The British who had begun to think of the Mediterranean as 'our sea' had a large volume of trade with the Ottoman Empire. They saw a threat to that trade and to their Indian Empire, in the Russian advance in the Balkans and the Black Sea. Thus, the primary objective of British policy in the Balkans was to thwart Russian ambitions in the area. The anxiety and apprehension of Britain was compounded by the widespread and hearty dislike of the political system of Russia. Britain thus believed that a continued existence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire in Europe as a barrier against Russia was necessary to safeguard her interests-mercantile, military or imperial.

IV. French Interests

France also maintained an interest in the Balkans. France had built up a prosperous trade route in eastern Mediterranean and had political interests in Egypt, neither of which she wished to see threatened by an expanding Russia. Moreover, France had long been recognized as the protector of the Roman Catholic clergy at the Christian holy places in Palestine. Thus, another motive of the French was the hope that they would be able to conquer a few colonies if the Turks were driven from power.

Hence, some of the western European powers tried to keep the Ottoman Empire integrated for their own interests and in the process ignored nationalistic aspirations and welfare of the Balkan people. They failed to find a permanent solution to long vexed Eastern Question because their mutual jealousies blinded them to the needs of the time. What guided their actions or policies most were the national and imperial interests, the possibility of reciprocal territorial gains, the need to maintain peace and the balance of power in Europe and, at times, belated sympathy for the suffering of the Balkan people.

9.2.1 The Rise of Nationalism in Balkan States (1870-1914)

In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was increasing restlessness among the subject states of the Ottoman Empire due to growing nationalist

aspirations and race consciousness among the people of the Balkans. The sight of the Serbs, the Greeks and the Rumanians winning their partial or complete freedom inevitably aroused the other non-Turkish inhabitants of the Balkans to attempt a similar movement for their freedom. This feeling was especially strong among the different Slav peoples of the Balkans, who now begun to be conscious of their racial kinship with the Slavs of Russia, Poland and the Austria-Hungary Empire. The emergence of Bulgarian nationalism was also closely related to the re-establishment of the independent Bulgarian Orthodox Church in 1870. The pan Slavic feeling was also encouraged by Czarist Russia whose agents carried on an unceasing propaganda among the Balkan Slavs of the South to stir up racial consciousness and national hostility towards the Turks. Nationalism was thus becoming tinged with racialism. The leadership of the South Slav agitation was assumed by Serbia who began to dream of uniting under her rule all the Serbs and their close relations, the Croats, into her kingdom.

Besides Pan-Slavism and the growth of nationalist feeling, there was another factor in the Balkans which precipitated the Ottoman crisis. This factor was the extinguished hopes of Turkish revival and reform. The Ottoman Sultan had not carried out the promised reforms for his Christian subjects. Rather, his incompetence and extravagance had imposed upon them a burden which was almost past endurance. The peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose in revolt in 1875 to protest against the rapacity and grinding extortion of the Ottoman tax collectors. Fellow Serbs of Montenegro and Serbia sympathized with them and helped them. The Bulgarian revolt threatened to become widespread, and thus, the European powers attempted to localize the conflict lest the revolt jeopardize their interests in the Balkans. Austria, Berlin and St. Petersburg reached a joint understanding, and their views were embodied in what is known as the **Andrassy Note**. The Andrassy Note was named after the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Andrassy who sent it to Count Beust, the Austrian ambassador to the Court of St James. In the note the Count noted that despite the efforts of Vienna, Berlin and St Petersburg to localize the revolt, there was a serious danger of the revolt becoming widespread, and thus, the Count asserted that there was a need for concerted action on the part of the three powers for the purpose of pressing the Sublime Porte, i.e., the central government of the Ottoman Empire, to fulfil its promises. The Sultan promised reforms but the rebels demanded more substantial guarantees. Thus, the three European powers jointly issued the **Berlin Memorandum**, which called upon the Sublime Porte to make concessions and threatened armed intervention in case the demands were not met. But since Britain refused to be a party to any measure of coercion against the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan was encouraged to ignore the protests of the three European powers.

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As the Bulgarian rebellion had started threatening Turkish rule near Constantinople, the Ottoman's reacted by violently suppressing the revolt. The world was shocked by these atrocities and the conscience of the Christian world was shaken to the core. In Britain, the British Liberal politician William Gladstone denounced the unspeakable Turkish atrocities and urged that the Turks be expelled 'bag and baggage out of the provinces they had desolated and profaned'. He was joined in his outrage by other leading figures of the Western world. In spite of the strong protests by members of the public and leading intellectuals of the time, Benjamin Disraeli, who was then the Prime Minister, refused to intervene and called the whole affair a 'coffee-house bubble'. Disraeli showed more concern about what the Russians would do in the Balkans rather than the condition of the oppressed Christians of Bulgaria.

The Russian Czar saw the perfect opportunity for securing Russian interests in the Balkans after the revolt was suppressed. He wrote to the British Ambassador that, 'the affairs in Turkey were intolerable and unless Europe was prepared to act with firmness and energy, he should be obliged to act alone.' As the situation in Serbia and Montenegro was also worsening, Russia decided to declare war upon Turkey in April 1877. The Russo-Turkish War continued up until January 1878. The Russian forces crossed the Danube and besieged Plevna (Pleven) in July 1877. In spite of the strong resistance by the Turks under the leadership of Osman Pasha at Plevna, 43,000 Turkish soldiers eventually surrendered after being besieged for six months and thus, 'the backbone of Turkish resistance was broken'. The Turkish defeat was complete when Constantinople itself was threatened and the Ottoman Empire lay at the mercy of the Russian Czar. The Sultan sought peace and thus the Treaty of San Stefano was signed between Russia and Turkey in 1878.



Fig. 9.2 *Russian Forces Crossing the Danube in 1870*

Source: Wikipedia

Treaty of San Stefano March, 1878

After capitulating against the Russians, the Turks were forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. The treaty shook the very foundations of the Turkish Empire in Europe. According to the treaty, the Sultan recognized the independence of Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia received vast territories to the South and Montenegro was 'trebled in size and doubled in population'. Bosnia and Herzegovina, though still under Turkish protection, were to be given a better government. Rumania was recognized as the independent state. In addition, Russia obtained Batum and Kars. She also constituted a 'Greater Bulgaria' as a vassal state extending from the Danube to the Aegean and from the Black Sea to Albania and comprising eastern Roumalia as well as considerable part of Macedonia.

As a result of the treaty, Russia wiped out her humiliation at the Congress of Paris and gained what she had lost there. Her influence in the Balkans was now at its zenith. As was expected, a treaty so helpful to Russia could not be tolerated by Britain and Austria. Britain feared that with the increase of Russian influence in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, the sea routes to India would not be secure. Strong resentment prevailed even in the other European states against the favourable terms to Russia. Thus, the British PM Disraeli sought for the revision of the treaty by a Congress of European powers. The situation became tense and, facing immense pressure from the other European powers, Russia agreed to a revision of the treaty at the Congress of Berlin.

Congress of Berlin

A Congress of European powers met at Berlin in 1878 under Bismarck's presidency. It drew up the Treaty of Berlin by which the following arrangements were made:

- (i) Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania were declared independent of Turkey.
- (ii) The 'Greater Bulgaria' envisioned by the Treaty of San Stefano was divided into two parts: one part was made a self-governing principality, subject to the payment of an annual tribute to the Sultan, while the other part (southern) was constituted as the province of eastern Roumelia with an independent administration under a Christian governor but under Turkish suzerainty. A considerable portion of the Macedonian territories, which was formerly included in the "Greater Bulgaria", was again restored to Turkey.
- (iii) Austria was allowed to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, which nominally remained dependent on Turkey.
- (iv) Russia received Bessarabia and a number of territories in Asia Minor.
- (v) Britain, by a separate treaty with Turkey, secured the control of Cyprus.

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The Treaty of Berlin unfortunately provided no long lasting solution to the complex problems of the Balkan Peninsula. Some of the terms of the treaty blatantly violated all forms of justice and equity. Moreover, most of the decisions in the Congress were made in private meetings and hence never fully discussed in their details and depth. Most of the signatories of this treaty left Berlin 'smarting under the sense of disappointment and humiliation which definitely boded ill for the tranquility of Europe'. The British historian Professor A.J.P Taylor called the treaty 'a watershed in the history of Europe', however, such a flattering appreciation of the treaty seems to be rather overdrawn. While it is true that in the next thirty six years or so Europe never witnessed war, but, it cannot be denied that some of the unpopular settlements of the treaty hampered understanding between numerous Balkan States. Rumania had a justifiable grievance when it was deprived of Bessarabia. Bulgaria found her dream of 'Greater Bulgaria' ending in smoke. Serbia's lament that her southern Slav population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was transferred from 'the nerveless grasp of Constantinople to the tighter grip of the Hapsburgs' was substantially correct. Montenegro and Greece regarded that their rewards were inadequate. According to G.P Gooch, Russia also felt justifiably aggrieved that she was deprived of 'her precious gains of her struggles and sacrifices' by the wily manipulations of Disraeli with the assent, if not indeed the encouragement of Bismarck because Austria pocketed Bosnia and Herzegovina as a reward of her 'inglorious neutrality'. It was the newly acquired position of Austria in the Balkans which gave a new edge to her long-nourished ambition to aggrandize in that area. It was this position of hers which was bound to clash with the equally expanding interests of the Russians, stimulated and strengthened by the predominance of their Slav kinsmen in the Balkan Peninsula. Both Austria and Russia set their longing eyes on the Balkans. Hence, peace in that area hanged on a precarious threat which could be ended at any time on the slightest of pretexts.

According to Stanley Lane Poole, the British orientalist and archaeologist, 'rightly or wrongly, in supporting the Christian provinces against their sovereign, the powers at Berlin sounded the knell of Turkish domination in Europe.' Another expert on the matter, Allen, is highly critical of the Treaty of Berlin. He says, 'It was concluded in a spirit of shameless bargain with a sublime disregard of elementary ethics, and in open contempt of the rights of civilized people to determine their own future. It was essentially a temporary arrangement concluded between rival Imperialist States. And it sowed the seed of the crop of "nationalist" wars and risings in which the Balkan people were to be embroiled for the next half century.' Thus, it can be stated that the Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912-18.



Fig. 9.3 Painting depicting the Congress of Berlin by the German painter Anton von Werner

Source: Wikipedia

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9.2.2 Developments after the Treaty of Berlin

After the Treaty of Berlin, the so called ‘Eastern Question’ began to reveal new developments. The freed Balkan nations instead of being content with their independence wished to add to their realms those people of their nationality who still remained under Turkish rule. As their claims often overlapped, the Balkan region provided a spectacle of increasing unrest, frequent wars and growing ambitions. Turkey also began to be touched by the prevailing winds of nationalism and made a serious attempt at revival. But the movement of Turkish reform never had a chance. The Balkan States and other European powers took advantage of the opportunity provided by the ‘Young Turk’ revolution to aggrandize them at the expense of Turkey and to embroil her in international complications. The intrusion of Austria into the Balkans brought in new complications. Backed by Germany, Austria began to follow a course of action which antagonized Serbia and Russia and before long precipitated the start of the First World War. Germany was a newcomer in the Near Eastern politics and she looked for expansion for political and economic reasons. Under William II, Germany became a friend of the Ottoman Sultan in the 1890s, training the Ottoman army, posing as the protector of the Muslims throughout the world, and planning the Berlin-Baghdad Railway under German auspices.

Bulgaria was the first state to challenge the Treaty of Berlin. The people of Roumelia affected in 1885 a bloodless revolution and proclaimed their political union with Bulgaria. The Bulgarian king declared himself the Prince of the United Bulgaria. The Armenian subjects of the Turks were victims of periodic outrages throughout the nineteenth century. Such outrages reached their peak in 1894 and 1895. In 1896, in Constantinople itself, over 6,000

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Armenians were killed in a single day. The great powers were not interested in the fate of the Armenians.

Greece received Thessaly and a portion of Epirus from Turkey in 1881. The acquisition of the Island of Crete next engaged the attention of the Greeks. The Cretans wanted to throw off Turkish suzerainty and to unite themselves with Greece. In 1896, a rebellion broke out in Crete helped by the Greeks. Turkey declared war upon Greece, easily defeated her, and compelled her to abandon the project of annexing Crete and to cede a portion of Thessaly. After long negotiations between powers it was decided that Crete should be an autonomous state under Turkish suzerainty.

The Young Turk Movement

The Eastern Question entered upon a new and startling phase in 1908. A reforming party had grown up in Ottoman Empire consisting of Turks mostly educated in the West. They wanted to modernize Turkey, to free her from the tutelage of foreign powers and to pursue a strictly national policy. These Young Turks effected a bloodless revolution on July 24, 1908 at Constantinople and forced the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, to grant a constitution. The parliament was summoned for the first time since 1878 and many liberal reforms were promulgated. But Abdul Hamid attempted a counter-revolution for which he was deposed and his brother, Mehmed V, was proclaimed Sultan in 1909.



Fig. 9.4 Young Turk Revolutionaries Entering Constantinople in 1909

Source: <http://coffeecuphistory.wordpress.com/2013/03/>

The Young Turk movement was not appreciated by European statesmen who had their own selfish interests in the Balkans. They rather began to violate the conditions imposed upon them by the Treaty of Berlin. Bulgaria declared her complete independence and Austria did not hesitate to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Austrian action flared up the sentiments of the Serbs who

were already hostile to the Austrian domination over the Slavonic and Serbian brothers. Italy had long been looking for expansion to the northern shore of Africa and had marked out Tripoli as her share of Turkish spoils. Italy saw her chances threatened by the nationalist revival in Turkey and thus, suddenly declared war against the Sultan and compelled them to cede Tripoli in 1911.

Though professing constitutional principles, the Young Turks disappointed popular expectations in Turkey. Their policy was that of 'Turkification', i.e., they sought to maintain the uncontrolled domination of the Turks over the various people of their composite empire. The non-Turkish races were cruelly persecuted under their rule; especially cruel was their treatment of Macedonia and Albania. The result of this senseless policy of persecution produced widespread disaffection against the Turks which soon brought the Ottoman Empire on the point of extinction.

9.2.3 The Balkan Wars

The destruction of the Ottoman Empire hastened after 1908. The policy of Turkification of the Young Turks harassed the Christians living under the Turkish banner. The activities of the Young Turks created far more enemies than friends for Turkey. Their reforming zeal had vanished before it could be put into practice. Encouraged by French successes in Morocco, Italy attacked Tripoli and was able to annex it without making much sacrifice. Since Italy had carefully secured the prior consent of all the great powers, its war against Turkey from 1911 to 1912 did not, by itself, cause any major crisis. It brought Italy its long coveted Northern African colony. The war over Tripoli however encouraged several small Balkan States to move against Turkey and thus to reopen the Balkan question.

The chief motive behind the *First Balkan War in 1912* was the desire of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece to gain further concessions at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Together with Montenegro these countries formed a Balkan League in early 1912. Taking advantage of the war over Tripoli, they invaded the Ottoman Empire in October of that year. Turkey was decisively defeated and was forced to sign the Treaty of London in May 1913. According to the treaty, the Ottomans lost all their European possessions except the region adjacent to the Straits.

The peace was less than a month old when the *Second Balkan War* broke out, this time among the victors over the distribution of the spoils. Under the arrangements made before the first war, Serbia was to receive an outlet to the Adriatic in Albania. This met with Austrian and Italian protests. However, as compensation for its loss, Serbia now demanded some of the territory that Bulgaria had received in Macedonia, and when the Bulgarians refused, war ensued between Bulgaria on the one hand, and Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, Rumania, and Turkey on the other. Against such an overwhelming coalition, the Bulgarians proved to be powerless. In the ensuing Treaty of Bucharest,

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signed in August 1913, Bulgaria kept only a small part of Macedonia, while the Greeks and the Serbs took the rest.

The Balkan Wars caused deep anxiety among the major European colonial powers. A conference of Ambassadors was convened in London to deal with the Balkan problem, especially the controversy between Austria and Serbia over the latter's aspirations in Albania. As in the past, Russia supported Serbia. Germany, on the other hand, served as a break on Austria's desire to intervene against Serbia. Since Britain and Italy also favoured the independence of Albania, Russia finally withdrew its support of Serbia and peace was preserved. In the course of events, however, Austria and Russia, together with their allies, had again come close to war. Serbia had suffered another defeat, for which it squarely blamed Austria; even Serbian gains in Macedonia could not be consolation enough for her humiliation. Outraged Serbian nationalists sought revenge against Austria and succeeded in assassinating Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. This proved to be the spark that ignited the First World War.

Check Your Progress

1. What were the basic issues of the Eastern Question?
2. What was the significance of the Andrassy Note?
3. Name the two parties who signed the Treaty of San Stefano.
4. When was the Congress of Berlin held and under whose leadership?

9.3 THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War was a war fought between the world's great powers which were gathered into two opposing alliances- the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. The immediate cause of the war was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian youth named Gavrilo Princip. According to Herbert Henry Asquith, the Prime Minister of Britain at the beginning of the First World War, "We were often conscious that we are skating on the thinnest of ice and that the peace of Europe was at the mercy of a chapter unforeseen and unforeseeable accidents." That accident took place on 28 June 1914 when Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated. The assassination of the Archduke, who was the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, precipitated Austria-Hungary to declare war against Serbia. This caused the Central Powers and the Allied Powers to declare war on each other, starting the First World War.

Although the assassination of the Austrian Archduke sparked off the First World War, the actual root causes for the war are much deeper. To

understand the reasons for the war, one needs to delve into the political situation in Europe at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The following is a list of the generally accepted root causes of the First World War.

Military Alliances

The league of three emperors: After the French were defeated in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 -71, the German Empire was established. The German Empire was based on a military force which grew steadily and became extremely formidable in Europe. The humiliating defeat and the loss of the province of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany created a burning feeling of revenge among the French against the Germans. The new chancellor of the German Empire, Otto Von Bismarck, somewhat aggravated this feeling through his various policies. Bismarck undertook various foreign policy initiatives in the next twenty years aimed at making France isolated and powerless. Bismarck entered into an alliance and understanding with Austria-Hungary which was fast becoming an eastern power itself and was trying to find an outlet in the Balkan Peninsula. For this purpose, Austria-Hungary needed German support against the Slavs races. Alongside this, Bismarck was also able to carve a better understanding with the Russian Empire. This assimilation of understanding led to an alliance between the three. In 1872, the three emperors, i.e., William I of Germany, Francis Joseph of the Austria-Hungary, and Czar Alexander II of Russia, met at Berlin and entered into a political understanding that led to the formation of the League of The Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*). These three emperors did not enter into any formal treaty, but decided upon an understanding of maintenance of the boundaries 'recently' laid down. Bismarck remarked upon the alliance 'I have thrown a bridge across Vienna without breaking down that older one to St Petersburg'. This understanding between the three collapsed in 1875 over territorial disputes in the Balkans as Austria-Hungary feared that Russian support for Serbia might ultimately ignite the Slav populations of Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, Russia likewise feared an insurrection in its empire, should a Pan-Slavism movement gain too much clout.

Austro –German dual alliance: Bismarck decided to enter into a more concrete alliance with Austria as part of a system of alliances to prevent war. This system first led to the formation of the Austro-German Dual Alliance in 1879. The terms of the alliance were as follows:

- If any of the contracting parties were attacked by Russia or by any other power supported by Russia, its ally will come to its assistance with all forces
- If either party was to attack a power other than Russia its ally was to observe benevolent neutrality

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- The treaty was to be effective for five years and renewable. Bismarck kept these terms of the treaty secret up until 1887

The Triple Alliance: Bismarck also decided to use the rivalry between Italy and France over the desirable Tunis region in northern Africa. He indirectly prompted France to seize Tunis and thus created another enemy for France. The French occupation of Tunis in 1888 alienated Italy and forced her to join the Austro–German Dual Alliance, which led to the formation of the triple alliance.

The Reinsurance Treaty and the Franco-Russian dual alliance: In order to make sure that France and Russia do not come closer to each other, Bismarck succeeded in concluding the *Reinsurance Treaty* between Germany and Russia which was to be renewed periodically. However, after Bismarck retired from the German Chancellery in 1890, the course of German foreign policy saw a dramatic change. The new German Emperor Kaiser William II refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia on the grounds that henceforth Germany would not be a party to secret agreements. The first big event after the retirement of Bismarck was the establishment of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance. By the terms of the alliance, either country would support the other with arms if it was attacked by Germany with or without the other members of the triple Alliance. Thus, Europe came to be divided into two armed camps.

Anglo–Japanese Alliance: The mutual rivalry against Russian schemes in the Far East brought about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. Through this alliance, Great Britain and Japan undertook to come to each other's assistance if either was attacked by two European powers. This Anglo-Japanese alliance emboldened Japan to have a showdown with Russia resulting in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05. In the war Russia faced a humiliating defeat. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 also gave a spurt to Asian nationalism and had long standing impact on the future political scenario of the region.

The Anglo-French Entente: In April 1904, a series of conventions were signed between France and Great Britain to settle the problems of Anglo-French colonies. As per one of these conventions, in return for French recognition of the British position in Egypt, Great Britain recognised the French position in Morocco. Similar compromises were made in other parts of the world, for example, West Africa, Siam and Newfoundland. Altogether these conventions amounted to the *entente cordiale* or a friendly understanding, and not an alliance. Neither party was placed under definite obligation to do anything particular in any future contingency. However these conventions helped to strengthen the position of France in Europe.

The Triple Entente: Since France and Russia were allies, it became an unwritten code to have an entente with Russia following the Anglo–French Entente. Thus a treaty similar to the French treaty was signed in 1907 under

the guidance of Sir Edward Grey. The agreement respected the independence of Afghanistan and of Tibet and they allocated spheres of British and Russian influence in Persia.

Thus it was clear that by 1907, the great powers of Europe came to be divided into two rival armed camps; the Triple Alliance comprising of Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy and the Triple Entente comprising of Great Britain, France and Russia. The triple alliance countries came to be known as the Central Powers and the triple entente countries came to be known as the Allied Powers. As the war took place, other nations also joined these alliances.

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Fig 9.5 Map showing the two military blocs in 1914

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Map_Europe_alliances_1914-en.svg&page=1

Rise of Nationalism

During the 19th century a force spread across Europe that led to the First World War. This force was Nationalism - the belief that loyalty to a nation and its political and economic goals came before any other public loyalty. This form of exaggerated patriotic fervour aggravated the tense situation in a Europe divided into armed camps. Nationalistic pride caused nations to magnify small disputes into major issues and there were several minor issues that led to war. This force of Nationalism manifested itself in different forms in different countries. In Germany it underwent a perverted metamorphosis and became aggressive and egoistic. This aggressive nationalism was reflected by the war machine built up by Bismarck during his time as Chancellor and also by Germany's attitude towards its neighbours. The French, on the other hand, nursed feelings of humiliation due to her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. This wounded and outraged nationalism of France demanded revenge over Germany.

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Along with this, there was also the submerged Nationalism in the Eastern European Empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia and Ottoman Turkey. The Balkan Peninsula in southern Europe was also known as the ‘powder keg of Europe’ as everyone recognised that tensions in this region could ignite a major war. Indeed, it was the rivalry for control over the Balkan region that led to the eruption of First World War. Serbia led a movement to unite the Slavs of the region with Russia, the most powerful Slavic country, supporting the Serbian venture. On the other hand, Austrian-Hungary feared Slavic nationalism as millions of its subjects were Slavs. In 1908, the Austria-Hungary Empire greatly angered Serbia by annexing the Balkan territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia wanted control of those lands as many Serbs inhabited those territories.

Militarism and the Race for Armaments

By the beginning of the 20th century, various alliances had divided Europe into two armed camps. It was believed that disputes among these two armed groups would be solved through negotiations; however, neither side made any real efforts to formulate a negotiated settlement. The general perception in Europe was that no government was in mood to renounce war as an instrument for peace. Moreover, by the beginning of the 20th century, an arms race had started. The belief among the nations was that expanding the military would compel the other side to back down. By 1914, both Great Britain and Germany both significantly expanded their navies. The arms race became another source of tension and ill-will. Furthermore, the military establishment in Germany and Russia started to have a greater sway on public policy. This increase in militarism helped push the nations involved into war.

Imperialism and Colonial Conflict

The latter half the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw European powers becoming subsumed by their imperial ambitions. Due to the Industrial Revolution these powers were in search of cheap raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods. Thus, in the 19th century the African continent and the Asian subcontinent were partitioned into colonial serfdom among the European imperialists. China was divided into spheres of influence among the European with the industrially advanced nation of Japan also joining the race for colonies in Asia. This simultaneous overseas expansion by European nations added to the tension that had already existed among them. On several occasions various projects and relief and developmental work in colonies led to conflicts that added flavour to the bitter relationship between various nations in Europe. For example, the project of the Trans-Siberian railway of Russia and Russian penetration into the Far East was partly responsible for the Russo -Japanese war 1904-05. The German Emperor’s imperialist policies were viewed with great suspicion by the British. His plan

to build a railway line from Berlin to Baghdad was considered by the British to be a huge threat to its own interests in the Middle East.

Moreover, the nations of Italy and Germany had been newly formed in the 19th century, and unlike the British or the French, who had been invading nations and making them colonies for a long time, the Germans or the Italians could not boast of many colonies under their dominion. This created a sense of frustration among the German and Italian elites, who felt their progress was being hampered by their lack of colonies. Many historians today see the First World War as a war fought between the Imperialist powers to divide colonies among themselves.

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International Crisis

The Morocco crisis of 1905, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 added fuel to the air of suspicion that had taken over Europe by the beginning of the 20th century. Perhaps the most serious international crisis before the outbreak of the First World War was the two Balkan Wars fought in 1912-13. During the Balkan Wars, the rulers of Germany, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the United Kingdom attempted to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war. They were successful in preventing the two Balkan Wars from becoming a wider war; however, the effects of the Balkan Wars precipitated the July Crisis of 1914 which eventually led to the First World War.

July Crisis

Immediately after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28th June 1914, a series of diplomatic maneuverings took place between various European nations. These maneuverings eventually led to an ultimatum from Austria-Hungary to the Kingdom of Serbia. The ultimatum was part of a pressurizing program meant to weaken Serbia as a threat to Austria-Hungary's occupation of the northern Balkans which had a large southern Slavic population, including a majority Serbian community in Bosnia. This was supposed to be achieved either through diplomacy or by a localized war if the ultimatum was rejected. Austria-Hungary did not believe that their tactic would lead to a larger war in the region.

The Austrian government's ultimatum, among other things, demanded that the Serbian Government:

- Officially condemn anti-Austrian publications and propaganda
- Suppress anti-Austrian societies
- Bar anti-Austrian teachers and books from their schools
- Dismiss any government officials that Austria might name

- Accept help from Austria in checking obnoxious propaganda
- Allow Austrian officials to assist in the investigation of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

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After the ultimatum was issued, Winston Churchill, the future prime minister of Great Britain wrote that, 'Europe is trembling on the verge of a general war. The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia being the most insolent document of its kind ever devised'. On receipt of the ultimatum, Serbia at once appealed to Russia, whose council of ministers met on July 24 to decide on a course of action. Russia believed that Germany was using the crisis over the assassination as a pretext for starting a preventive war to defend its interests in the region. Defying Austro-German expectations that Russia would back down in the case of conflict, the Russian council of ministers agreed to order four military districts to prepare for mobilization. Serbia's response to the ultimatum effectively accepted all terms of the ultimatum but one: it would not accept Austria-Hungary's participation in any internal inquiry, stating that this would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure. Austria had the excuse it needed, one month after the assassination of the Archduke, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia.

Check Your Progress

5. What was the immediate cause which led to the outbreak of the First World War?
6. What were the terms of the Austro-German Dual Alliance?

9.4 COURSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

On 28 July 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia, bound by a treaty with Serbia, declared the mobilization of its huge army in its defence. Germany, who was allied to Austria-Hungary by a treaty, viewed this mobilization as an act of war against Austria-Hungary. Thus, Germany declared war on Russia. As France was bound by treaty with Russia, it ended up fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Britain was also associated with France by a treaty, which placed a 'moral obligation' upon it to defend France. Under this obligation, Britain was forced to declare war on Germany on 4 August 1914. Apart from this, Britain was also obligated to defend neutral Belgium by the terms of a seventy-five year old treaty. On 4 August 1914, Germany invaded Belgium, following which the Belgian king requested Britain for assistance. Britain consented to defend Belgium. Like France, Britain too was at war with Austria-Hungary by extension. As Britain entered into the war, all its colonies and territories far and abroad offered financial and military assistance to it. These colonies

and territories were comprised of India, Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa and New Zealand. On 23 August 1914, Japan declared a war on Germany after a military agreement was signed between Japan and Britain. In response to this, two days later, Austria-Hungary declared a war on Japan.

Italy, although allied to both Germany and Austria-Hungary, was successful in managing to keep itself away from entering the war. This was possible after it cited a clause, which allowed it to elude its obligations to both. As per the clause, Italy argued that it was committed to offer its services only if Germany and Austria-Hungary were in a 'defensive' war; but in this case, their actions were 'offensive'. Therefore, a policy of neutrality was declared by Italy. In May 1915, Italy finally entered the war, but it joined the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The reason for Italy joining the war against its former allies was because in 1915, Italy had signed the secret Treaty of London. Through this treaty, Britain had offered Italy large sections of territory in the Adriatic Sea region – Tyrol, Dalmatia and Istria. Britain and France wanted Italy to join in on their side so that a new front could open up to the south of the Western Front. The plan was to split still further the Central Powers so that its power on the Western and Eastern Fronts was weakened

On 7 May, 1915, German U-Boats sunk the ocean liner RMS Lusitania killing over 120 Americans. The killing outraged American citizens and resulted in the rise of Anti-German sentiments in the US. Moreover, Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare acutely endangered America's commercial shipping. This compelled the United States to abjure its policy of neutrality and finally step into the fray by declaring war on Germany on 6 April 1917.

9.4.1 Course of the War

The First World War began on 28 July 1914 with the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia, which was followed by the German invasion of Belgium, Luxembourg and France and a Russian attack on Germany. After the German march on Paris was brought to an end, the Western Front settled into a static battle of slow destruction with a trench line that changed slightly until 1917. Although the Russian army was successful in suppressing the Austro-Hungarian forces, it was forced back by the German Army. More fronts opened after the Ottoman Empire entered the war in 1914, followed by Italy and Bulgaria in 1915 and Romania in 1916. The Russian empire came to an end in 1917 and later that year, Russia left the war after the October Revolution. After the United States entered the war, the allies started warding off the German armies. Germany finally consented to a ceasefire on 11 November 1918, which later came to be known as Armistice Day.

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Miscommunication among the Central Powers

The Central Powers had strategy but they suffered from miscommunication. Although Germany had promised to extend its support to the Austria-Hungary's invasion of Serbia, there was difference in the interpretations of what this meant. Austro-Hungarian leaders believed that Germany would cover its northern side against Russia. However, Germany envisaged Austria-Hungary leading the majority of its troops against Russia, while Germany dealt with France. This confusion compelled the Austro-Hungarian Army to divide its forces between the Russian and Serbian fronts.

The Campaign of Serbia

The Battle of Cer, which began on 12 August 1914, was fought between the Serbians against the invading Austro-Hungarians. The Serbian army occupied defensive positions on the south side of the Drina and Sava Rivers. Over the next two weeks, they were successful in making the Austrian army suffer heavy losses. This marked the first major Allied victory of the war and crushed Austro-Hungarian hopes to emerge as victorious. Consequently, Austria had to keep large forces on the Serbian front, weakening its efforts against Russia.

German Forces in Belgium and France

When the First World War began, the Germans executed a modified version of the Schlieffen Plan. This plan was designed to quickly attack France through neutral Belgium before turning southwards to surround the French army on the German border. The plan called for the German advance to converge on Paris, and initially, the Germans were very successful, especially in the Battle of the Frontiers (14–24 August 1914). By 12 September, with assistance from the British forces, the French prevented the German advance in the east of Paris at the first battle of the Marne (5–12 September 1914). The last days of this battle signified the end of mobile warfare in the west. The French attacks on Germany, which began on 7 August 1914, with the Battle of Mulhouse, had limited success.

The German Army managed to defeat the Russian Army in a series of battles, which were collectively known as the Battle of Tannenberg (17 August–2 September 1914). Despite such successes the German Army started having problems of insufficient speed of its advance, something that was not anticipated by the German General Staff. As a result, the Central Powers were unable to get a quick victory against the Russians and were forced to fight a war on two fronts.

Asia and the Pacific

On 30 August 1914, New Zealand occupied German Samoa (later Western Samoa). Later on 11 September, the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force settled on the island of Neu-Pommern (later New

Britain), which formed part of German New Guinea. Japan captured Germany's Micronesian colonies, which was followed by the Siege of Tsingtao and the German coaling port of Qingdao in the Chinese Shandong peninsula. All the German territories in the Pacific were seized by the Allied forces within a few months; only isolated commerce raiders and a few holdouts in New Guinea remained.

Beginning of Trench Warfare

Due to the arms race between various European nations, there was a massive improvement in the development of weapon systems before the outbreak of the First World War. These improvements resulted in the manufacturing of remarkable defence systems. Among the defence systems, the barbed wire was a significant obstruction to the advances of massed infantry. As opposed to those in the 1870s, artillery was designed to be more deadly as it was now coupled with machine guns, which made it very difficult to cross open ground. Moreover, poison gas was used by both sides in the war. Although the use of poison gas had vicious effects as it caused a slow and painful death, it never proved to be influential in winning a battle. However, its use is still regarded as one of the most feared horrors of the war.

An important feature of the First World War seen on the Western Front was the concept of attrition warfare. Attrition warfare represented an attempt to grind down an opponent through superior numbers, using enormous amounts of artillery and other weapons. Many catastrophic battles were fought as a part of this 'War of Attrition'. One of which was the Battle of Verdun. In February 1916, Germany launched a massive attack on the French fortress of Verdun. The French in turn poured thousands of their soldiers into the battle. The battle resulted in about 700,000 soldiers killed or being wounded; the casualties were more or less equally divided between the two sides.



Fig 9.6 British Tank used in the First World War

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:British_tank_crossing_a_trench.jpg

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Commanders on both sides were not successful in developing plans for infringing entrenched positions without incurring heavy casualties. However, eventually technology started to produce new violent weapons, such as the tank. Britain and France were the major users of tanks, while the Germans used captured Allied tanks and small numbers of their own design. After the First Battle of the Marne, both Entente and German forces started a series of outflanking operations, in the so-called 'Race to the Sea'. Soon entrenched German forces from Lorraine to Belgium's coast confronted Britain and France.

Britain and France sought to take the offensive, while Germany defended the occupied territories. German trenches were constructed in a much better way than those of their enemy since Anglo-French trenches were constructed to be 'temporary' in nature before their forces attacked the German defences. Both parties endeavoured to break the deadlock by using modern weapons. On 22 April 1915, for the first time, the Germans used chlorine gas on the Western Front at the Second Battle of Ypres. On being gassed, the Algerian troops retreated and a four miles long hole opened up in the Allied lines. This was in no less time exploited by the Germans who took Kitcheners' Wood. At the Second Battle of Ypres, Canadian soldiers closed the breach, while at the Third Battle of Ypres, Canadian and ANZAC troops seized the village of Passchendaele.



Fig 9.7 British trench in the Battle of Somme

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Lancashire_Fusiliers_trench_Beaumont_Hamel_1916.jpg

On 1 July 1916, the British Army suffered the bloodiest day in its history. It experienced 57,470 casualties, including 19,240 dead on the first day of the Battle of the Somme. Most of the casualties took place in the first

hour of the attack with British infantry men being mowed down by German machine guns. The entire Battle of Somme cost the British army almost half a million men.

The events of 1917 proved decisive in ending the war, although their effects were not fully felt until 1918. Once the United States entered the war, the collapse of the Central Powers came swiftly. Bulgaria was the first to sign an armistice on 29 September 1918 at Saloniki. On 30 October, the Ottoman Empire capitulated at Moudros (Armistice of Mudros). In November 1918, the Allies had ample supplies of men and materiel to invade Germany, yet at the time of the armistice, no Allied force had crossed the German frontier and Berlin was still almost 1,400 km from the Western Front. A formal state of war between the two sides persisted for another seven months, until signing of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany on 28 June 1919. Later treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire were signed. Thus, the First World War ended with the defeat of the Central Powers and the victory of the Allies.

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Check Your Progress

7. When did the First World War begin?
8. State one important feature of the First World War.

9.5 RESULTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War resulted in innumerable destruction of life and property. Nearly 10 million soldiers lost their lives and around 21 million men were wounded in the First World War. There is no statistic available as to how many civilians died due to diseases and because of the aftermath of the war. The cost of devastation was incalculable. The greatest property damage was in Belgium and France. War resulted in the destruction of factories, bridges and railroad tracks. Heavy artillery shells and trenches made land in many regions barren. The scale of destruction was such that the war was called the World War or the Great War from its occurrence until 1939.

Economic Consequences

Another huge impact of the First World War was the devastation it caused on the economies of European nations. The devastation was such that after the war European nations changed from being creditor nations to being debtor nations. European nations levied heavy taxes on their people to compensate the war expenditure. The United States was perhaps least impacted economically from the First World War. The devastation faced by Europe allowed the United States and nations such as Japan to achieve ascendancy

in the world market. The United States also let European nations to borrow from it to pay for their reconstruction after the war.

Social consequences

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The war brought about a major change in the social scenario as well. Due to the war, the population of Europe was checked temporarily. However, the advance in medicine and technology helped increase the population in Europe. Even more than that, the advances in technology also brought about rising standards of living and better quality of life. Urban area started witnessing growth with peasants settling there. Women chose to work and opted for more jobs. They filled jobs where men were less. This new found independence of women was a flag for the feminist revolution in the future. The onset of war resulted in the social distinctions among classes deteriorating with society becoming more democratic.

Political Consequences

The four major imperial powers ruled by monarchies—the Germans, Russians, Austro-Hungary and Ottoman Empires—were politically and militarily defeated by the end of the war. Thus, it can be stated that the First War resulted in a collapse of empires and a rise of nations. This collapse of empires and the rise of nations led to the redrawing of the map of Europe. The victory of democratic nations like Britain, France, Belgium, the United States and Italy immediately brought democracy in vogue. After the war, Germany set up the Weimar Republic with a parliamentary constitution to replace the old empire and Austria became a democratic republic. Moreover, the victorious nations became even more powerful after the war. Britain emerged as the most powerful colonial power. France recovered its glory by recovering the province of Alsace and Lorraine. Japan emerged as the powerful nation in the Far East. The United States emerged as the major economic power among the allies despite following the policy of isolationism prior to entering the First World War.

At the same time, the war also destroyed the traditional balance of power in Europe. There were formation of new nations like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. There was also a rise of dictatorships in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey. In Russia, the war resulted in the Russian Revolution and the formation of Soviet Russia. The turmoil in the newly formed German Weimar Republic eventually led to the rise of Adolf Hitler. These changes paved the way for even greater turmoil that was to occur in the future.

9.5.1 Peace Settlements

Germany agreed to sign the armistice that signalled the end of the war on the back of the US President Woodrow Wilson's peace proposals. Wilson's ideas for peace were laid out in his famous 'Fourteen Points' address to Congress

on 8 January 1918. In the speech, Wilson opposed the idea of any secret treaty and suggested moderate punishment, both economically and territorially for Germany. Of the fourteen points, five points established general ideals, eight points dealt with immediate political and territorial problems and the fourteenth point called for an association to help keep peace in the world.

The fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson are summarized as follows:

- (i) No more secret agreements ('Open covenants openly arrived at')
- (ii) Free navigation in all seas
- (iii) An end to all economic barriers between countries
- (iv) Reduction of national armaments
- (v) All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial
- (vi) The evacuation of the German Army from all Russian territory it holds. Moreover, Russia should be left to develop her own political set-up
- (vii) Independence of Belgium
- (viii) France should be fully liberated and allowed to recover Alsace-Lorraine
- (ix) All Italians are to be allowed to live in Italy. Italy's borders to be 'along clearly recognisable lines of nationality'
- (x) Self-determination should be allowed for all those living in Austria-Hungary
- (xi) Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for the Balkan states
- (xii) The Turkish people should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks in the old Turkish Empire should govern themselves
- (xiii) An independent Poland should be created which should have access to the sea
- (xiv) A League of Nations should be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states

Representatives from 32 allied countries and associated powers met at Paris to draw the peace settlement after the First World War. The defeated Central powers, neutral countries and Russia did not find any representation in this conference. Decision making in the conference was confined to the Allied nations alone. The most important nations in the conference were the 'big four' nations. These nations essentially drew up the peace proposals after the First World War. The 'Big Four' were President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Premier Clemenceau of France who presided over the conference and Premier Orlando of Italy. Different treaties were imposed on the defeated Central powers. The

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one treaty that was to have a huge impact on the future course of the world after the First World War was the Treaty of Versailles.

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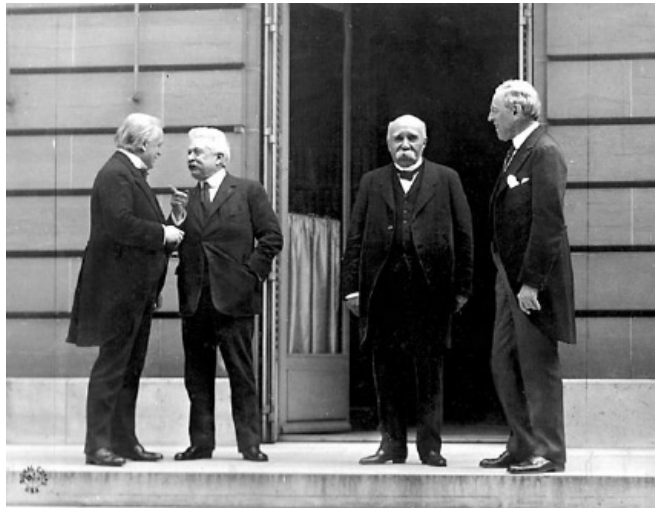


Fig 9.8 The 'Big Four' during the Paris Peace Conference (from left to right PM Lloyd George, Premier Orlando, Premier Clemenceau and President Wilson)

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Big_four.jpg

9.5.2 The Treaty of Versailles

An assessment of the Treaty of Versailles reveals that the treaty was laced with the attribute of vindictiveness and was an indicator of dictated peace. The treaty led to the rise of a feeling of humiliation and vengeance in the minds of every German and it was this poison of vengeance and humiliation that helped in promoting the feeling of Nazism in Germany and led eventually to the rise of Hitler. Hence it would be very correct to state that the Treaty of Versailles was the major cause for the failure of maintaining peace after the First World War and the outbreak of the Second World War.

Although the Treaty of Versailles included 440 articles, the principal items of the treaty were as follows:

- Germany has to cede Alsace-Lorraine and the coal mines in the Saar-area to France
- Germany has to cede an area with Moresnet, Eupen, Malmédy and St. Vith to Belgium
- Germany has to cede the main part of West-Prussia and almost the whole province of Posen to the new state of Poland
- Germany has to cede all colonies
- All German properties in foreign countries was to be confiscated
- Germany has to cede all war material to the allies

- The total size of the German army could not exceed 100,000 men and the German Navy could not exceed 15,000 men. Moreover, it was not allowed to have tanks, airplanes, submarines, large warships and poison gas
- Germany was not allowed to station troops on the left border of the river Rhine and in a 50 km strip on the right border of the Rhine
- Germany has to cede large amounts of machinery and building materials, trains and trucks and also had to deliver certain amounts of coal, chemicals, dye and fuel for many years
- All German sub-ocean telegraph cables were to be confiscated
- Germany has to pay 20 billion gold marks

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9.5.3 The League of Nations

The First World War due to its devastating impact resulted in the people of Europe becoming disgusted by war. After the war came to an end anti-war sentiment rose across the world. Much was written and spoken of against the idea of war. To ensure that a war like the First World War never occurred again, President Woodrow Wilson in his fourteen points called for, 'a general association of nations under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike'. In this regard, the Paris Peace Conference proposed the formation of the League of Nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920. The headquarters of the League of Nations was in Geneva, Switzerland. The aims and objective of the League of Nations were included in the covenant of the league. The primary goals of the League of Nations included preventing wars through 'collective security and disarmament', and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration. The other issues that the League looked at included labour conditions, human and drug trafficking, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.

Membership: The membership of the League of Nations included Latin American states, Japan and China, the dominions of the British Commonwealth, countries from the Middle East and the majority of European nations. The total membership of the league was nations in 1920 which increased to 50 nations by 1924 and 60 nations by 1934.

Major organs and working of the league: The following were the main organs of the League of Nations:

- (a) **The Assembly:** The Assembly was the supreme deliberative body of the League of Nations. Formed on the principle of equality, every member

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nation irrespective of its size had an equal vote in it. The assembly met annually in Geneva on the first Monday of September. It controlled the budget and had a general authority over the league's affairs including the admission of members. As per rules, the decision of the assembly was unopposed and any dissenting vote was considered a veto. The assembly had elective powers and it elected the members of the council and fifteen judges of the permanent court of international justice for a nine year terms. It also approved the nomination of the secretary general.

- (b) **The Council:** The Council was a smaller body and met at least every three months and could be summoned on occasions of emergency. The refusal of the United States to be a permanent member of the council left only Britain, France, Italy and Japan with permanent seats though Germany was added in 1926. The first non-permanent members of the council were Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain. The number of elected members was six in 1922, nine in 1926, ten in 1933 and eleven in 1936. The Council dealt with any matter within the sphere of the objectives of the league or any matter that affected the peace of the world.
- (c) **The Secretariat:** The Secretariat was headed by the Secretary General of the League of Nations. It was a civil service of salaried officers permanently employed in carrying on the international business of the League at its headquarters in Geneva. The first secretary general of the League was Sir Eric Drummond of Britain who occupied the post from 1920 to 1933. He was assisted by two undersecretaries.
- (d) **The Permanent Court of International Justice:** The Permanent Court of International Justice had fifteen judges of different nationalities who were elected jointly by the Council and Assembly. The Permanent Court was inaugurated on 15th February 1922 and continued to work till October 1945. Its headquarters was situated at the Hague.
- (e) **The International Labour Organisation or the ILO:** The ILO of the League of Nations had its annual general conference where each member nation sent four delegates, two representing the member government, one the employers and one representing the employees. The first director of the ILO was a French socialist named Albert Thomas.

Achievements of the League: The League of Nations was extremely successful during the first ten years after the First World War. Some of the achievements are listed below:

1. It settled several international political disputes. The Aland Islands dispute between Finland and Sweden was sorted out by the commission

established by the League. The League also solved a dispute between Poland and Germany over a boundary line near Upper Silesia, which was an important economic zone. In 1921, the League of Nations secured the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Albania by the threat of imposing economic sanctions under Article 16 of the League. The League solved the Corfu incident of August 1923 between Italy and Greece. The League checked the Greek invasion on Bulgaria in 1925.

2. The League also showed exemplary success in certain social achievements too. It did a lot to check the trafficking of drugs. There were efforts also taken in order to check the illegal and immoral trafficking of women and children. It took steps to abolish slavery. A permanent convention on slavery was set up at Geneva in 1925. The health organisation of the League did very good job in investigating the causes of epidemics, for example the epidemic of typhus was checked in Russia effectively.
3. The League also had several economic laurels in its cap. The financial committee of the League advised the Council on general financial matters. The first World Economic Conference was held at Brussels in 1920. Following the Great Depression the Council of the League of Nations convened the International Monetary Conference at London in 1933.
4. The League is also credited with achieving success in the sphere of cultural cooperation. In 1922, the League appointed an International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It tried to coordinate ‘international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilisation and human knowledge and notably the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts’.

After the First World War, several colonies and territories were distributed among the victorious nations as ‘mandates’. These territories were not to be annexed but entrusted to the victorious nations to improve the conditions of the mandate territories. Article 22 of the League allowed the setting up of the Mandate Commission which was entrusted with the task of dealing with the system of mandates. The countries and their mandate were as follows:

- Britain - Mesopotamia, Tanganyika and Palestine
- France - Syria and Lebanon
- Belgium- Ruanda-Urundi
- Japan - German Islands in Northern Pacific
- Australia - German Islands in South Pacific

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- New-Zealand - Western Samoa
- Union of South Africa - Namibia

The mandate commission's task was to ensure that the state given the mandate governed their respective mandates well and prepared the mandates for independence. Iraq moved towards independence as early as 1932. However most of the other mandate nations received their independence closer to the Second World War or after it.

Failure of the League of Nations: Although it is true that the League did venture into several issues of international cooperation, the greatest test of its functioning was the outbreak of the Second World War. The inability of the League of Nations to stop another world war is evidence enough of its failure; the League failed when the world needed it most. After especially 1930, the League was not able to promote peace, security and international cooperation. There were number of factors responsible for the failure of the League of Nations. The factors are enumerated below:

- The League was connected to the discriminatory Treaty of Versailles
- Despite the American President Woodrow Wilson being at the forefront calling for the formation of the League after the First World War, the United States of America never joined the League. Thus the League was handicapped from the beginning without the USA
- The League also did not have other great powers like Soviet Russia as members
- The League failed to achieve disarmament
- Rise of dictatorships in Italy and Germany
- The failure of the League to check aggression
- The collapse of the notion of collective security

Despite all these failures, it must be admitted that the League of Nations was a great international experiment in the maintenance of international peace. The League of Nations also pioneered the way of international peace organisations which ultimately was realised by the establishment of the United Nations Organisation in 1945.

Check Your Progress

9. Name the nation which emerged as a powerful nation in the Far East.
10. Mention the fourteen points as laid down by Woodrow Wilson.
11. In which year did the League of Nations come into existence?

9.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The basic issues of the Eastern Question were the following:
 - (i) What was to happen to the European territories of the crumbling Ottoman Empire?
 - (ii) Who would benefit from Turkey's collapse?
 - (iii) What was to take the place of Turkey in the event of its disappearance from Europe?
2. Austria, Berlin and St. Petersburg reached a joint understanding, and their views were embodied in what is known as the Andrassy Note. The Andrassy Note was named after the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Andrassy who sent it to Count Beust, the Austrian ambassador to the Court of St James.
3. The Treaty of San Stefano was signed between Russia and Turkey in 1878.
4. A Congress of European powers met at Berlin in 1878 under Bismarck's presidency.
5. The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian youth named Gavrilo Princip.
6. The terms of the Austro-German Dual Alliance were the following:
 - If any of the contracting parties were attacked by Russia or by any other power supported by Russia, its ally will come to its assistance with all forces
 - If either party was to attack by a power other than Russia its ally was to observe benevolent neutrality
 - The treaty was to be effective for five years and renewable. Bismarck kept these terms of the treaty secret up until 1887
7. The First World War began on 28 July 1914 with the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia, which was followed by the German invasion of Belgium, Luxembourg and France and a Russian attack on Germany.
8. An important feature of the First World War seen on the Western Front was the concept of attrition warfare.
9. Japan emerged as the powerful nation in the Far East.
10. The fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson are summarized as follows:
 - (i) No more secret agreements ('Open covenants openly arrived at')
 - (ii) Free navigation in all seas

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- (iii) An end to all economic barriers between countries
 - (iv) Reduction of national armaments
 - (v) All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial
 - (vi) The evacuation of the German Army from all Russian territory it holds. Moreover, Russia should be left to develop her own political set-up
 - (vii) Independence of Belgium
 - (viii) France should be fully liberated and allowed to recover Alsace-Lorraine
 - (ix) All Italians are to be allowed to live in Italy. Italy's borders to be 'along clearly recognisable lines of nationality'
 - (x) Self-determination should be allowed for all those living in Austria-Hungary
 - (xi) Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for the Balkan states
 - (xii) The Turkish people should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks in the old Turkish Empire should govern themselves
 - (xiii) An independent Poland should be created which should have access to the sea
 - (xiv) A League of Nations should be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states
11. The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920.

9.7 SUMMARY

- In the 7th century, Islam came into being in Arabia. The followers of Islam founded an immensely strong empire and started invading other regions in an effort to spread their faith.
- The Balkan region was inhabited by a variety of people which included the Serbs, the Albanians, the Greeks the Rumanians and the Bulgars.
- Throughout Turkish rule, the Balkans remained an underdeveloped region. Officials were corrupt, torture was legal, and no demonstrations against Turkish rule were permitted.
- If Turkey was considered the 'sick man of Europe', then Russia looked forward to the day when the 'sick man' died. Russia had already made considerable territorial gains in the 18th century.
- Austria's interests were more vital than Russia or Britain. It was an almost landlocked Empire with only a short coastline at the head of the Adriatic Sea where her position was precarious.

- The British who had begun to think of the Mediterranean as ‘our sea’ had a large volume of trade with the Ottoman Empire.
- France also maintained an interest in the Balkans. France had built up a prosperous trade route in eastern Mediterranean and had political interests in Egypt, neither of which she wished to see threatened by an expanding Russia.
- In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was increasing restlessness among the subject states of the Ottoman Empire due to growing nationalist aspirations and race consciousness among the people of the Balkans.
- After capitulating against the Russians, the Turks were forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. The treaty shook the very foundations of the Turkish Empire in Europe.
- A Congress of European powers met at Berlin in 1878 under Bismarck’s presidency.
- After the Treaty of Berlin, the so called ‘Eastern Question’ began to reveal new developments. The freed Balkan nations instead of being content with their independence wished to add to their realms those people of their nationality who still remained under Turkish rule.
- The Eastern Question entered upon a new and startling phase in 1908. A reforming party had grown up in Ottoman Empire consisting of Turks mostly educated in the West.
- The destruction of the Ottoman Empire hastened after 1908. The policy of Turkification of the Young Turks harassed the Christians living under the Turkish banner.
- The First World War was a war fought between the world’s great powers which were gathered into two opposing alliances- the Allied Powers and the Central Powers.
- After the French were defeated in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 -71, the German Empire was established. The German Empire was based on a military force which grew steadily and became extremely formidable in Europe.
- The mutual rivalry against Russian schemes in the Far East brought about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902.
- During the 19th century a force spread across Europe that led to the First World War. This force was Nationalism - the belief that loyalty to a nation and its political and economic goals came before any other public loyalty.
- The Morocco crisis of 1905, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 added fuel to the air

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of suspicion that had taken over Europe by the beginning of the 20th century.

- The Morocco crisis of 1905, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 added fuel to the air of suspicion that had taken over Europe by the beginning of the 20th century.
- On 7 May, 1915, German U-Boats sunk the ocean liner RMS Lusitania killing over 120 Americans. The killing outraged American citizens and resulted in the rise of Anti-German sentiments in the US.
- The First World War began on 28 July 1914 with the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia, which was followed by the German invasion of Belgium, Luxembourg and France and a Russian attack on Germany.
- The First World War resulted in innumerable destruction of life and property. Nearly 10 million soldiers lost their lives and around 21 million men were wounded in the First World War.
- The war brought about a major change in the social scenario as well. Due to the war, the population of Europe was checked temporarily.
- Germany agreed to sign the armistice that signalled the end of the war on the back of the US President Woodrow Wilson's peace proposals.
- An assessment of the Treaty of Versailles reveals that the treaty was laced with the attribute of vindictiveness and was an indicator of dictated peace.
- The First World War due to its devastating impact resulted in the people of Europe becoming disgusted by war. After the war came to an end anti-war sentiment rose across the world. Much was written and spoken of against the idea of war.

9.8 KEY WORDS

- **Racialism:** It pertains more to a racial group as opposed to an individual.
- **Ottoman Empire:** It was founded by Osman I, a leader of the Turkish tribes around 1299.

9.9 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the rise of nationalism in the Balkan States.
2. What was the Berlin Memorandum?

3. Briefly mention the Young Turk Movement.
4. State the military alliances formed during the First World War.
5. List the peace settlements signed after the culmination of the First World War.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the interests of the various European powers in the Balkans.
2. Analyse the significance of Congress of Berlin.
3. Explain the Balkan Wars.
4. Describe the course of the First World War.
5. Critically analyse the results of the First World War.

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9.10 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 10 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

NOTES

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Aims, Functions, Achievements and Failure
 - 10.2.1 Aims
 - 10.2.2 Functions
 - 10.2.3 Achievements
 - 10.2.4 Causes for Failure
- 10.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 10.4 Summary
- 10.5 Key Words
- 10.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 10.7 Further Readings

10.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the Balkan Wars; causes, course and results of the First World War.

The League of Nations was an international diplomatic organisation established after the First World War I with the objective to resolve disputes between countries to prevent them from fighting against each other. Some critics have regarded the League of Nations as a precursor to the United Nations. Although the League achieved some victories yet it was not entirely successful as it failed to avert the outbreak of the Second World War. The League effectively ceased operations during World War II.

In this unit, you will study about the aims, functions, achievements and failure of the League of Nations.

10.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- List the main objectives of the League of Nations
- Discuss the main organs of the League of Nations
- Analyse the achievements of the League of Nations

10.2 AIMS, FUNCTIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURE

The First World War, due to its devastating impact, resulted in the people of Europe becoming disgusted by war. After the war came to an end anti-war

sentiment rose across the world. Much was written and spoken against the idea of war. To ensure that a war like the First World War never occurred again, President Woodrow Wilson in his fourteen points called for, 'a general association of nations under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike'. In this regard, the Paris Peace Conference proposed the formation of the League of Nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

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10.2.1 Aims

The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920. The headquarters of the League of Nations was in Geneva, Switzerland. The aims and objective of the League of Nations were included in the covenant of the league. The primary goals of the League of Nations included preventing wars through 'collective security and disarmament', and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration. The other issues that the League looked at included labour conditions, human and drug trafficking, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.

Membership: The membership of the League of Nations included Latin American states, Japan and China, the dominions of the British Commonwealth, countries from the Middle East and the majority of European nations. The total membership of the league was 42 nations in 1920 which increased to 50 nations by 1924 and 60 nations by 1934.

10.2.2 Functions

Let us now study the main functioning of the major organs of the League.

The following were the main organs of the League of Nations:

- (a) **The Assembly:** The Assembly was the supreme deliberative body of the League of Nations. Formed on the principle of equality, every member nation irrespective of its size had an equal vote in it. The assembly met annually in Geneva on the first Monday of September. It controlled the budget and had a general authority over the league's affairs including the admission of members. As per rules, the decision of the assembly was unopposed and any dissenting vote was considered a veto. The assembly had elective powers and it elected the members of the council and fifteen judges of the permanent court of international justice for a nine year terms. It also approved the nomination of the secretary general.
- (b) **The Council:** The Council was a smaller body and met at least every three months and could be summoned on occasions of emergency. The refusal of the United States to be a permanent

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member of the council left only Britain, France, Italy and Japan with permanent seats though Germany was added in 1926. The first non-permanent members of the council were Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain. The number of elected members was six in 1922, nine in 1926, ten in 1933 and eleven in 1936. The Council dealt with any matter within the sphere of the objectives of the league or any matter that affected the peace of the world.

- (c) **The Secretariat:** The Secretariat was headed by the Secretary General of the League of Nations. It was a civil service of salaried officers permanently employed in carrying on the international business of the League at its headquarters in Geneva. The first secretary general of the League was Sir Eric Drummond of Britain who occupied the post from 1920 to 1933. He was assisted by two Under-secretaries.
- (d) **The Permanent Court of International Justice:** The Permanent Court of International Justice had fifteen judges of different nationalities who were elected jointly by the Council and Assembly. The Permanent Court was inaugurated on 15 February 1922 and continued to work till October 1945. Its headquarters was situated at the Hague.
- (e) **The International Labour Organisation or the ILO:** The ILO of the League of Nations had its annual general conference where each member nation sent four delegates, two representing the member government, one the employers and one representing the employees. The first director of the ILO was a French socialist named Albert Thomas.

10.2.3 Achievements

The League of Nations was extremely successful during the first ten years after the First World War. Some of the achievements are listed below:

1. **It settled several international political disputes:** The Aland Islands dispute between Finland and Sweden was sorted out by the commission established by the League. The League also solved a dispute between Poland and Germany over a boundary line near Upper Silesia, which was an important economic zone. In 1921, the League of Nations secured the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Albania by the threat of imposing economic sanctions under Article 16 of the League. The League solved the Corfu incident of August 1923 between Italy and Greece. The League checked the Greek invasion on Bulgaria in 1925.
2. **The League also showed exemplary success in certain social achievements too:** It did a lot to check the trafficking of drugs. There were efforts also taken in order to check the illegal and immoral

trafficking of women and children. It took steps to abolish slavery. A permanent convention on slavery was set up at Geneva in 1925. The health organisation of the League did very good job in investigating the causes of epidemics, for example, the epidemic of typhus was checked in Russia effectively.

3. **The League also had several economic laurels in its cap:** The financial committee of the League advised the Council on general financial matters. The first World Economic Conference was held at Brussels in 1920. Following the Great Depression the Council of the League of Nations convened the International Monetary Conference at London in 1933.
4. **The League is also credited with achieving success in the sphere of cultural cooperation:** In 1922, the League appointed an International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. It tried to coordinate ‘international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilisation and human knowledge and notably the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts’.

After the First World War, several colonies and territories were distributed among the victorious nations as ‘mandates’. These territories were not to be annexed but entrusted to the victorious nations to improve the conditions of the mandate territories. Article 22 of the League allowed the setting up of the Mandate Commission which was entrusted with the task of dealing with the system of mandates. The countries and their mandate were as follows:

- Britain - Mesopotamia, Tanganyika and Palestine
- France - Syria and Lebanon
- Belgium- Rwanda-Urundi
- Japan - German Islands in Northern Pacific
- Australia - German Islands in South Pacific
- New-Zealand - Western Samoa
- Union of South Africa - Namibia

The mandate commission’s task was to ensure that the state given the mandate governed their respective mandates well and prepared the mandates for independence. Iraq moved towards independence as early as 1932. However, most of the other mandate nations received their independence closer to the Second World War or after it.

10.2.4 Causes for Failure

Although it is true that the League did venture into several issues of international cooperation, the greatest test of its functioning was the outbreak

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of the Second World War. The inability of the League of Nations to stop another world war is evidence enough of its failure; the League failed when the world needed it most. After especially 1930, the League was not able to promote peace, security and international cooperation. There were number of factors responsible for the failure of the League of Nations. The factors are enumerated as follows:

- The League was connected to the discriminatory Treaty of Versailles.
- Despite the American President Woodrow Wilson being at the forefront calling for the formation of the League after the First World War, the United States of America never joined the League. Thus, the League was handicapped from the beginning without the USA.
- The League also did not have other great powers like Soviet Russia as members
- The League failed to achieve disarmament.
- Rise of dictatorships in Italy and Germany.
- The League failed to check aggression.
- The notion of collective security.

Despite all these failures, it must be admitted that the League of Nations was a great international experiment in the maintenance of international peace. The League of Nations also pioneered the way of international peace organisations which ultimately was realised by the establishment of the United Nations Organisation in 1945.

Check Your Progress

1. When did the League of Nations come into existence?
2. What were the primary objectives of the League of Nations?
3. Where was the headquarter of the Permanent Court of International Justice located?
4. Name the first director of the International Labour Organization (ILO).

10.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920.
2. The primary goals of the League of Nations included preventing wars through 'collective security and disarmament', and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.

3. The headquarters of the Permanent Court of International Justice was situated at the Hague.
4. The first director of the ILO was a French socialist named Albert Thomas.

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10.4 SUMMARY

- The First World War, due to its devastating impact, resulted in the people of Europe becoming disgusted by war. After the war came to an end anti-war sentiment rose across the world.
- The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10 January 1920. The headquarters of the League of Nations was in Geneva, Switzerland.
- The membership of the League of Nations included Latin American states, Japan and China, the dominions of the British Commonwealth, countries from the Middle East and the majority of European nations.
- The League of Nations was extremely successful during the first ten years after the First World War.
- After the First World War, several colonies and territories were distributed among the victorious nations as ‘mandates’. These territories were not to be annexed but entrusted to the victorious nations to improve the conditions of the mandate territories.
- Although it is true that the League did venture into several issues of international cooperation, the greatest test of its functioning was the outbreak of the Second World War.
- The League of Nations also pioneered the way of international peace organisations which ultimately was realised by the establishment of the United Nations Organisation in 1945.

10.5 KEY WORDS

- **Veto:** It is referred to as a constitutional right to reject a decision or proposal made by a law-making body.
- **Trafficking:** It is the act of buying or selling goods illegally.

10.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the membership of the League of Nations.
2. What were the main functions of the Assembly of the League of Nations?

Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the major organs of the League of Nations.
2. Discuss the achievements of the League of Nations.
3. Do you think that the League of Nations was successful in restoring peace and security in the world order? Give reasons to justify your answer.

10.7 FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK - IV
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, FORMATION OF UNO
AND ITS FUNCTIONS

NOTES

UNIT 11 THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION

Structure

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 Causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917
- 11.3 Course of the Russian Revolution
- 11.4 Results of the Russian Revolution
- 11.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 11.6 Summary
- 11.7 Key Words
- 11.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 11.9 Further Readings

11.0 INTRODUCTION

The Russian Revolution was the final nail in the coffin for feudal aristocratic rule, and the ideas of the revolution inspired and transformed the social, economic and political lives of people all over the world. The two revolutions of 1917 completely changed the fabric of Russia. First, the February Russian Revolution toppled the Russian monarchy and established a provisional government. Then in October, a second Russian Revolution placed the Bolsheviks as the leaders of Russia, resulting in the creation of the world's first communist country.

Following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 that resulted in the unification of Germany, there was comparative peace in Europe. This period of peace was characterized by technological advancement, industrial progress and economic prosperity in many countries across Europe. This newfound prosperity was reflected in the general lifestyle of the people of Europe who saw their standard of living improving dramatically. However, the prosperity of European nations also resulted in them increasing their military might and also expanding their colonial possessions overseas. Important treaties such as the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente were also signed during this period.

In this unit, you will learn about the causes, course and results of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

11.1 OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917
- Explain the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917
- Analyse the results of the Russian Revolution of 1917

11.2 CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

The Russian Empire was one of the largest empires the world has ever seen. At one point in time, it stretched from Eastern Europe across Asia and into North America. Various rulers of the Russian empire, called the Czars, governed the empire with an iron fist. In 1917, after more than 300 years of Czarist autocracy, the Russian people inspired by the guidance of various leaders, overthrew the Czarist regime and won new freedom for the people of Russia. For the first time in history, the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as employed by Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky and others, were used to empower the working classes, called the proletariat, to create a society that was based on economic and social justice.

Czarist Autocracy

The root causes of the Russian Revolution lay in the socio-economic and political realities of Russian society. Russia in the 19th century seemed to be totally untouched by the ideas of the enlightened that had swept Western Europe during that time. In the early 19th century, Russia continued to be governed like it had been for the previous three centuries – under the autocratic rule of the Romanov dynasty. The Romanov's ruled alone and did not permit any opposition to them. There were no real representative bodies for the people, freedom of expression was limited, the press was not free, books were censored frequently, opposition leaders were either executed or exiled to Siberia and so forth. Even the Russian Parliament, called the Duma, was ignored by the Czar whenever he wanted to. All of these factors led to the people of Russia being totally frustrated by the Romanov dynasty. This frustration manifested itself in many demonstrations and strikes against the Czarist regime, many of which were brutally suppressed by the Czar. A notable example being the events of 'Bloody Sunday' where unarmed peaceful demonstrators were brutally massacred by the Imperial guard in St. Petersburg when they were marching to present a petition to Czar Nicholas II. Somewhere between 1,000 and 4,000 people were killed by the guards during the shooting. According to many historians, 'Bloody Sunday' was one

of the major reasons why the Czarist regime, and in particular Czar Nicholas II, in the beginning of the twentieth century had become totally discredited in the eyes of the Russian people.



Fig. 11.1 Czar Nicholas II

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Social and Economic Backwardness

Russia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was an unjust and unequal society. The industrial revolution that had swept Europe in the second half of the 19th century resulted in a huge increase in the urban industrial working class population in Russia. However, the growth of industrialization did not improve the lives of the people in Russia. The industrial working classes lived in cramped urban dwellings, were paid low wages, were denied any sort of rights in the workplace and so forth. By the end of the 19th century, due to a variety of reasons which you will study about later, this industrial urban working class became extremely conscious of their rights. They undertook many strikes and agitations against what they saw as unjust policies of the regime and demanded economic and social improvement in their lives. It could be said that the political awareness among the industrial workers was one of the factors that led to the revolution.

The condition of the Russian peasantry was no less satisfactory. By the turn of the century, about 70 per cent of the population in Russia was made up of peasants. Although serfs had been emancipated in 1861, their conditions had not improved significantly. In return for their freedom, serfs had to pay to the state a sum of money, which caused many serf families to go into debt. Moreover, many serfs were given less land than they needed to survive, while others were not given any land at all. The condition of agriculture in Russia was also extremely poor with the Czarist regime not making any attempts to improve it. Primitive techniques were used for farming, which led to poor

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yields. A majority of the peasants were also illiterate and, thus, were not in any position to find alternative sources of work. Czarist policies had also resulted in extremely unequal distribution of land in Russia. In the early 20th century, about 1.5 per cent of the Russian population owned 25 per cent of the land. This segment of big landholders became the capitalist farmers who exploited landless farm labourers mercilessly. All of these factors resulted in a tremendous increase in peasant uprisings throughout the latter half of the 19th century. Since the Russian peasantry constituted the vast majority of the Russian population, their dissatisfaction became one of the major causes of the revolution.

Another important social factor that bred discontent among the people was the policy of ‘Russification’. As you have studied, the Russian Empire was one of the biggest in the world and encompassed several countries. The policy of Russification, i.e., the suppression of the languages, literature, and culture of the non-Russian nationalities was introduced by the Romanovs in an effort to create some sort of uniformity in society and, thus, making their task of administration easier. There was always tension between the European and the Asian residents of the Russian empire, with frequent clashes erupting. The policy of Russification made things worse. Moreover, the relationship between the minorities and the majority ‘white’ Russians was almost colonial in nature. The regions of Caucasia, Kazakhstan, Russian Poland and others were exploited for their raw material, but equal attention was not paid to the development of these regions. This made the people of these regions extremely resentful and angry with the Romanovs. This resentment and anger of the minorities played an important role in the revolution that was to occur in 1917. A number of prominent revolutionaries emerged from the various minorities in Russia, for example Leo Trotsky.

The Growth of Revolutionary Ideas

The extreme inequality and oppression in Russia in the 19th century proved to be a fertile ground for revolutionary ideas. In the 19th century, although Russia continued to have a backward political system that was resistant to change, there also emerged an educated politically conscious class of people—writers, philosophers, activists—whose radical ideas germinated throughout the Russian empire. The class of writers that emerged in Russia in the 19th century—writers like Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoevsky and Chekov—are still considered by many to be the greatest generation of writers the world has ever seen. Their books were widely read and deeply influenced the Russian people.

Moreover, the despotic Czarist regime also gave rise to several revolutionary movements in Russia. These movements, like Nihilism, Anarchism and Populism, started in the 1860s and played a huge role in radicalizing the population of Russia. Many radicals from these movements

also took part in many acts of violence against the state, including the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. There was also an increase in the popularity of the philosophy of Karl Marx among the students and the young population of the country. Finally, there was also an emergence of two political parties who were to play an extremely critical role during the revolution. These two parties were:

- **The Social Democratic Party (S.D):** It was a party formed in 1898 to unite various revolutionary movements under one banner.
- **The Socialist Revolutionaries (S.R):** It was a party whose ideology was largely derived from the populist movements of the 1860s.

In 1903, the Socialist Democratic Party split into two factions, i.e., the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Despite their ideological differences, both the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries were united by their hatred of the Czarist regime. Although revolutionary movements like nihilism and populism played an important role in developing the consciousness of the masses towards the revolution that was to come, it was the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Revolutionaries who were to lead the Russian people towards the revolution.

Russia's Military and Diplomatic Humiliation in 1904-05

A major event that occurred that proved to be a turning point for the Czarist regime was the Russian-Japanese War in 1904-1905. The war was extremely unpopular among Russians and highlighted the inefficiency and incompetence of the Russian government headed by Czar Nicholas II. The military disaster and humiliation faced by Russia at the hands of a small Asian country Japan once again proved to the Russian people the rottenness of the Russian regime. The ensuing anger and resentment led to the assassination of the Minister of the Interior Vyacheslav Konstantinovich von Plehve. After the defeat against Japan, the government, fearing that uprisings and civil unrest could go out of hand, asked various revolutionary groups to submit a list of demands. An eleven point charter was submitted to Nicholas II which included basic rights of citizens. Through these eleven points, a dent was made to the 200 year old absolutist rule by the Romanovs.

Revolution of 1905

The eleven point charter that was submitted to Nicholas II was backed by several demonstrations. There were a series of strikes and demonstrations all over Russia. These strikes involved people from all walks of life including lawyers, railway workers, factory workers, magistrates, doctors and so forth. The magnitude of the protests and its attendance by people from all walks of life forced the Russian government to start initiating reforms. The Czar and his ministers also opened negotiations with various revolutionary groups.

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Under the pressure of mass demonstrations, Czar Nicholas II issued his famous 'October Manifesto' of 1905.

The 'October Manifesto' promised sweeping reforms that included the right to freedom of speech, association, assembly and press. A legislature known as the *Duma* endowed with legislative functions and the control over the law of the land was also promised. Nicholas also promised the right to vote for workers. Nicholas II's promise to set up the *Duma* amounted to the surrender of autocratic and despotic power by the Czar and his ministers. Although Nicholas II diluted many of the concessions he had made in the October Manifesto, the revolution of 1905 revealed to the people what united public action was capable of. Lenin was later to term the revolution of 1905 as a dress rehearsal for another revolution that was to come.

After the Czar diluted many of the promises that he made in his October Manifesto, the experiment of limited constitutional monarchy in Russia was doomed to fail. In later years, Czar Nicholas II routinely ignored the *Duma* and did what he liked. The failure of the *Duma* experiment of limited constitutional monarchy eventually led to a more radical revolution which put an end to the despotic and reactionary regime of Czar Nicholas II.



Fig. 11.2 Demonstrators in Jakobstad 1905

The First World War

The immediate cause of the Russian Revolution was the hardships the common people and the soldiers suffered after the outbreak of the First World War. The First World War was essentially a European war fought to divide the colonies of various empires. For the vast majority of the people whether the Russian Empire gained more colonies was a matter of great indifference. Czar Nicholas II, on the other hand, looked at the war as a matter of prestige.

This complete alienation of the monarch from the wishes of the people was the final nail in the coffin for the Czarist regime.

During the war, soldiers of Czar Nicholas II's army suffered heavily due to inefficient leadership. On the front lines, the major brunt of the war against the Germans was fought by the ill-fed, ill-equipped and ill-clothed Russian soldier, many of whom were poor peasant conscripts. Lacking adequate provisions and ammunitions, the Russian soldiers became cannon fodder for the German guns. In 1916 alone, over a million Russian soldiers were killed. As a result, the soldiers of the Russian Army became increasingly disillusioned by the Czarist regime. The First World War also had an impact on people in towns and cities as well. During the war, inflation skyrocketed and thus, the prices of various daily needed goods increased by leaps and bounds. By the end of 1916, there was acute shortage of food in Russia and all around there was a cry for bread. The increasing gap between the wage level and the cost of living of the workers created unhealthy living conditions for workers. Moreover, issues like war repression, poor working conditions especially in militarised factories and industries rendered life miserable for the working classes. An attempt to improve the situation was made by a committee of experts who appealed to the Czar to look into the affairs of the government and mend things. However, the Czar turned a deaf ear to the appeals and his officers became more corrupt. Thus, people increasingly started to believe that there was no way other than a revolution to get rid of Czarist apathy.

The First World War had a huge impact on the Russian countryside as well. Many millions of peasant conscripts were killed in the war. Moreover, since many peasants had joined the army, thousands of agricultural household were devoid of workers. This loss of manpower led to a decline in farm productivity and helped undermine the agriculture sector. There was an acute shortage of food grains in the open market as all food grain supplies was transported to soldiers on the front line. As there was a breakdown of transport facilities, it became difficult to transport food grains to the towns and cities too. All these factors bred discontent among the docile peasantry and enabled revolutionary parties to use their discontent against the Czarist regime. During the revolution, socialist revolutionaries organised the peasants into an anti-czarism revolutionary force.

The war also revealed the moral bankruptcy of Czarist Russia. During the war it became apparent to the people that Czar Nicholas II was willing to sacrifice millions of his countrymen in a war no one wanted to fight just so the 'prestige' of the Russian Empire could be maintained. Moreover, during the war, administrative affairs began to be mismanaged. Rumours began to be spread that the King and Queen were under the influence of the monk Rasputin, who was considered an extremely controversial figure. These rumours resulted in people beginning to mistrust a regime that was already

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on its last legs. The suffering caused by the virtual blockade of Russian trade by the Germans, together with the above mentioned factors combined to destroy the last foundations of Czarist Russia. Even the assassination of Rasputin by those who considered him a threat to the Russian Empire could not save the Romanovs. By the end of 1916, the Russian people had had enough of the Romanovs.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the significance of the 'Bloody Sunday'?
2. State one reason responsible for the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917.
3. Name the two political parties who played a crucial role in the Russian Revolution of 1917.
4. Mention the reforms promised under the 'October Manifesto' in 1905.
5. What was the immediate cause of the Russian Revolution?

11.3 COURSE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By the middle of 1916, the Russian people were physically, mentally and psychologically exhausted by the First World War. The Russian Empire had lost millions of people and was economically shattered. The people had also become disgusted by the whims of the Czar and the Czarina and grew tired of the stifling oppression in Czarist Russia. But even amidst this chaos, the Czar and his courtiers seem totally ignorant of the seriousness of the suffering of the people. By the end of 1916, it was only a matter of time before the revolution would erupt.

Let us now look at the sequence of events that led to the February/March Revolution erupting:

1. February 1917: Series of strikes break out in cities and peasants start riots in rural areas. By the end of February, the number of strikers in Petrograd alone numbers over 200,000.
2. March 8th: The International Day of Women is observed. Housewives demonstrate at Petrograd, the capital of the Russian Empire.
3. These demonstrators are joined by the striking workers.
4. March 10th: All factories and industrial establishments in the capital are closed.
5. The next day troops are called out to maintain law and order. They open fire on the striking workers killing sixty of them.

6. The Czar orders the Duma to be prorogued because a socialist leader, Alexander Kerensky, demands removal of the Czar, by force if necessary, to save Russia.
7. The Duma defies the Czar and sets up a provisional committee to restore order and take necessary measures to carry on the affairs of the country.
8. The next day, the Czar orders his troops to shoot at the rioters and put down the disturbances. The soldiers at the garrison of Petrograd refuse and revolt.
9. The soldiers arrest their own officers and openly support the revolutionary cause.
10. March 12th: The representatives of the factory committee meet different representatives of the SDS and the SRS and organise a Soviet (council) of Workers Deputies.
11. The next day, the Soviet of Workers Deputies is recognised by the mutinous soldiers.
12. The Soviet immediately takes control of all crucial public services in Petrograd.
13. March 14th: The leaders of the Duma eager to bring the situation under control formed the provisional government and sent a notice to Czar Nicholas II to abdicate the throne since he had proved himself unfit to restore law and order. Finding himself abandoned by the Duma and the armed forces, the Czar abdicates his throne on 15 March 1917.

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Fig. 11.3 Demonstrators in Petrograd in February 1917

The October/Bolshevik Revolution

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The revolution that ended the dynastic rule of the Romanov dynasty was a spontaneous outburst of people's dissatisfaction against the corrupt and autocratic rule of Czar Nicholas II. After the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II, the authority of the state was now in dual hands; the Duma and the Provisional government on one side and the Petrograd Soviet of Worker Deputies on the other. The leaders of the Petrograd Soviet believed that they represented only a particular class of the population in Russia and not the whole nation. They also believed that Russia was not ready for socialism. Thus, they wanted to limit their role to only act as a pressure group to force a hesitant provincial government to introduce extensive democratic reforms in Russia. These reforms included guaranteed civil rights, abolishing the monarchy and introducing a republic, free democratic elections and so forth. The Soviet also made it clear to the provincial government that Russia would have to withdraw from the First World War. Initially, the Soviet (which had now expanded into a national organisation with national leadership) refused to join the government, considering it a bourgeois government that was pro capitalist and therefore anti people. However, a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party called Alexander Kerensky agreed to join the government and later became its leader.

In the coming months, it was made clear that the provincial government would not be withdrawing from the First World War. In fact, on June 18, the provincial government launched an attack on the Germans which proved to be disastrous. Later, they reengaged on a promise and ordered soldiers to the frontline. The war-weary soldiers and the turbulent working classes started becoming increasingly critical of the provincial government. By July, demonstrations were taking place on the streets. On 1 July, about 500,000 workers and soldiers in Petrograd demonstrated chanting, "down with the war", and "down with the ten capitalist ministers". On July 17, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, over 500,000 people participated in a peaceful demonstration. The provisional government in response ordered an armed attack against the demonstrators. The attack left 56 people dead. The events that took place in July, termed the 'July Days' turned the workers and soldiers in Russia against the provincial government. Throughout its brief existence, the provincial government was unable to weld soldiers, peasantry, workers and the bourgeois together and this paved the way for the Bolshevik revolution in October.



Fig. 11.4 Demonstration against the Provincial Government in July 1917

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Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the acknowledged leader of the Bolshevik party. When the February/March revolution broke out, he was in exile in Switzerland. Soon after the revolution, he came back to Petrograd and began the task of organising the Bolshevik Party. During the train back to Russia, Lenin composed his famous 'April Thesis'. In the thesis, Lenin demanded, among other things, the immediate transfer of power to the Soviet and an immediate end to the First World War, and the merger of all banks into one national bank controlled by the Soviets. After returning to Russia, Lenin organised an intensive and sustained propaganda campaign against the provisional government. Lenin held public meetings and denounced the provisional government and called for "all power to the Soviets". Infused with the leadership of Lenin, the popularity of the Bolshevik increased dramatically. In August, an attempt was made at a conservative coup by General Lavr Kornilov, the recently appointed Supreme Commander of Russian military forces. The provincial government had to call on the Bolsheviks to help "defend the revolution." This event, known as the "Kornilov Affair", not only exposed the provincial government as being extremely weak and fragmented, but at the same time it strengthened the Bolshevik Party. The provincial government seemed to be moving from crisis to crisis and it was only a matter of time that it was overthrown.

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Fig. 11.5 Lenin and Trotsky addressing Demonstrators in 1917

In October, under Lenin's leadership, the Bolsheviks launched their own revolution to take the city of Petrograd. In Petrograd, the provincial government had almost no support with almost the entire population of the city supporting the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks were totally in command of the Petrograd Soviet and used it to organise their military units. Under the command of the Military Revolutionary Committee (MRS) the Bolshevik Red Guards began the takeover of government buildings on 24 October 1917. The following day, the seat of power of the provincial government - the Winter Palace - was captured. The storming of the Winter Palace signalled the beginning of Bolshevik rule in Russia.

Let us now look at the sequence of events that led to the Bolshevik revolution in October:

1. In July, an armed demonstration was held by soldiers, sailors and workers against the provincial government, although government managed to suppress it.
2. In August, the army under General Kornilov sought to capture power by overthrowing the provincial government. However, this coup also collapsed and the Kerensky government was saved once again.
3. From the first week of September, Russia started witnessing an unexpected whirlwind of revolts and demonstrations as far as Siberia and Turkestan.
4. Lenin started to mobilise the Bolsheviks in an effort to capture power. Leon Trotsky was elected the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and organised the Military Revolutionary Committee with an aim to overthrow the provisional government.
5. On October 6th, a rumour concerning a counter revolution to shift the government out of Petrograd and abandon the citadel of revolution to

the advancing German army alarmed the Soviet and the Bolsheviks. Trotsky immediately took steps to act on the rumour.

6. The politburo of the Bolsheviks decided that the proposed coup would take place on October 25th to coincide with the meeting of All Russian Congress of Soviets
7. The strategy and actions of the Petrograd Soviet and the MRC had already reduced Kerensky's government to a mere shadow with the provisional government practically having lost power.
8. On October 24th, Kerensky declared that Petrograd was in a state of insurrection and ordered the arrest of all those Bolsheviks who had participated in the July armed demonstrations.
9. The Bolsheviks, the Petrograd Soviet and the MRC decided that the time had come to act. During the night, Trotsky's troops occupied the central telephone exchange, the railway station, the central post office and other key installations without violence.
10. The city's electric power plant was also occupied and the power supply to government buildings was cut off. The pro-Bolshevik crew of the naval ship 'Aurora' defied the orders of their superiors put their ship out to sea and dropped anchor in the Neva river near the Winter Palace.
11. During this time, Kerensky's cabinet was in an emergency meeting. The *Aurora* threatened the Winter Palace and the Peter and Paul Fortress by firing salvos on them. The Red Guards, the Bolshevik soldiers and the Baltic naval fleet soldiers issued an ultimatum to the provincial government demanding its resignation. This ultimatum was rejected.
12. By the morning of October 25th, almost the entire city of Petrograd had been captured by the Bolsheviks. At 10:00 am, the MRC broadcasted an address of Lenin declaring that the provisional government had been overthrown. Lenin declared that now the power had passed into the hands of the MRC which was heading the Petrograd Proletariat and soldiers. He proclaimed, "the cause for which people have fought namely the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production and the establishment of Soviet power –that cause has been secured. Long Live the Revolution of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!"
13. While the Red Guards were busy capturing power, the All Russian Congress of Soviets met on the 25th. In the Congress, the Bolsheviks had 350 members out of 650 members in total.
14. The Congress issued three decrees:
 - A decree of peace announcing the unilateral termination of Russia's participation in the First World War by the new Soviet government

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- The second decree was related to the abolition of private ownership of estates and their confiscation without compensation
 - The third decree ordered the election of an All-Russian Central Executive Committee comprising of 101 members
15. The All Russian Congress of Soviets also elected a cabinet with Lenin as the Prime Minister, Trotsky as the Minister of War and Foreign Affairs and Joseph Stalin as Minister for Nationalities. The cabinet was known as the Soviet of Peoples Commissars.
16. The new government began functioning and worked for the establishment of a socialist government by eliminating feudalism and capitalism with earnest.



Fig. 11.6 Petrograd Soviet Assembly, 1917

11.4 RESULTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Lenin's Russia was a one party ruled state which was infused with revolutionary ideas. The new Soviet republic immediately began working to transform the lives of the working class and the peasants in Russia. Let us go through the significance of the Russian Revolution:

- The revolution put an end to the autocratic and despotic rule of the Czar and paved the way for the Bolshevik rule.
- The Bolshevik Revolution in October was the first great experiment in the implementation of the ideas of Marxism- Leninism to actually govern a country.
- Soviet Russia challenged the existing State and social structure and thus offered an alternative to capitalism.

- The Bolshevik Revolution put Russia on the road to modernity and progress by bringing her out of the slumber of backwardness.
- The economic planning of Soviet Russia, particularly the Five Year plans not only provided a model of development for underdeveloped countries like India, but also for advanced nations.
- The Bolshevik Revolution took Russia into the realms of technological advancement and progress in the fields of sports, science, industry, etc.
- The success of the economic development under Soviet rule transformed the nation from being a European backwater into one of the two sole superpowers.
- The revolution also encouraged class antagonism and class conflict.
- The traditional power of clergy, nobles and the bourgeoisie were liquidated and state power was monopolised by the Communist and its leadership in the name of ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’.
- The economically worn out and distressed masses of Russia were inspired with new hope by the Bolshevik party that took over after the October Revolution in 1917. The USSR was to become, at least for a few years, a beacon of hope for the working classes all over the world and provided inspiration for people in colonised nations to overthrow their imperialist government.

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Check Your Progress

6. Who controlled the authority of the state after the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II?
7. Name the leader of the Bolshevik party.
8. State the event which signalled the beginning of Bolshevik rule in Russia.

11.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. ‘Bloody Sunday’ was the incident where unarmed peaceful demonstrators were brutally massacred by the Imperial guard in St. Petersburg when they were marching to present a petition to Czar Nicholas II. Somewhere between 1,000 and 4,000 people were killed by the guards during the shooting. According to many historians, ‘Bloody Sunday’ was one of the major reasons why the Czarist regime, and in particular Czar Nicholas II, in the beginning of the twentieth century had become totally discredited in the eyes of the Russian people.

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2. It can be said that the political awareness among the industrial workers was one of the factors that led to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917.
3. The two political parties who played a crucial role in the Russian Revolution of 1917 were the Social Democratic Party (S.D) and the Socialist Revolutionaries (S.R).
4. The 'October Manifesto' promised sweeping reforms that included the right to freedom of speech, association, assembly and press. A legislature known as the *Duma* endowed with legislative functions and the control over the law of the land was also promised. Nicholas also promised the right to vote for workers. Nicholas II's promise to set up the *Duma* amounted to the surrender of autocratic and despotic power by the Czar and his ministers.
5. The immediate cause of the Russian Revolution was the hardships the common people and the soldiers suffered after the outbreak of the First World War.
6. After the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II, the authority of the state was now in dual hands; the Duma and the Provisional government on one side and the Petrograd Soviet of Worker Deputies on the other.
7. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the acknowledged leader of the Bolshevik party.
8. The storming of the Winter Palace signalled the beginning of Bolshevik rule in Russia.

11.6 SUMMARY

- The Russian Revolution was the final nail in the coffin for feudal aristocratic rule, and the ideas of the revolution inspired and transformed the social, economic and political lives of people all over the world.
- The Russian Empire was one of the largest empires the world has ever seen. At one point in time, it stretched from Eastern Europe across Asia and into North America.
- The root causes of the Russian Revolution lay in the socio-economic and political realities of Russian society. Russia in the 19th century seemed to be totally untouched by the ideas of the enlightened that had swept Western Europe during that time.
- Russia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was an unjust and unequal society. The industrial revolution that had swept Europe in the second half of the 19th century resulted in a huge increase in the urban industrial working class population in Russia.

- The policy of Russification, i.e., the suppression of the languages, literature, and culture of the non-Russian nationalities was introduced by the Romanovs in an effort to create some sort of uniformity in society and, thus, making their task of administration easier.
- The extreme inequality and oppression in Russia in the 19th century proved to be a fertile ground for revolutionary ideas. In the 19th century, although Russia continued to have a backward political system that was resistant to change, there also emerged an educated politically conscious class of people –writers, philosophers, activists- whose radical ideas germinated throughout the Russian empire.
- A major event that occurred that proved to be a turning point for the Czarist regime was the Russian-Japanese War in 1904-1905.
- The ‘October Manifesto’ promised sweeping reforms that included the right to freedom of speech, association, assembly and press.
- The immediate cause of the Russian Revolution was the hardships the common people and the soldiers suffered after the outbreak of the First World War. The First World War was essentially a European war fought to divide the colonies of various empires.
- By the middle of 1916, the Russian people were physically, mentally and psychologically exhausted by the First World War. The Russian Empire had lost millions of people and was economically shattered.
- The revolution that ended the dynastic rule of the Romanov dynasty was a spontaneous outburst of people’s dissatisfaction against the corrupt and autocratic rule of Czar Nicholas II.
- Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the acknowledged leader of the Bolshevik party. When the February/March revolution broke out, he was in exile in Switzerland.
- Lenin’s Russia was a one party ruled state which was infused with revolutionary ideas. The new Soviet republic immediately began working to transform the lives of the working class and the peasants in Russia.

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11.7 KEY WORDS

- **Proletariat:** It is a term used to refer to workers without high status,
- **Duma:** This was the name given to the Russian parliament from 1906 to 1917.
- **Nihilism:** It a viewpoint that traditional values and beliefs are unfounded and that existence is senseless and useless.

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- **Constitutional monarchy:** It is a system of government in which a country is ruled by a king and queen whose power is limited by a constitution.
- **Populism:** It is a political movement in which the population is mobilised often against an institution or government usually as a reaction against the wrong deeds of the institution.

11.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How did the growth of the revolutionary ideas contribute to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917?
2. Write a short note on the Russian Revolution of 1905.
3. List the sequence of events that led to the eruption of the February/ March Revolution.

Long Answer Questions

1. 'The root causes of the Russian Revolution lay in the socio-economic and political realities of Russian society.' Explain the statement.
2. Discuss the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917.
3. Critically analyse the events which led to the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution.
4. What is the significance of the Russian Revolution of 1917?

11.9 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 12 RISE OF FASCISM AND NAZISM

NOTES

Structure

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Objectives
- 12.2 Nazism and Fascism
- 12.3 Rise of Fascism and Mussolini
- 12.4 Rise of Nazism and Hitler
- 12.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 12.6 Summary
- 12.7 Key Words
- 12.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 12.9 Further Readings

12.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the causes, course and results of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Fascism and Nazism are related totalitarian ideologies which emerged in Europe in the period after the First World War. Fascism arose in Italy in 1919 under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. Fascism was anti-communist, anti-democratic and anti-liberal. Nazism (National Socialism) sprang up in Germany parallel with Mussolini's fascism. In this unit, you will learn about the rise of Fascism and Nazism and the circumstances leading to the Second World War.

12.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the rise of Fascism and Mussolini
- Discuss the rise of Nazism and Hitler

12.2 NAZISM AND FASCISM

According to the Nazis, the Jews posed the maximum threat to the Aryan race and Germany. The Jews were seen by them as a parasitic race that held various ideologies and movements to secure its self-preservation. Some of these ideologies were as follows:

- Enlightenment
- Liberalism

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- Democracy
- Parliamentary politics
- Capitalism
- Industrialization
- Marxism
- Trade Unionism

Germany was a victim of the Great Depression (a severe worldwide economic depression in the decade preceding World War II). To save Germany from the catastrophic effects of the Great Depression, Nazism promoted an economic Third Position economy, a revolutionary nationalist political ideology, which was neither capitalist nor communist. The Nazis accused capitalism and communism with the interests and influences of the Jews. They declared support for a nationalist form of socialism for the Aryan race and the German national economic security, social welfare programmes for workers, a fair wage, honour for workers' importance to the nation and protection from capitalist exploitation.

National Socialism

National Socialism is the self-identification term used by exponents of the ideology and adherents describe themselves as national socialists. This system was most closely followed by the German party led by Adolf Hitler, which was called the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Figure 12.1).



Fig. 12.1 An Austrian Postcard of 1919 Depicting the — 'Stab-in-the-back' legend, which blamed Jews for Germany's defeat in World War I

History

Before the Nazi Germans, the term National Socialism was introduced by French intellectual Maurice Barrès. He rejected pluralism, materialism and individualism, which were based on a combination of the anti-Semitism of the

counter-revolutionary right, and the socialism, nationalism and republicanism of the anti-liberal left in 19th century France.

On 5 January 1919, the German Democratic Party was found by the locksmith Anton Drexler and five other men. The post-war crisis of Weimer Germany consolidated Nazism as an ideology: military defeat in the First World War, capitulation with the Treaty of Versailles, economic depression and the consequent societal instability.

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Adolf Hitler

The Nazi party was established as the largest parliamentary faction of the Weimar Republic government after the 1932 elections. On 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed as Chancellor of Germany. Following his appointment, his subsequent offices were strengthened and their consequent dictatorial powers established the *Third Reich*. This represented Nazi Germany as the historical successor of to the *First Reich* of the Holy Roman Empire (962–1806) and to the *Second Reich* of the German Empire (1871–1918).

After three months of assuming power, the government of Hitler bought into effect the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses (1 April 1933) with an aim to culturally strengthen Nazism as the German way of life. Initially, anti-Semitism was officially practiced by the Hindenburg government in a random manner; however, legal, systematic persecution of the Jews was brought about by the Nazi Nuremberg Laws of 1935. In 1936, the Anti-Comintern Pact was signed between Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, opposing the foreign policies of the Soviet Union. This, in turn, was the major source of their Tripartite Pact with Italy, which was the foundation of the Axis Powers.

After being defeated in the First World War, Germany became a democracy. A new government was formed which comprised of social democrats and liberal parties. Extensive inflation was caused due to significant costs of the war. The war also resulted in unemployment, which had peaked up to over five million. According to the Nationalist parties and the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP), the democratic constitution, the parties supporting the new republic and the unjust provisions of the peace treaty of Versailles were responsible for the anarchy. However, the Jews were blamed the most for the chaos. Hitler promised to bring back the lost honour of the Germans.

In 1930, after twelve years of its establishment, the parties that supported the republic lost majority. The government was taken over by the right-wing parties, who started to dismantle the democratic system. In 1932 elections, the NSDAP emerged to be the strongest party. Following this, on 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler was designated as the Reich chancellor. In February 1933, a law was passed by Hitler's democratically elected government, which deferred political freedoms and civil rights. Following this, in March 1933,

the government was authorized to rule without a parliament, to pass laws and govern by decree. Therefore, Hitler along with his Nazi Party ruled Germany as a dictator.

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Otto von Bismarck

According to the Nazis, their ideology was influenced by the leadership and policies of German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who was the founder of the German Empire. The Nazis declared that they were committed to continue the process of establishing a unified German nation state which, they believed, Bismarck had begun and desired to achieve. They asserted that Bismarck was incapable of completing German national unification due to Jewish infiltration of the German Parliament. They also claimed that their abolition of parliament brought an end to the impediment to unification that was faced by Bismarck. Although Hitler supported Bismarck's establishment of the German Empire, he criticized Bismarck's 'moderate' domestic policies.

The concept of the Aryan race, which develops from racial theories, was used by the Nazis. The Nazis asserted that Europeans are the successors of people of ancient India, Indo-Iranian settlers and ancient Persia. Johann Gottfried Herder, a renowned advocate of this theory, claimed that the German people held close racial relationships with the ancient Indians and ancient Persians. In addition to this, Herder claimed that both the ancient Indians and ancient Persians were advanced people who were endowed with valuable wisdom, restraint, science and nobility.

Oswald Spengler

Oswald Manuel Arnold Gottfried Spengler, generally known as Oswald Spengler, was a German cultural philosopher who exerted a significant influence on Nazism. Nevertheless, he distanced from Nazism after 1933. He was also admonished by the Nazis for criticizing Hitler. Several Italian Fascists, including Benito Mussolini, followed Spengler's opinions and beliefs. Spengler wrote the book *The Decline of the West* during the final months of First World War, which was published in 1918. The book focused on the claim of debauchery of modern European civilization, which was a result of atomizing, and non-religious individualization and cosmopolitanism. This book further stressed that a law of historical development of cultures was present, which comprised of a cycle of birth, maturity, aging and death after it reaches its final form of civilization.

Spengler further noted that socialism did not fit into a class conflict perspective. According to him, 'The meaning of socialism is that life is controlled not by the opposition between rich and poor, but by the rank that achievement and talent bestow. That is our freedom, freedom from the economic despotism of the individual'. He asserted that throughout Germany, there were socialistic Prussian characteristics that involved

discipline, creativity, productivity, self-sacrifice and concern for the greater good. However, socialism, as defined by Spengler did not promote change in property relations. He criticized Marxism as it tried to attempt to guide the working class to 'expropriate the expropriator', the capitalist and then to allow them to live a leisurely life on this expropriation. Spengler asserted that 'Marxism is the capitalism of the working class' and not true socialism. Furthermore, he stated that true socialism would be in the form of corporatism. According to him, 'local corporate bodies organized according to the importance of each occupation to the people as a whole; higher representation in stages up to a supreme council of the state; mandates revocable at any time; no organized parties, no professional politicians, no periodic elections'.

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Denazification

After the defeat of Nazi Germany in the World War II, the Allied countries started a campaign to free German and Austrian society, culture, judiciary, economy, press and politics from any remnants of Nazism. The Nazis who occupied influential positions were removed from their posts. All the organizations, which were associated with the Nazi government, were rendered powerless.

Nazism was greatly influenced by Fascism. Hitler appreciated the seizure of power by Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini in the March on Rome in 1922. Hitler has started to model himself and the Nazi Party upon Mussolini and the Fascists. He presented the Nazis as a German fascism. Even though Mussolini and fascism was strongly admired by Hitler, other Nazis—Italian Fascism, accused it of being too conservative or capitalist.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Nazism was ideologically diverse, including two sub-ideologies - those of Otto Strasser and of Hitler. Hitler expelled Otto Strasser from the Nazi Party when, in 1930, Strasser failed to create the Black Front, an oppositional, anti-capitalist bloc. As leftists, the Strasserites had fallen as a foul of Hitler. The Strasserites who remained in the Nazi Party, mostly in the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), were killed in the Night of the Long Knives purge.

Relation with Fascism

Nazism is a politically syncretic variety of Fascism, which comprises of policies, tactics and philosophic principles from left and right-wing politics. Liberalism, democracy and Marxism were rejected by Italian fascism and German Nazism. Generally supported by the far right, fascism is historically anti-communist, anti-conservative and anti-parliamentary. The Fascist government of Italy assisted in the rise of Nazism to power. It also started to financially subsidize the Nazi party in 1928 (Figure 12.2).

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Fig. 12.2 Adolf Hitler (right) beside Benito Mussolini (left)

Benito Mussolini

Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini was an Italian politician and dictator who led the National Fascist Party. He was also the first of the fascist rulers of twentieth century Europe. However, his unsuccessful association with Hitler and entry into World War II destroyed his initial successes. As Hitler admired Benito Mussolini and the Italian Fascists, he presented the Nazis as a German version of Italian Fascism after Mussolini's successful March on Rome in 1922. For several years, Hitler continued to be impressed by Mussolini and Fascist Italy in spite of resentments towards Italy by other Nazis and resentments by Italian Fascists towards Germany. During the period of positive outlook towards Fascist Italy, Hitler became an *Italophile*, i.e., the admiration, general appreciation or love of Italy, its culture, society, arts and people. Like Mussolini, he intensely admired Ancient Rome and repeatedly mentioned it in *Mein Kampf* as being a model for Germany. Hitler particularly admired the authoritarian culture, imperialism, town planning and architecture of ancient Rome, which were incorporated by the Nazis. He looked up to the ancient Romans as a master race.

In an unpublished continuation to *Mein Kampf*, Hitler affirmed that he held no antagonism towards Italy for having declared war against Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I. He said that Italy went to war with Germany only because of Germany's association with Austria-Hungary, on which Italy had territorial claims. He further acknowledged his sympathy to the Italians for longing to get back Italian-populated lands held by Austria-Hungary. He claimed that it was naturally the national interest of the Italians to wage war in order to regain those lands.

Hitler made controversial allowances to gain approval and alliance of Fascist Italy. One of these concessions was abandoning territorial claims on the South Tyrol region of Italy that had a dense population of hundreds of thousands of Germans. Unlike Italian Fascism, Nazism does not view a nation as being created and developed by a state, but that a nation is created and developed outside a state. It is based upon the different historical developments of the German and Italian countries that created the basis of Nazism's and Italian Fascism's respective nationalisms; the German national identity developed outside a state while Italian national identity developed through a state.

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A major source of disagreement between the Nazis and the Italian Fascists was that the Nazis blamed racial intermixing for the collapse of the Roman Empire. According to the Nazis, the origins of the Aryan race in Europe included the ancient Romans and ancient Greeks as members of the Aryan race. However, contemporary Italy was deemed by the Nazis to not be racially pure, in that the Aryan Roman heritage had been diluted by multiple racial influences. Hitler believed that northern Italians were members of the Aryan race and Italians as a whole had been racially tainted by mixing with the black race. Nazi claims of racial impurity of Italians induced hatred and rebuke by the Italian Fascists. At the height of antagonism between the Nazis and Italian Fascists over race, Mussolini criticized Nazi racial theory as imperfect, asserting that the Germans themselves were not a pure race.

Italian Fascism was not strongly involved with anti-Semitism. Several Italian Fascists were Jews and some supported anti-Semitism.

Several Italian fascists held anti-Slavist views, particularly against neighbouring Yugoslav countries, which were seen by the Italian fascists as being in competition with Italy. Mussolini asserted that Italy was threatened by the Yugoslavs as they did not receive the territory along the Adriatic coast at the end of World War I, which was promised to them as per the 1915 Treaty of London.

According to Zeev Sternhell, the Israeli political scientist and historian, the varieties of fascism are unique, despite the schematic similarity between Italian Fascism and German Nazism—greater than resemblances among the Eastern Bloc Communist states of the Cold War and among European liberal democracies.

Militarism

Nazi militarism believed that great nations grow from military power and maintain order in the world. The Nazi Party demoralized irredentist and revanchist sentiments, and cultural aversions to aspects of Modernism. They, thereby, fused nationalism and militarism into the ultra-nationalism necessary for establishing Greater Germany.

Anti-communism**NOTES**

According to historians Ian Kershaw and Joachim Fest, in post-World War I Germany, the Nazis were one among several nationalist and fascistic political parties contending for the leadership of Germany's anti-communist movement and of the German state. The Nazis asserted that communism was perilous to the welfare of nations because of its aim to break up private property, its support of class conflict, its hostility to the middle class, its aggression against small businessmen and its atheism. Nazism rejected class conflict-based socialism and economic egalitarianism. It favoured a stratified economy with classes based on merit and talent, retaining private property and the establishment of national harmony that exceeds class distinction. During the late 1930s and the 1940s, several other anti-communist regimes and groups supported Nazism.

According to Hitler, 'races without homelands' were 'parasitic races', and that the richer was the parasite race, the more dangerous was their parasitism. He asserted that a master race could easily strengthen themselves by killing the parasite races. Therefore, Nazism encouraged ultra-nationalism in order to establish a world-dominating, Aryan *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the name of Hitler's political party?
2. Who founded the German Democratic Party and when?
3. In which year was Hitler appointed the Chancellor of Germany?
4. What was the name of Mussolini's political party?

12.3 RISE OF FASCISM AND MUSSOLINI

Britain, France and Italy had no change in their government at the conclusion of the First World War. However, the War impact had shaken them. The First World War proved very expensive deal for Italy, which had entered the War with great expectations. The State emerged frustrated and an embittered victor. While Britain and France secured everything they desired at the Paris Peace Conference, Italy's various claims were rejected. This is why the State felt dejected and declined, despite being on the winning side.

The War had exhausted Italy. Apart from material loss, Italy lost 20,00,000 lives, which was far more than what had been anticipated when the country switched sides from an alliance with the central powers to an alliance with the allied powers in 1915. Extreme nationalists and disgruntled senior military officers felt themselves victims of 'political compromise'. Many Italians thought that their country had been insufficiently compensated by

the Allies for her efforts and sacrifices during the War. The liberal political leadership was held responsible for Italy's failure to secure all that had been promised.

Causes for the Rise of Fascism in Italy

Causes for the rise of dictatorship in Italy are as follows:

- (i) **Weak foundation of liberalism:** The Unification of Italy in 1870 was seen and hailed as the triumph of liberalism in Europe. But the Electoral Law of 1882 left majority of Italians away from the right of voting and it seemed that the Unification had bought freedom to only a few. Thus, the supposedly Italian liberalism suffered from a weak base.
- (ii) **Widespread illiteracy:** There was widespread illiteracy in Italy which kept the common public away from realizing and achieving its right. Above all, it had this precondition on right to vote that an individual should know to read and write. This made the issue of choosing a right government even more difficult. The innocent and illiterate Italian people were the right breed to be exploited by the corrupt political leadership.
- (iii) **Economic and political instability:** Italy was one of the poorest countries of Europe. The economic life of the Italians was full of economic disparities, famines, poor harvest, bad monsoon, bank failure, slow rate of industrial growth, and so on. All this led to discontent among the people. In 1893, there was a peasant revolt in Sicily due to the steep increase in taxation. Some more revolts broke in other parts of the country, and all these factors led to the unpopularity of the liberal government in Italy. This situation was easily used by the rebelling Leftist section in Italy, and in 1900 King Umberto was assassinated by an anarchist. However, Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti did try to keep situation under some control. He even tried to introduce some programmes of parliamentary reforms, but his attempts failed.
- (iv) **Uncompromising attitude of the extremist parties:** Liberalism in Italy during this time was highly criticized. The Socialist Party and the Rightist Party and writers like Caetano Mosca and Villfredo Pareto criticized liberal policies in Italy. Militant nationalists also kept on hammering open criticism on streets by demonstration.

The liberal government in Italy as compared to the ones in Britain and France was weak and unstable. The open and continuous hostility of the extremists to liberal and democratic institutions led to the rise of Fascist dictatorship in Italy.

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Mussolini, the creator soul and guide of Fascist revolution, was born to a blacksmith (1883). Mussolini became a part of the Socialist Party, but left the Party when the War broke out and became an ardent nationalist. After the War, he tried to regain entry into the Socialist Party, but since a majority of Italian socialists were against him, Mussolini could not re-join the Party.

Dejected Mussolini turned to anti-socialist and in 1919 formed a group called 'Fasico de Combatimento' i.e., combatant group. He enlisted the support of a growing number of army officers, soldiers, nationalist, property owners and youthful intellectuals for his movement which came to be known as Fascism. Within a year, Mussolini's Fascist group became very powerful and influential in Italian political circle.

Soon after the War, Italy saw a rise in Marxist influence also inspired by Lenin's revolution. In the election of 1921, the Socialist could win only 122 seats as against 156 held by them, and the Communists in their maiden attempt 16 seats, but it was the Fascists who obtained 35 seats. Now the liberals were reduced to minority and their prime minister resigned. This gave more strength to the Fascist power which seemed to be rising slowly. These major reasons paved way for the growth of Fascism in Italy.

Fascism: An introduction

The word "*fascism*" was derived from the Latin word *fascio* meaning club. The word also has its roots in the Roman ancient *fascēs* meaning a bundle of sticks with an axe protecting from them. This emblem was used as a symbol of authority. Some basic characteristics of Fascism are as follows:

- Extreme nationalists in nature.
- The Fascist had no coherent ideology.
- They were against Liberalism, Democracy, Socialism and Communism.
- For them the State was the almighty, based on the military strength and controlled by one party and one leader.
- There was emphasis on absolute obedience to the authority.
- Fascism did not permit any opposition party to function.
- The Fascists proclaim the right to regulate all economic, political, social and cultural activities.
- They followed a state capitalist economic policy and assured protection of private property rights of industrialists.
- Their leader was called the 'Il Duce' who would have no opposition to its party to its flag and to itself.
- The Fascist considered it an important task of their government to form public opinion by propaganda.

- They formed an association named ADITI of the young volunteers drawn from mostly middle class and universities. The members of ADITI were trained commandos who were used to break up meetings of the Socialists.

Later the responsibility of the ADITI volunteers were entrusted upon black shirted commandos called *Squadristi*.

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Fascism in Form and Power towards a Totalitarian State

The Fascist adopted an anti-socialist attitude and ridiculed liberals, and also opposed the business class. The political turmoil in the country gave Mussolini the opportunity he was waiting for as the ruling liberals ceased to be a force in Italy. However, the results of the election of 1921 emboldened Mussolini and his *Squadristi* to dream of ruling the country.

By 1922, Fascist Clubs were set up all over the country to which unemployed soldiers and youth were recruited. It was financially supported by industrialists, landowners, the merchant community and all section of Italian public whose life and property were endangered. By then, the Fascist activity against the people opposed to them intensified.

When the Socialists called for a strike in 1922, the Fascist supporters ensured its failure. Mussolini's *Squadristi* and ADITI broke the Socialist rallies and led to labour unrest. There was very little that the government could do to prevent the civil war situation created due to the tussle between Socialists and Fascists.

Taking full advantage of the prevailing discontent in the country, Mussolini organized a march to Rome, where the King, Victor Emmanuel III, terrified by this action, dismissed his Prime Minister Luigi Facta and invited Benito Mussolini to form the government. On 30 October 1922, Mussolini came to power in a constitutional manner. Having won over big business houses, Mussolini began to make conciliatory speeches about the Roman Catholic Church which he had earlier criticized. Seeing him as a good anti-communist weapon, even Pope Pius XI swung the Church into line behind Mussolini. When Mussolini announced that he had dropped the Republican part of his programme in 1922, even the King began to look more favourably on the Fascists. The anti-fascist forces, on the other hand, failed to cooperate with each other and made no determined effort to drive the Fascists out from Italy.

Italy towards a Totalitarian State

The initial actions and working of Mussolini's government pave the way towards a totalitarian state in Italy. He tried to construct a strong nation, but through his rigorous totalitarian policies.

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Mussolini's government conducted elections in 1924 to the Chamber of Deputy and managed to get a massive majority of two-third seats. This marked the end of Constitutionalism and beginning of Fascism in Italy. Soon after its victory, the Fascist Party let loose a reign of terror on the Opposition. There was ploy of kidnapping and murder of opposition leaders. By a series of law in 1925, the parliamentary government was scrapped in Italy and Mussolini was given dictatorial powers. The political structure of Italy was now of a totalitarian state. The characteristics of Italy as a totalitarian state were as follows:

- There was an absolute power vested in one person 'leader' i.e., the *Duce of Fascism*.
- The *Duce* emerged as the dominant figure in the totalitarian regime. He presided over the Fascist Grand Council which had the power and responsibility of choosing and appointing members of the legislatures and determining the scope of the legislative body.
- All recognized association were placed under supervision of the Fascist Party, and the network of spies provided a curb on the freedom of expression.
- The democratic elections of the Chamber of the Deputies was discontinued, also the jury system was abolished in the court of law.
- The system of education was changed to suit the needs of Fascism. All textbooks were based on the principles and aims of Fascism—an attempt to instil these principles in the minds of the generations to come.
- Between 1925 and 1928, Mussolini's government enacted several laws that destroyed the political democracy as previously practised in the country.
- The administration was centralized and Mussolini became the supreme head of the state—put above the law and parliament.

Mussolini's Foreign Policy

The aggressive nationalism pride and glory in Italian past was the key to Mussolini's power and presentation. The following highlights of Mussolini's foreign policy depict his aggressive and totalitarian approach.

The Treaty of Lausanne, 1923

This was the revision of the Treaty of *Sèvres* and bought some legal recognition to Italian possession of Dodecanese Island and gave a boost to Italian naval base in Mediterranean east. The Corfu crisis of 1923, the Fiume incidence of 1924, treaties with Balkan states in 1924, the treaty of friendship with Albania in 1927—all these treaties signified the important position of Italy in the European politics.

Soon Italy, as a part of administrative ambition to extend Fascist influence in the western Mediterranean, persuaded France and Spain to give Italy space in administrative control over several issues. And this resulted in Italian influence rising in the League of Nations too.

Four-Power Pact

In 1933, Benito Mussolini called for the creation of the Four-Power Pact as a better means of ensuring international security. Under this plan, smaller nations would have less of a voice in Great Power politics. Representatives of Britain, France, Germany and Italy signed a diluted version of Mussolini's Four-Power Pact proposal. Mussolini's chief motive in suggesting the pact was the wish for closer Franco-Italian relations.

Invasion of Abyssinia

Encouraged by Japanese attack on Manchuria, Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in 1935. England opposed Mussolini's action and the League of Nations decided to take action against him. However, Hitler came to Mussolini's aid and thus Abyssinia was captured by Italy. Mussolini gave up membership of League of Nations and became a dependable ally of Germany and Japan.

The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

Mussolini by philosophy and attitude was closer to Germany. Therefore, in 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by Germany and Japan in 1936, as a result of which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence.

Hitler referred to this Axis as 'a great world political triangle and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests'. In March 1938, Hitler occupied Austria. Mussolini had assumed the self-imposed role of protector of Austria. He informed Hitler that 'Austria did not interest him at all'. By this act, Mussolini was able to earn the gratitude of Hitler but lost his cherished dream of following an independent policy and establishing protectorate over Austria.

In 1939, the Rome-Berlin Axis turned a military alliance under the Pact of Steel, with the Tripartite Pact of 1940 leading to the integration of the military aims of the Germans and its two treaty-bound allies (Italy and Japan). At their summit of the Second World War, the Axis powers occupied large parts of Europe, Africa, East and Southeast Asia, and islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Mussolini's Domestic Policy

To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education. He introduced compulsory military training and

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tried to enhance the naval power of Italy to match it with the naval powers of other European countries, particularly Germany and France.

Mussolini tried to improve the lot of workers by nationalizing all factories and mills and set up syndicates to improve relations between the capitalists and workers. He brought more lands under cultivation and tried to improve and expand transport system and railways. Apart from these, Mussolini took several other steps to make Italy economically self-sufficient.

In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope (the Vatican City) by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini. The Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights. He was permitted to keep in his possession the Vatican and the Cathedral of St. Peters. The Pope was authorized to appoint Bishops and teachers to teach religion.

Under the Pact, the Fascist government recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion and religious instructions were made compulsory in all schools.

The priority based programmes of Mussolini's domestic policy were as follows:

- (i) Restoration of law and order
- (ii) Protection of private property
- (iii) Building a strong self-sufficient economy
- (iv) Reorganization of the political and ideological structure
- (v) Removal of illiteracy
- (vi) Strengthening the armed forces
- (vii) The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

The End of Mussolini and Fascist Party

Military ambition, aggressive foreign policy, military alliance with Germany, and other political misadventure proved to be the undoing of the Fascist Party. The Italian participation in the Second World War proved to be the greatest undoing of the Fascist Party. However, the misdoings of Fascist Italy somewhere paved the way for converting Italy into a Republic.

Check Your Progress

5. List the basic characteristics of Fascism.
6. What was the main motive behind the signing of the Four-Power Pact?
7. In which year did Mussolini invade Abyssinia?

12.4 RISE OF NAZISM AND HITLER

Kaiser William II and his military and naval officers had led Germany into the First World War with the supreme confidence that Germany would stamp out all opposition from the rivals. But in the summer of 1918, their dream was shattered when Germany's military might collapsed, and the country was forced to accept the armistice on 11 November 1918. Germany's surrender to her implacable enemies triggered off a political revolution which threatened a total collapse of the country's social and economic order.

The German people were led to believe that their country was invincible, and therefore, for four years they had cherished the dream of a great victory. Such a faith and belief had made them endure the hardships of the Allied blockade of Germany. But by the second half of 1918, these hopes had grown dim; and with the armistice they were dashed to the ground. The War had brought nothing but economic and political disaster to the proud nation. The military defeat, together with starvation, cynicism, frustration and despair made many German receptive to the revolutionary ideas coming from Bolshevik Russia.

By the end of 1918, discontent mounted in Germany. The Social Democratic Party—the main opposition political party—took advantage of the difficulties of the government and increased its strength. The Social Democrats believed in the idealistic pronouncements of President Woodrow Wilson of the US that the Allies would treat the enemy countries with due consideration if the War ceased at once. The President also announced that after the war 'there would be no victors of losers'. His Fourteen-Point Peace Programme, together with his repeated declaration of 'peace with honour', persuaded the German Government to ceasefire. Under the combined influence of the breakdown of German military machine, the miseries that the German people had to suffer and the intoxicating effects of the Russian Revolution, turned the German people against Kaiser William II, who had led them into an unnecessary and disastrous war.

Wilson's Idealistic Pronouncements

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The Kiel Naval Mutiny

The first signs of the revolt came from Kiel on 23 October 1918, when the sailors took matters into their own hands and a naval mutiny took place. It was soon followed by an uprising in Bavaria, and strike in the factories of Berlin. As in Russia and in Italy, the then existing government of Kaiser William II fell when he abdicated the throne on 9 November 1918, and Prince Max of Baden became the Chancellor. He announced new reforms but the flood gates of the revolution had already been opened which swept away the promises of superficial reforms. All over Germany, the revolution made its way compelling the Kaiser to flee to Holland.

Formation of the Weimar Republic

Prince Max appeared to the Allied powers for an armistice on the ground that the new German Government was truly representative of the people. But Wilson rejected the request on the ground that as long as the German policy was in the hands of the Kaiser's former ministers, there could be no negotiation.

Amidst such conditions, the government of Prince Max was compelled to resign. A Council of People's Commissars was given authority to sign the armistice on 10 November 1918. This Council was composed of Socialists. However, everywhere 'workers and soldiers' councils created numerous difficulties for the government. The Spartacist or Communist Party organized street fighting, with the intention of displacing the government of the Socialists by a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. The Spartacist plan for revolution proved abortive when its leaders, Kari Liebkenecht and Roas Luxemburg were murdered in January 1919.

On 19 January 1919, general elections were held, and on 6 February the National Assembly met at Weimar to frame a Republican Constitution. In the elections, the Socialists failed to secure a majority, compelling them to form a coalition with the help of the bourgeois parties, with Herr Ebert as the President. It was this government which was called upon to sign the fateful Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Nature of the Weimar Republic

The nature of the Weimar Republic has been discussed below.

(I) Lack of popular support

The Weimar Republic was born under very unfavourable circumstances. The harsh and humiliating terms of the Treaty, accepted by the Weimar Republic, aroused the hatred and dislike of the Nationalist Germans. The mounting problems of unemployment, the collapse of the economy, and the resulting social unrest made the effective function of the government difficult.

The Rightists in Germany looked upon the Weimar Republican regime as “an implantation by the enemy”, and hence a symbol of Germany’s humiliation. In a sense, it was imposed on the German people by the victorious Allied Powers. Since it commanded little loyalty, the existence of the Republic was precarious. Even in 1920, all the elements that were later to combine to destroy the ‘new democracy’, were present in the form of frustrated militarism and disgruntled patriotism.

(II) Completely democratic paper Constitution

The Weimar Republic, according to David Thomson, was ‘one of the most completely democratic paper Constitutions ever written’. The salient features were as follows:

- The doctrine of ‘sovereignty of the people’, organized as a single national unity.
- Guarantees of several fundamental rights to the citizens, including the right to equality before the law, civil liberties, separation of religion from politics, economic freedom, trade union rights, and so on.
- Continuance of the federal form of the Second Reich (Empire) of 1871, but with reduced powers of the states. Powers of the central government were broadened.
- The authority of the central government was entrusted jointly to a Lower House (Reichstag), representing the people, and the ‘Upper House (Reichsrat), representing the states.
- Executive authority of the Republic was vested in a President, elected for a period of seven years, and in a Chancellor and his Council of Ministers, responsible to the Lower House. The President could select and dismiss the Chancellor.
- Article 48 of the Constitution empowered the President to take over executive power into his own hands, and rule by decree in the event of disruption of threat to public security and order.

Despite the above mentioned laudable democratic characteristics of the Weimar Constitution, there were strong anti-democratic trends in it. For instance:

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- Much of the old social and economic order survived almost intact in the judiciary and bureaucracy, and above all in the military hierarchy.
- The big landowners and industrial combinations, who were the main props of absolutism, remained intact. Attempts at integrating the two into a new set-up came to nothing.
- The new democratic regime commanded little national loyalty, it was condemned as “having been delivered in the baggage of the Allies”.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the new democracy was super-imposed upon a social order that had changed little.

Problems of the Weimar Republic

The problems of the Weimar Republic are as follows:

- (i) Extremist nationalist sentiment:** Post-World War, Germany was essentially a dejected, humiliated and angry nation. The people shared the common sentiment of an overriding and universal resentment against defeat, against the Treaty of Versailles, and against the Allies. The Germans held them responsible for their country’s humiliation. Since the Weimar Republic was set up to satisfy the Allied pre-condition for peace, a sizeable section among the Germans looked upon it as a symbol of the country’s humiliation.
- (ii) Absence of a strong desire for liberty and democracy:** Historians have pointed out that the establishment of the Weimar Republic was not the result of the victory of a German Republican Political Party over the monarchists. The German had never agitated for liberty and democracy, though during the French Revolution of 1789, they did feel the influence of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. In 1918, there had been little demand for a change of government. It was only the insistence of Woodrow Wilson that he would not deal with a regime that had brought on the War that made the non-monarchists demand the abdication of Kaiser William II. They did it in the belief that it would help the country to obtain better peace terms. Therefore, many Germans would not accept the new form government.

Attempts to Overthrow the Republic—The Kapp Putsch and the Beer-Hall Putsch

The Kapp Putsch

The new German Republic was compelled to fight for its existence. Early in 1920, Wolfgang Kapp led a monarchist coup d’état. But President Ebert was able to stop it with the help of the workers’ general strike. Kapp fled the country. The ultranationalist counter-revolution is known as the “Kapp Putsch”. Although the attempt to overthrow the Weimar-Republic failed, it

led in Bavaria to the formation of a Right-wing coalition government that paved the way for another attempt against the Republic.

The Beer-Hall Putsch

In 1923, Adolph Hitler and his associates, with the blessings of Field Marshal Ludendorff, a hero of the First World War, attempted to stage a coup with the intention of capturing power in Munich. In this counter-revolutionary attempt, Hitler had the tacit support of the Right-wing Bavarian government. But the Beer-Hall Putsch (8-9 November 1923) was a complete failure. One of the leaders of the coup was killed, and the rest of the group was imprisoned.

One of the important factors for the failure of the Communist rising of 1918-19 and the two Right-wing “Putsch” was the support of the army that the government enjoyed. But left to government alone, there was little chance of its survival because of the failure of the political machinery and the social chaos in the country. The Republic also received support of the Socialists, Catholic Centrists, Democrats, and of the People’s Party of Gustav Stresemann. For the next 10 years, it seemed as if the Republic was growing in strength, surmounting all social, economic and political crises, particularly when Stresemann was the Chancellor of Germany from 1925-29.

The travails of the Weimar Republic were the opportunities of the Nazis. While the Liberals and Socialists failed to face the problems which beset Germany from 1918 to 1933, the Nazis and their leader, Hitler, made the best use of the opportunities to discredit them and other political parties. The severity of the peace terms, which led to the occupation of the Ruhr by the French forces, inflation and prolonged economic distress, and the Great Depression made the republican government unpopular. Following the economic crisis of 1929-30, the National Socialists (Nazis) made spectacular gains and came to power in 1933.

Adolph Hitler was born in 1889, and brought up in the German-speaking part of the former Austrian Empire. The son of a petty-customs official, his early life was unhappy and maladjusted, and he grew to be rebellious and indisciplined from his childhood. He also became a convert to extreme Nordicism i.e., the idea about superiority of the Nordic race to which he German supposed to belong. He despised Austria for its racial integrity since it contained both the “Germans and the slaves”.

Hitler though an Austrian citizen was living in Vienna, and enlisted himself in the Bavarian army. During the next four years, the young Hitler found a purpose in the discipline of war. He fought with distinction and won the Iron Cross and a promotion as Corporal. He was wounded and twice suffered from poisonous gas. The War ended when he was recuperating in a hospital, in November 1918. Germany’s defeat, he was convinced, was due to the betrayal of the army by the enemies of Germany. He accused the aliens

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and enemies within, namely the Bolshevik revolutionaries and the Jews, respectively, as having sapped Germany's will to fight and turned a fanatic nationalist. Even before the armistice, Hitler resolved to become a politician and carry on a relentless struggle against his own and his 'Fatherland's enemies'.

Hitler joined, and soon became the leader, a small ultra-nationalist political party, based in Munich. It was called the National Socialist German Workers' Party i.e., Nazi Party. According to E.M. Burns, the Party adopted the famous programme of 25 points, drawn up in 1920 by Gottfried Fedder. Among the 25 items, the following were the most significant:

- Abrogation of the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.
- The elimination of Jews as citizens.
- Abolition of the parliamentary system.
- Abolition of all income "acquired without work or trouble".
- Complete confiscation of war profits.
- Nationalization of all trusts.
- Distribution of the profits of large industries.
- The creation of a strong central authority.
- Socialistic measures such as abolition of speculation, usury, profiteering, increased old age benefits, assistance to mothers and children, and so on.
- The creation of a strong central authority.
- Socialistic measures such as abolition of speculation, usury, profiteering increased old age benefits, assistance to mothers and children and so on.

Many of these items were incorporated in the Nazi programme. The Nazis adopted the inverted black Swastika (on a white circle on their flag in blood red colour).

The Nazi Organization

The Nazi Party was created by Hitler to embody the nation's political will. It was shaped in such a way that it would take precedence over the government under the slogan, "the party rules the State". The Party was provided with its own private army, the brown shirted *Sturmabteilung (SA)*. The SA was entrusted with more or less the kind of work Mussolini had entrusted to his black shirted commandos. In 1926, he established the black shirted *Sehuts Staffel* (picked Heel guards, SS or Black Guard), to protect the top leaders of the party. Similarly, Hitler also organized the "Hitler Youth", the "Nazi German Student League", the "Nazi Teachers' League", the "Nazi Women's League", and the "Nazi Physicians League".

Hitler had the knack of attracting the best talent available and utilizing it with maximum efficiency. Like the Fascists, the Nazi, also believed in complete obedience to one leader. Hitler was the leader or the Fuehrer. By 1928, the Fuehrer was in control of a party of 100,000 members, who were willing to do or die for the Party and its Leader.

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Causes of the rise of Hitler to Power

Several factors contributed to the rise of Hitler and his Nazi Party to power in 1933. Among the causes, Hitler's personality and leadership was the dominant factor. Though historians have emphasized the following as the most important ones:

- (i) **Defeat in the First World War:** The ultra-nationalists quickly spread the legend that the nation had been "stabbed in the back" by Socialists and Jews in the government. This sort of propaganda, though baseless, was effectively made use of by Hitler and his followers to win support of the German people by promising revenge against the perpetrators of this crime.
- (ii) **The Treaty of Versailles:** It was believed by the Germans that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were severe and humiliating, and their feelings grew embittered towards the Allied Powers. Therefore, they were willing to follow any leader or party who raised the banner of defiance against the terms of the Treaty. Hitler and his colleagues, being masters of propaganda, kept alive the bitter memory of Versailles and promised to tear the Treaty to pieces. They denounced every government which adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Western powers as "traitors". The Nazis repudiated the payment of reparations. Their line of propaganda, appealing more to emotion than reason, helped them to pose as super-patriots.
- (iii) **The inflation of 1923:** By 1923, Germany was facing runaway inflation as a result mainly of the invasion and occupation of the Ruhr valley by the French in January 1923. The German mark lost its value. Both farmers and workers suffered the most. The lower middle class and the poor found themselves in a miserable condition. The economic crisis of 1923 had a powerful effect in stirring discontent among the poorer sections of the German. The Nazis made full use of the government's failure to tackle the problem to discredit it. They also used the crisis to frighten the industrialists, landowners and property-owning classes by pointing out the consequences of the social unrest arising from the inflationary conditions.
- (iv) **The growth of Communism:** The growth of Communism was an important factor in the growth of Nazism. Under the conditions prevailing during the early 1920s, the extremists of the Left kept pace

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with the extremists of the Right which was reflected in the election results. As the Communist influence increased, anxiety and fears of the well-to-do-properly owing classes were also intensified. Since they abhorred the Bolshevik experience in Russia, they were prepared to go to any length to prevent the repetition of the experience in Germany. The widespread fear of a Communist revolution was made full use of by the Nazis to consolidate their strength. Their slogan was, "If the National socialist Party collapses, there will be another 10 million Communists in Germany". This fear of the Communists continued to be exploited by them even after coming to power in 1933 to retain the financial and political support of the anti-Communist sections of the German people.

- (v) **Influence of Militarism:** Germany had always been a military state, right from the days of Frederick the Great of Prussia, the Germans were imbued with the traditions of discipline and order. For many German nationalists, the army was the symbol of not only national security but also of national greatness. The qualities of military life such as obedience and regimentation were accepted as virtues most dear to German. Therefore, several Germans were disturbed by what they thought as laxity and irresponsibility of the Republican regime. They hated the immoral and frivolous life of the city of Berlin which they associated with Liberalism and Democracy.
- (vi) **Growing economic unrest:** Although under the leadership of Stresemann, the economic situation of Germany was showing a definite improvement, the Nazis exploited with great success the dissatisfaction among diverse sections of the Germans. They worked upon the anti-capitalist feelings of the lower middle class composed of peasants and small traders, who felt that the capitalists were making lavish profits. The Nazis assured this class protection against capitalist exploitation. They assured farmers subsidies since they had been burdened with debts. Likewise, the small shopkeepers were assured of relief against stiff competition of the large stores. Likewise, the Nazis also won the support of the victims of an inflated currency and depressed standard of living. They enlisted the support of the large number of unemployed by promising to wipe out unemployment, particularly after the Great Depression of 1929.
- (vii) **Nazi propaganda of anti-Semitism:** The Nazis appealed to the emotions of the Germans by advocating a policy of Anti-Semitism. Through their effective propaganda machine, they made several Germans believe that it was the Jews who had brought all the misfortunes to Germany. Through their irrational racial policy, they painted the Jews as an inferior and immoral people not worthy of consideration as civilized. They made the Jews the scapegoat for all the

problems Germany was facing. The Nazis told the people that if they came to power, the Jews would be made to pay for their disloyalty to Germany and their uncivilized behaviour. This won them support of a considerable number of Germans.

- (viii) **Nazi party's terror tactics:** The Nazis provided an outlet for the military leaning of the German youth by instituting armed forces of their own such as the SA, SS and the Youth Leagues. The youth organizations were used for intimidating and silencing their political opponents and to terrorize them. The Nazi youth clubs were entrusted with the task of protecting Nazi meetings and Nazi leaders, and for disturbing and breaking meetings of their political opponents. Thus, the Nazis could easily drive fear into the hearts of all political opponents and liquidate them.

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Totalitarianism and Nazism

Like the Italian Fascists, the Nazis were blind worshippers of the State. They believed that the State had a “super personality” and that the “great happiness of the individual lay in obeying the State implicitly and working for its greatness”. They cherished the ideal of a powerful military State, ruled by one single party, owing allegiance to one supreme leader, the Fuehrer. The Nazis reposed full faith in the Fuehrer and elevated him to the position of a God. Hitler, in their eyes, was the embodiment of all virtues and through him the German nationality, State and all political process got fused into one. He was regarded as infallible and his word was obeyed as a law of the State. Duty, discipline and sacrifices were the sacraments of every German citizen.

The Nazis looked upon the State as a super-personality in which the individual lived a subordinate existence. But all Germans were collectively referred to as “the Volk” i.e., the community. According to their ideology, their Party was a link between the State and the Volk, so as to work for the betterment of the Germans. Moreover, they believed in German cultural exclusiveness. They stood for the purity of German language, German race and German literature. Their ideal may be stated as “Germany for Germans only”.

There was no place in the Nazi doctrine for Liberalism, Democracy, Socialism, Individuals' rights and liberties. They had a pathological hatred of Communism. Besides, they rejected pacifism, Christian moral values and the Rule of Law.

Glorification of War by the Nazis

The Nazis were extreme nationalists. They glorified war and emphasized Germany's territorial expansion by means of war. In fact, Hitler believed in violence as the only instrument of national policy, and this he stated

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unambiguously in his book *Mein Kampf*. Therefore, once in power, the Nazis sought to achieve the following through their foreign policy:

- (i) **Lebensraum:** Nazis needed territories in Eastern Europe, including Russia, to provide a “living space” or Lebensraum for the German race. Hitler visualized a great German Reich, comprising all Germans in Europe.
- (ii) **Conquest of Russia:** The Nazis anticipated the collapse of the Bolshevik Regime in Russia. Once this happened, they hoped to win new territories through ‘the might of a victorious sword’. According to Hitler, if we speak today of new territory in Europe, we can primarily think only of Russia and the border states.
- (iii) **Conquest of France:** Hitler believed that attack on Russia should precede by the defeat of France because France would not stand idly by while Germany was increasing her strength at the expense of Russia. The *Mein Kampf* expressed a deep-seated antagonism: “France is the eternal and mortal enemy of the German nation”.
- (iv) **Establishment of German Empire as Fatherland:** Hitler and his Party wanted to acquire territories with a view to making Germany a world power. However, they were not interested in overseas colonies where, according to them, inferior races lived. Further, they wanted the new territories to be connected with the German Fatherland.
- (v) **Overthrow of the Treaty of Versailles:** Above all, the Nazis were committed to the overthrow of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, and to restore Germany to her pre-First World War position.

Policies of Hitler

The two main developments in the Nazi domestic policy are discussed below.

- (i) **Repressive measures against Opposition:** On his appointment as the Chancellor of the Weimar Republic of Germany, Hitler had sworn to maintain and uphold the Weimar Constitution. During the early months in office, he deceived President Hindenburg into believing that the new Chancellor could be used by him and other politicians for their own ends; but within a few months, he demonstrated that he was nobody’s fool. He called for elections with a view to improve his party’s prospects as the ruling Party. Simultaneously, Hitler ordered Goebbels and his propaganda machinery and Herman Goering’s SA and SS to discredit and terrorize the opposition parties. On the night of 27 February 1933, the *Reichstag* building was set on fire for which Hitler blamed the Communists (though it has been alleged that this criminal act was committed by the Nazis themselves). Claiming that a Communist revolution was at hand, he persuaded Hindenburg to proclaim a state of emergency.

- (ii) **The Enabling Act, 1933:** The State and Nazi terrorism and vicious propaganda of Goebbels ensured the greatest electoral victory of the Nazis on March 1933, with 288 seats. Despite Nazi terror, a majority of voters of the German electorate (20 million) voted for other parties. Consequently, the election of 1933 became the last genuine election in Nazi Germany. All opposition was suppressed, and Hitler got an Act, known as the Enabling Act passed by the Reichstag. It gave him the power to make his own laws. With the passage of this Act, whatever little life was left in German democracy was killed. The Weimar Republic was dead, and the Third Reich was born amidst terror, persecution and witch-hunt. From then onwards, until the overthrow of the Nazi rule in 1945, Germany remained a preserve of the totalitarian Nazi regime, dominated by Adolph Hitler.

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Main Features of the Domestic Policy of Hitler

The following were the main features of Hitler's domestic policy:

- (i) **The Government:** The Nazis transformed Germany into a Fascist dictatorship of the extreme type. As Der Fuehrer (the Leader), Hitler exercised supreme power over the Third Reich and the German society. The Reichstag was frequently summoned but it acted as a mere rubber stamp for the Nazi administration and applauded and approved Hitler's dictations. All political parties, except the Nazi party, were banned.
- (ii) **Political Life:** The Nazis permitted elections to the *Reichstag* but limited the choice to a 'yes-no-vote' on a single list of Nazi-selected candidates. The Gestapo (secret police), brutally suppressed all Opposition, whether Democratic, Liberal, Socialist, Communist, Catholic, Jew, or Protestant. They were made to suffer unbelievable torture and often death in the concentration camps. The individual in the Third Reich was deprived of human dignity and civil liberties as well as political rights. By extending government control over every aspect of human activity, the Nazis established a totalitarian State.
- (iii) **Propaganda:** Under Joseph Goebbels, the Ministry of Propaganda utilized all media of information and education for brainwashing both the German nation and the outside world to believe that the Nazi system of government was the best and Hitler was the most dynamic statesman of Europe. The Nazi propaganda operated on the theory that any lie, if enthusiastically stated, repeated continuously, and guarded from critical analysis, would eventually be accepted as truth by most people. Their propaganda promised all things to all men.
- (iv) **Education:** In Nazi Germany, education was converted into a very effective instrument of instilling blind obedience to the Fuehrer and worship of the State. Education was promoted at all levels but only the members of the Nazi party were allowed to teach. The course of study

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was tailored to foster Nazi ideology and the interests of the Nazis. At high school level, a course in chemistry including the making of poison gas. In Mathematics, students were taught how to calculate bombing distances, Likewise in the Social Studies, the stress was upon the evils of democracy, and the “superiority of the Aryan race”. By manipulating the system of education, they sought to instil into the rising generation a spirit of “race fanaticism”. All liberal thought and ideas were excluded from educational institutions. Professors and teachers not following the Nazi line of propaganda were severely dealt with.

- (v) **Science and Culture:** The Nazis made use of science and culture to serve the ends of the totalitarian military state. Scientists were put on the work of developing weapons of the war. Anthropologists were instructed to prove the racial superiority of the Aryans over others. Writers were made to extol the virtues of Hitler and the Nazis. Strict censorship ensured that the German people got nothing to read or listen to anything which the Nazis did not approve. Ant-Nazi works were burnt in public ceremonies. The reading of work or performances of persons of Jewish origin such as the poetry of Heine and Music of *Mendelssohn*, were banned.

The Nazification of culture involved putting the Universities, colleges, schools, stage and cinema into what is called “a Nazi straight jacket”.

- (vi) **Religion:** The Nazis opposed Christianity and denounced Jesus Christ for being an Asiatic Jew. Yet Hitler tried to enlist the support of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Germany in order to remain in power. Since Nazis preached violence and propagated the idea of “Master Race”, their ideology conflicted with the Christian concepts of love and brotherhood. Hence, they sought to control Christianity. The Nazi officials brought the activities of the Protestant Church under their control. Those priests who refused to cooperate with the Nazis were sent to concentration camps for hard labour, and possibly to die. “The Nazis also tried to weaken the Roman Catholic Church by discouraging attendance in Church schools. Many priests and nuns were arrested and persecuted on various trumped-up-charges. The cumulative result of the persecution of religion was that the Nazis found themselves opposed by the three great religions of the West, namely Judaism Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches.
- (vii) **Anti-Semitism:** The Nazis followed an inhuman policy of repression and persecution towards the Jews. Calling them the polluters of culture, responsible for all the ills the German nation was suffering from and they inflicted the following sufferings on them:
- The Jews were deprived of German citizenship.
 - Their Synagogues (places of worship) were burnt down.

- They were removed from their jobs, homes, and denied permission to do business.
- The SS subjected Jews to physical violence of the worst kind.
- A large number of Jews were sent to concentration camps where they were forced to do extremely hard labour. They were tortured and starved, and many were made to die in gas chambers.
- During the Second World War, Jews in the territories occupied by the Nazis were subjected to tortures, persecution and indignities of all sorts.
- The Nazi Government constructed special gas chambers to exterminate the Jews. It is estimated that more than six million men, women and children perished in this barbaric and dastardly policy of anti-Semitism.

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(viii) **Policy towards Youth and Women:** The Nazis recruited young German as members. Hence, they set up a number of youth clubs, gymnasia, organized sports and youth festivals to attract them to Nazism. While enforcing discipline, the Nazis emphasized physical fitness and development of strong bodies, to prepare them for any violent and dangerous adventure in the name of patriotism. Women, however, were accorded an inferior position. They were excluded from politics and were ordered to devote themselves to kitchen-work and child-learning. Hitler wanted an increase in the healthy German population in order to mould it in Nazi ideas and draft into the Nazi armed forces.

One of the very first laws that Hitler introduced was the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage. Women were not expected to work in Nazi Germany. By 1939, approximately 1 per cent of all women worked full time. However, problems arose by taking all the women out of the work force; there was a shortage of people with skills in Germany. Therefore, in the year that the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage was abolished, Nazi Germany passed a new law called the Duty Year. This meant that women could work in factories, big business, etc., to help the economy.

(ix) **Nazi economic policy:** Hitler had climbed to power by promising the German people economic stability and prosperity. Once in power, his government directed its economic policy towards providing Germany with a strong economic base which could also serve as the base of his proposed military State. With this view, his government took several measures:

- They put down all labour unrest and prohibited unions-activities by non-Nazi elements.

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- The government determined wages, hours of work and working conditions of the workers in industry.
- They successfully eliminated unemployment by denying employment to non-Germans (particularly Jews) and unmarried women, expanding public works, etc.
- The government greatly increased the production of armaments, thus providing employment to many in armament factories.
- The German armed forces were enlarged, introducing conscription. This measure, helped to reduce unemployment.
- They refused foreign interest-bearing loans, and based currency on production instead of gold.
- They obtained imports by direct exchange of goods barter and subsidized exports whenever they felt was necessary.
- They put a stop to what was called 'freedom of the exchanges,' i.e., license to gamble in currencies and shift private fortunes from one currency to another according to the political situation.
- They created money when men and material were available for work instead of running into debt by borrowing it.
- The government banned the introduction of labour saving machinery.
- Employers had to get government permission before reducing their labour force.
- The Nazi government gave work contracts to those companies that relied on manual labour rather than machines. This was especially true of the government's massive autobahn (motorway) programme.
- Youth unemployment was dealt with by the forming of the Voluntary Labour Service (VLS) and the Voluntary Youth Service (VYS), these planted forests, repaired river banks and helped reclaim wasteland.
- Women in certain professions such as doctors and civil servants were dismissed, while other married women were paid a lump sum of 1000 marks to stay at home.
- In the summer of 1935, Adolf Hitler announced the introduction of Labour Service (RAD). Under this measure all men aged between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five had to work for the government for six months. Later, women were also included in the scheme and they did work such as teaching and domestic service.
- Financial reforms: The Nazi Government permitted private ownership of industry but subject to State regulations. It controlled the process of production, profits, capital investment, foreign trade and banking, and other financial operations. The credit for Nazi

Germany's spectacular economic performance should go to Hjalmar Schacht, "Hitler's financial wizard".

- (x) **Planning and Autarchy:** In 1936, Herman Goering headed the Planning Commission which prepared the four-year plan. He sought economic self-sufficiency (autarchy) in the economy. The main aim of the planning was to prepare Germany for a war with her enemies as well as translate their dream of Lebensraum into reality. Therefore, the Nazis gave priority to production of armaments. Their slogan was, "guns, not butter". The Government aimed at producing all materials needed by Germany "by German ability, by German chemistry, by German machines and by German mining industry".

Within the first five years, Hitler government achieved remarkable success in regenerating the country's economy. A large number of workers were employed in the armament factories or were drafted in the armed forces, disregarding the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919. The programme of autarchy (self-sufficiency) was a success. At a time when the democratic countries like the US, Britain and France were struggling in the 1930s to overcome the ill-effect of the Great Depression, Hitler's Germany was making rapid and even miraculous economic progress. Of course, this could be done because of the totalitarian control over every aspect of the society as was being done in Joseph Stalin's Russia during the same period.

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Check Your Progress

8. State one important factor responsible for the failure of the Communist rising of 1918-19 in Germany.
9. List some of the economic measures undertaken by Hitler to strengthen the economic base of Germany.

12.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. National Socialist German Workers' Party also known as the Nazi Party was the name of Hitler's political party.
2. On 5 January 1919, the German Democratic Party was found by the locksmith Anton Drexler and five other men.
3. On 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed as Chancellor of Germany.
4. National Fascist Party was the name of Mussolini's political party.

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5. Some basic characteristics of Fascism are as follows:
 - Extreme nationalists in nature.
 - The Fascist had no coherent ideology.
 - They were against Liberalism, Democracy, Socialism and Communism.
 - For them the State was the almighty, based on the military strength and controlled by one party and one leader.
 - There was emphasis on absolute obedience to the authority.
 - Fascism did not permit any opposition party to function.
6. In 1933, Benito Mussolini called for the creation of the Four-Power Pact as a better means of ensuring international security. Mussolini's chief motive in suggesting the pact was the wish for closer Franco-Italian relations.
7. Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in 1935.
8. One of the important factors for the failure of the Communist rising of 1918-19 in Germany and the two Right-wing "Putsch" was the support of the army that the government enjoyed. But left to government alone, there was little chance of its survival because of the failure of the political machinery and the social chaos in the country.
9. Some of the economic measures undertaken by Hitler to strengthen the economic base of Germany were the following:
 - The government determined wages, hours of work and working conditions of the workers in industry.
 - They successfully eliminated unemployment by denying employment to non-Germans (particularly Jews) and unmarried women, expanding public works, etc.
 - The government greatly increased the production of armaments, thus providing employment to many in armament factories.
 - The German armed forces were enlarged, introducing conscription. This measure, helped to reduce unemployment.

12.6 SUMMARY

- According to the Nazis, the Jews posed the maximum threat to the Aryan race and Germany. The Jews were seen by them as a parasitic race that held various ideologies and movements to secure its self-preservation.
- National Socialism is the self-identification term used by exponents of the ideology and adherents describe themselves as national socialists.

- On 5 January 1919, the German Democratic Party was founded by the locksmith Anton Drexler and five other men. The post-war crisis of Weimer Germany consolidated Nazism as an ideology: military defeat in the First World War, capitulation with the Treaty of Versailles, economic depression and the consequent societal instability.
- According to the Nazis, their ideology was influenced by the leadership and policies of German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who was the founder of the German Empire.
- Oswald Manuel Arnold Gottfried Spengler, generally known as Oswald Spengler, was a German cultural philosopher who exerted a significant influence on Nazism. Nevertheless, he distanced from Nazism after 1933.
- After the defeat of Nazi Germany in the World War II, the Allied countries started a campaign to free German and Austrian society, culture, judiciary, economy, press and politics from any remnants of Nazism.
- Nazism is a politically syncretic variety of Fascism, which comprises of policies, tactics and philosophic principles from left and right-wing politics. Liberalism, democracy and Marxism were rejected by Italian fascism and German Nazism.
- Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini was an Italian politician and dictator who led the National Fascist Party. He was also the first of the fascist rulers of twentieth century Europe.
- Nazi militarism believed that great nations grow from military power and maintain order in the world. The Nazi Party demoralized irredentist and revanchist sentiments, and cultural aversions to aspects of Modernism.
- Britain, France and Italy had no change in their government at the conclusion of the First World War. However, the War impact had shaken them.
- Mussolini, the creator soul and guide of Fascist revolution, was born to a blacksmith (1883). Mussolini became a part of the Socialist Party, but left the Party when the War broke out and became an ardent nationalist.
- The word “*fascism*” was derived from the Latin word *fascio* meaning club. The word also has its roots in the Roman ancient *fasces* meaning a bundle of sticks with an axe protecting from them.
- Mussolini’s government conducted elections in 1924 to the Chamber of Deputy and managed to get a massive majority of two-third seats. This marked the end of Constitutionalism and beginning of Fascism in Italy.

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- The aggressive nationalism pride and glory in Italian past was the key to Mussolini's power and presentation. The following highlights of Mussolini's foreign policy depict his aggressive and totalitarian approach.
- The Corfu crisis of 1923, the Fiume incidence of 1924, treaties with Balkan states in 1924, the treaty of friendship with Albania in 1927—all these treaties signified the important position of Italy in the European politics.
- In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope (the Vatican City) by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini.
- Kaiser William II and his military and naval officers had led Germany into the First World War with the supreme confidence that Germany would stamp out all opposition from the rivals.
- By the end of 1918, discontent mounted. The Social Democratic Party—the main opposition political party—took advantage of the difficulties of the government and increased its strength.
- The Weimar Republic, according to David Thomson, was 'one of the most completely democratic paper Constitutions ever written'.
- In 1923, Adolph Hitler and his associates, with the blessings of Field Marshal Ludendorff, a hero of the First World War, attempted to stage a coup with the intention of capturing power in Munich.
- The Nazis were extreme nationalists. They glorified war and emphasized Germany's territorial expansion by means of war.
- The Nazis followed an inhuman policy of repression and persecution towards the Jews.

12.7 KEY WORDS

- **Enlightenment:** It is a European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition.
- **Liberalism:** It is a political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing individual freedom to be the central problem of politics.
- **Totalitarian:** It is relating to a system of government that is centralized and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state.

12.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Define the term ‘Denazification.’
2. What were the causes responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy?
3. List the characteristics of Italy as a totalitarian state.
4. Briefly mention the formation of the Weimar Republic.
5. What were the problems faced by the Weimar Republic?

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the rise of Adolf Hitler as the dictator of Germany.
2. ‘Nazism was greatly influenced by Fascism.’ Explain the statement.
3. Comment on Mussolini’s foreign policy.
4. Explain the attempts made to overthrow the Weimar Republic.
5. Describe the factors responsible for the rise of Hitler to power in Germany.
6. Examine the main features of Hitler’s domestic policy.

12.9 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 13 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Structure

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 Causes of The Second World War
- 13.3 Course of The Second World War
- 13.4 Results of The Second World War
 - 13.4.1 Wartime Conferences 1941–1945
- 13.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 13.6 Summary
- 13.7 Key Words
- 13.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 13.9 Further Readings

13.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about Nazism in Germany and Adolf Hitler's regime. You did come to know about the Kiel Naval Mutiny and formation of the Weimar Republic. The previous unit outlined the policies adopted by the Nazi Government.

In this unit, you will study the events which eventually led to the Second World War. The course of the Second World War, especially Western and Eastern Fronts, have also been dealt with in this unit. Last but not the least, you will be able to list some distinguishing features of the War.

13.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes of the Second World War
- Analyse the course of the Second World War
- Describe the results of the Second World War
- Examine the Wartime Conferences from 1941 to 1945

13.2 CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War began in 1939 and lasted for six years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged all over the world and the War was the most widespread war in human history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercises. In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and

scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the War. Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany, many historians consider that it is not possible to attribute the War to any single cause or factor.

The Second World War was the outcome of a combination of numerous factors that made peaceful coexistence impossible, though several historians hold Hitler and his Nazi regime responsible for it. In this unit, we discuss the prominent causes of the Second World War and the course of the War.

The Treaty of Versailles and the Paris Peace Settlement

The Treaty of Versailles was unpopular in Germany. Likewise, Italian and Japanese nationalists were also unhappy with the outcome of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919. Their dissatisfaction coupled with the imposed economic burden by the First World War victors had led to political instability, economic collapse and social anarchy, resulting in the emergence of dictatorial regimes in Italy, Japan, Germany, and in some smaller countries of Europe. The dictatorship regime resulted in aggressive foreign policies and re-arming of such countries. Finally, the dictators defied the League of Nations and launched their nations on the path of imperialism. Hitler, in fact, vowed to tear the Treaty of Versailles to pieces and avenge the humiliation.

The territorial settlement related to Central and Eastern Europe also augured ill for the future. The collapse of Austria-Hungary left a political vacuum in the Continent. The principle of self-determination, though laudable, created new sources of tension. The new states created on the basis of the principle (e.g., Czechoslovakia and Poland), had to face numerical problems of ethnic minorities such as the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia and Germans in Poland. Consequently, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia became the trouble spots where the Nazis and Fascists could create a situation of civil strife and finally annex them.

Foreign policies of Mussolini and Hitler: Mussolini's aggression on Abyssinia

Mussolini had his eyes upon Abyssinia (Ethiopia) as a suitable area for Italian expansion, and since 1932, he had planned the invasion of that lone independent country in Africa. In 1935, the dictator of Italy sought French approval of his plans. Initially, the French and the British foreign ministers were favourably inclined towards the Italian scheme and almost agreed transfer to most of the Abyssinian country to Italy. However, the outcry in Britain against the sinister game forced the Anglo-French combine to abandon it.

Undeterred, Mussolini launched the invasion of Abyssinia in October 1935. When Britain and France, under hostile public opinion, reacted strongly against it, Mussolini abandoned Italy's traditional policy of friendship with

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both the nations and turned to Adolph Hitler, “the hitherto despised barbarian in the North”. Since then, both the dictators were drawn closer, with serious consequences to Europe. The failure of the League of Nations and its two strong pillars—Britain and France—to stop aggression against an independent country and a member of the League, emboldened the dictators.

Hitler and Europe

In the six years before the commencement of the Second World War, the Nazis had made Germany the most hated and unpredictable nation in Europe. As outlined in *Mein Kampf* or ‘My Struggle’, the fundamental aim of Hitler’s European policy was to secure for Germany her rightful place and create for the German people a “Living Space” (Lebensraum). This meant the scrapping of the Treaty of Versailles and the re-arming of Germany.

Rejecting the Treaty terms, Nazi Germany introduced military conscription and an armament programme to equip the new army with modern weapons—with tanks, motorized units, and airplanes. The German Air Force (Luftwaffe) was formed. Neither Britain nor France took cognizance of this blatant violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, in 1935, the British Government signed the Stresa Agreement which permitted Germany a navy roughly 35 per cent of the size of the British Navy.

On 7 March 1936, overruling his generals’ warnings, the Fuehrer ordered his new army to cross into the demilitarized zone of the Rhine and occupied it. He guessed rightly that neither the British nor the French would intervene to stop the German forces. In the same year, Fuehrer sent his soldiers to fight in the Spanish Civil War on the side of General Franco against the Liberals, who were being supported by Britain and France. This was a clear indication of the two dictatorships ganging up against the democratic and liberal forces. Besides, Hitler acquired another ally in General Francisco Franco.

Economic Needs and Material Interests of the European Powers

The struggle for raw materials, markets for exports and colonies for increasing population had partly brought about the First World War in 1914. This struggle did not end after 1919, but rather became even more acute. Both Germany and Italy were struggling hard to acquire colonies for raw materials and markets for surplus goods. The bulk of undeveloped and underdeveloped had been acquired by Great Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, United States and Netherlands. During the period of pacification from 1925 to 1929, these countries found markets for their finished goods and also raw material; however, the situation radically changed because of the Great Depression. After the onset of the economic crisis, almost all countries resorted to a policy of protection to save their own industries. Everywhere the cry raised was ‘Buy at home’ and thus, international trade came to a standstill with Germany, Italy

and Japan suffering terribly. High tariff walls and quotas caused widespread distress, particularly in the countries which did not possess raw materials required for their industries. These circumstances brought Germany, Italy and Japan together and they embarked upon a course of aggression. Japan invaded Manchuria, Italy occupied Abyssinia and Germany started a long course of aggression which ultimately led to the Second World War.

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Nationalism

Another cause of war was the feelings of Nationalism prevailing in various countries. The Peace settlement of 1919-20 was made primarily along nationalist lines. Victorious nations were guided solely by their national interests. Nationalism was used by their leaders to generate public support in Germany, a nation where fervent nationalism was already prevalent. In Italy, the idea of restoring the Roman Empire was attractive to many Italians. In Japan, nationalism, in the sense of duty and honour, especially to the emperor, had been widespread for centuries.

Rise of Militarism

A highly militaristic and aggressive attitude prevailed among the leaders of Germany, Japan and Italy. Compounding this fact was the traditional militant attitude of these three nations that had a similar track record. For example, Germany introduced permanent conscription in 1935, with a clear aim of rebuilding its army (and defying the Treaty of Versailles). The Rhineland was occupied by the German troops in March 1936. Similar things occurred in Italy and Japan. The military preparations of the Axis powers forced the democratic states to arm themselves. This was particularly true after the Munich debacle in September 1938. Thus, militarism was bound to result ultimately in an armed conflict.

Failure of Collective Security

The Covenant of League of Nations had made a provision for joint action against aggression. But presupposing such a provision that governments and people interested in preserving the international peace and maintaining the settlement of 1919 would be able to act together turned out to be wrong.

In 1931, the Japanese militarists committed aggression against China in Manchuria, though both countries were members of the League. China appealed to the League under Article II to force Japan to stop the aggression. Although the League condemned Japan for her Manchurian aggression and contemplated sanction, it was not able to force Japan to withdraw from Manchuria. On the contrary, the Japanese completed the conquest of Manchuria in March 1932 and set-up the puppet-state of Manchukuo. When the League announced sanctions against her, Japan withdrew from the world body but continued invasion of China's territory in north of China. The

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inaction of the League and the US and their ineffectualness encouraged the European dictators who were planning similar aggression.

Similarly, failure of the League and its main supports, namely Britain and France, to protect Abyssinia from Italy's aggression confirmed the futility of the provision of Collective Security. It was clear that unless military sanctions were sincerely applied, it would be difficult to prevent aggression. Both Britain and France were unwilling to take any initiative. Evidently, the League of Nations had become a mere paper-tiger.

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis and its Consequences

In 1936, the fascist dictator of Italy and the Nazi dictator of Germany came together and signed a military assistance pact, known as the Rome-Berlin Pact. Shortly, Japan also joined the alliance, creating thereby the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Soon afterwards the three signed a common agreement against Communism, known as the Anti-Comintern Pact or League. Thus, the wartime alliance of these three powers was born. Fortified by these two alliances, the dictatorship intensified their territorial aggrandizement.

Hitler's programme of Lebensraum

In the 1930s, Europe was passing through the economic trauma resulting from the Great Depression of 1929. Hence, European politicians thought of war as something to be avoided, a last resort when all other means had failed. But Mussolini and Hitler thought otherwise. The Fuehrer was prepared for war against even heavily armed European states. War was a natural extension of his policy and might be necessary to secure the aims that the Nazis had set before themselves.

By 1938, Hitler had effectively destroyed the Treaty of Versailles. However, his armed forces had so far not launched invasion of any country. By the end of 1938, Nazi Germany entered a new phase of policy which was to end only with the outbreak of a general European war.

This new direction began with the march of the German forces into Austria in March 1938, where a strong Nazi party was pressing for union with Germany but its Chancellor, Kurt Schuschnigg, resisted the demand. Hitler, therefore, invited him to Munich and threatened him with invasion of Austria unless he agreed to a voluntary union between the two countries. The Chancellor was forced to resign and Hitler entered Austria with his armed forces and the Gestapo, finding support in thousands of Austrians.

The Allied Powers knew that the union between Austria and Germany had been forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. But they convinced themselves that the union was natural and right. Hitler was allowed to do what he liked. In one bloodless victory, Hitler had added seven million Austrians to his Reich.

Possession of Austria gave Nazi Germany strategic control over the road, rail and river communication of the middle Danube Valley. It also provided Hitler contact with Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Moreover, the new acquisition opened up three sides of the Bohemian Fortress of Czechoslovakia, so necessary for his next object to aggression. With his Austrian triumph, Hitler's prestige, material resources and strength were greatly enhanced both at home and abroad. Above all, the ease with which he could accomplish the Anschluss (Union) emboldened him to go ahead with his foreign policy objectives. Britain and France protested but did nothing.

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Shifting of the Balance of Power

The vacillating diplomacy of Britain and France, the aloofness of the US from the affairs of Europe and the deliberate attempts to keep the Soviet Union from active participation in the European affairs helped the dictators in their policy of territorial aggrandizement. The failure of the non-Fascist and non-Nazi nations to untidily check the expansionist policies of Italy, Germany and Japan had the effect of a shift in the balance of power from the Allies to the Axis. In fact, this shift in Europe between 1935 and 1939, in material terms, greatly helped the Axis powers to consolidate their position. As for Hitler, each political and diplomatic triumph filled him with ever greater confidence in his invincibility and in his political instincts.

The rearmament and reintroduction of conscription in Germany, the occupation of the Rhineland, the Anschluss and the conquest of Czechoslovakia were signal triumphs of the Axis but evidently definite setback to the Allies. Consequently, while Hitler grew in confidence to defy the world opinion, the Western Powers were forced to follow a policy of appeasement. 'International relations deteriorated into what a historian terms as, "naked conflict of power between the rival camps, in which more and more of the assets were appropriated by the dictators'. The Axis pursued dynamic, aggressive policies towards the Western Powers and the League of Nations, but the Allies were contented in working for the preservation of the Settlement of 1919. The balance of power was fast shifting to Berlin from London.

The Policy of Appeasement

For three years, before Second World War broke out, attention of the European diplomats was focused on a policy shaped by Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, which came to be known as the "Policy of Appeasement". It was based on an erroneous theory that the objectives of Hitler and Mussolini were essentially limited to revenging the wrong which Hitler had been claiming was done to Germany in 1919. Mussolini also was nursing strong grievance that the Paris Peace Conference had denied to Italy her legitimate claim in North and East Africa. The British Prime Minister accepted the

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view that the two countries had legitimate grievances since they had a raw deal in 1919. This conviction led him to conclude that if Britain and France granted reasonable and timely concessions, instead of resisting their claims, the dictators would settle down peacefully. Being inexperienced in diplomacy, Chamberlain could not understand Hitler's real intentions.

However, Chamberlain was aware that due to the economic crises of 1930, the Western military and air power had fallen into neglect. Hence he favoured a vigorous programme of rearmament to ensure that the dictators were not tempted to escalate their demands. Moreover, he realized that Britain and France were not in a position to wage war against them at that time, and hence he was determined to avoid war for as long as possible until they were in a position to challenge the dictators. In this sense, the Policy of Appeasement was both utopian and practical.

The mistaken belief led Britain and France to tolerate the brazenly aggressive activities of Italy and Germany, disregarding the terms of the Settlement of 1919. They did not apply economic sanctions against Italy in 1935; they refused to take action against Japan in 1931 and 1937; and they even connived at Hitler's uniting Austria with Germany.

But subsequent events showed how wrong the British and the French Governments were in their assumption. Italian Fascism and German Nazism were fanatically nationalist movements, with limited aim and which they were determined to achieve through fair or foul means. Nevertheless the Policy of Appeasement achieved the following:

- It postponed the inevitability of war by some months.
- It gave a breathing spell both to the Allies and the Axis before the actual hostilities began.
- It strengthened the dictators for making further aggression. Hitler could use the interval to consolidate the existing conquests, build the Siegfried Line or West Wall and complete the preparations for a general war.

Conquest of Czechoslovakia, 1938

Czechoslovakia was a multinational state formed in 1919. It contained troublesome minorities, including more than three million Sudeten Germans. The German wanted self-government, and they were encouraged by Hitler who was determined to occupy this democratic country, created by the Treaty of Versailles. As in Austria, Hitler's war of nerves began there with a wave of terrorist bombings and street riots. He instructed Konrad Hernlein, leader of Czechoslovakia's Sudeten German Party, to 'always demand so much from the Czechs that we can never be satisfied'. In 1938, he sent a secret directive to the German Army that it was his 'unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future'. His Nazis provoked violence in the Sudetenland and let loose a stream of propaganda about

the Czech harsh treatment of the German in the country. He began ranting about the Czechs that he would not tolerate any longer that ‘a small second-rate country should treat the mighty thousand-year-old German Reich as something inferior’.

Alarmed, Chamberlain first sent his representative to Prague to investigate the allegations, and he himself went to Germany on 15 September to meet the Fuehrer.

The Munich Pact

In the first conference on Czechoslovakia (15 September 1938), Hitler demanded the cession of the Sudetenland and threatened war if this was not agreed to. While the German warlord continued his military preparations, the gullible British Prime Minister discussed Hitler’s demand with the French and the Czechs. The Government of Czechoslovakia felt betrayed and deserted by the Allies who were supposed to go to the defence of the country. Eventually, it agreed to cede to Germany all territories where more than half of the inhabitants were German.

A week later, Chamberlain met Hitler again and informed him of the decision. The Fuehrer, who hoped for an excuse to invade Czechoslovakia, rejected the offer, and demanded that his army should occupy the Sudetenland by 1 October 1938, before any plebiscite could be held there. This pushed Europe virtually to the brink of a war. But both the British and the French Governments were not yet prepared for war, and Chamberlain believed that the British people wanted peace at any price.

Hence in the third conference held in Munich on 30 September 1938, the British, French, German and Italian leaders agreed that the German Army should occupy the Sunderland as demanded by Hitler and parts of Czechoslovakia should go to Poland and Hungary. Interestingly, Soviet Russia, with whom the country had a defence agreement, and Czechoslovakia herself, were not invited to the Munich Conference which decided on the dismemberment of the country.

Hitler told the British Prime Minister that it was his last ambition on Europe. It is worth remembering that while the British Parliament approved the Munich Pact, Winston Churchill called the agreement ‘a total and unmitigated defeat’.

As far as the Czechs were concerned, the guarantee to collective security gave way to collective blackmail in the name of preserving peace. There was universal relief that the war had been averted, but this belief was soon shattered when Hitler’s forces invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia on 19 March 1939. This was naked aggression, and Chamberlain’s policy of appeasements came to an abrupt end as the British public opinion forced their leader to stand firm against any further aggression.

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The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 1939

Having occupied Czechoslovakia, Hitler seized from Lithuania the port of Memel, given to her by the Settlement of 1919. Not to be left behind, Mussolini, too, invaded Albania. The actions of the dictators violated several treaty obligations. Britain, therefore, retaliated by extending guarantee to the countries more likely to be the target of Nazi lust for territory. Among these was Poland, which was given Greece on 31 March 1939. This was to become the formal reason for her declaration of war on Germany five months later as well as the immediate cause of the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Soviet Russia.

After the Anglo-French treaties with Poland, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey, the Soviet Union was clearly the controller of the balance of power in Europe. Neither the Western powers nor the Axis could henceforth begin a war without reaching some prior understanding with Russia. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Litvinov, stipulated that any mutual assistance pact between the Soviet Union and the two Western powers should also include a guarantee of all the Baltic States. The proposal was rejected, leading to the resignation of the Russian minister. He was succeeded by Molotov. This was the crucial turning point in the Soviet policy towards Europe.

Both Hitler and Stalin knew that any attack on Poland would involve Germany in a war with both Britain and France. Moreover, Hitler would not be able to attack Russia without first invading Poland or Rumania due to geographical factors. Therefore, Stalin concluded that since he now controlled the balance of power in Europe, he could afford to negotiate terms with Hitler which would ensure a large share of Polish territory for Russia in the event of any partition of Poland.

Moreover, Stalin was convinced that the Western powers did not trust him and his government due to ideological reasons, and therefore, an agreement with them might not be feasible. Hence he turned to Germany. This would preserve a buffer of foreign territory between his country and Germany. The Russian dictator sought to use the new found immunity to buy both time and space, and to gamble on a long, destructive war between the Central and Western powers from which he could gain both security and territory.

Negotiations between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany began in May 1939 and culminated in the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on 23 August. It provided for the division of Eastern Europe between the two dictatorships. While Russia would take East Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia, Germany would have West Poland and Lithuania.

Significance of the Pact

Most historians are in agreement on the following facts:

- The Nazi-Soviet Pact was born of the Franco-British guarantee to Poland.
- It was a master stroke of Hitler, in fact, had planned to destroy the Russian power.
- It made the German attack on Poland absolutely certain since any opposition from Russia was neutralized.
- For Stalin, the Pact gave time to strengthen country's defence forces, whose morale had been badly affected by the purges of 1938. He also hoped to expand and consolidate Soviet territory in Eastern Europe. David Thomson, discussing the significance of the pact, remarks:

‘He (Hitler) even hoped that the dramatic publication of the pact might stun Britain and France into repudiating their pledges to Poland, and experimented with conciliatory gestures. This hope was dispelled when Chamberlain wrote to him affirming categorically Britain's determination to stand by her pledges.’

Blitzkrieg: The Invasion of Poland

The Nazi-Soviet Pact precipitated the War. Most historians, however, hold Hitler responsible for it. The event that set Europe and the world ablaze was the invasion of Poland by the Nazi *Wehrmacht* on 1 September 1939.

Having neutralized the Soviet Union, Poland's biggest neighbour, the Nazi Army and Air Force (*Luftwaffe*) struck all along the Polish frontier. Poland's Anglo-French Allies were shocked that the Fuehrer had launched invasion of a country they had pledged to defend. Even Hitler had signed a 10-year Non-Aggression Pact with it in 1934. They fervently hoped that the dictator of Germany might once again achieve his goal without a major war. Mussolini had declared his country's neutrality in the conflict. They were even prepared for a ‘four power’ conference to find a compromise solution to the Polish crisis. However, the British and the French Governments told Germany that unless the invasion of Poland stopped immediately, they would ‘without hesitation fulfil their obligations to Poland’. Since there was no response from Berlin even on the second day of the invasion, and the Germans continued pressing forward and plundering Poland. A worried Chamberlain and his French counterpart, Edward Daladier, decided upon war on Germany. On 3 September, the Allies declared war, and this marked the commencement of the Second World War.

Check Your Progress

1. When did the Second World War begin?
2. When was permanent conscription introduced in Germany and why?
3. Name the three parties who created the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
4. List the achievements of the Policy of Appeasement.

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13.3 COURSE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Until the Japanese attacked the Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, the War remained essentially a European war.

Early Success

In the first phase of the War, Poland was crushed in three weeks and partitioned between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. The Russians, on their part, began to occupy the eastern areas of Poland. As Germany's victorious onslaught continued, Stalin gained the three Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, and half of Poland. Secure on the Western Front, Hitler's General directed their attacks against France and Britain. In November, Russia attacked Finland; this furnished the ground for her expulsion from the League of Nations. But this did not deter Stalin from conquering Finland.

The 'Phoney War'

Despite the feverish preparations, mobilization and "bracing for battle", nothing much happened on the Western Front for six months. The winter of 1939 witnessed what historians term, the "Phoney war". A few occasional skirmishes took place in the Maginot Line—a chain of fortifications that stretched 200 miles along the frontier from Switzerland north as far as Luxembourg. Also the navies were involved in spirited action at sea. On the whole, the War became a stalemate. It created a false sense of security and a mood of relaxation both in Britain and France. It also gave time for the Germans to persuade the French nation, through effective propaganda, to question the need for continuing the War. Chamberlain called these months the 'twilight war'. For the Germans, it was the "sitting war" (Sitzkrieg) as opposed to the Polish Blitzkrieg (lightening war). However, in April 1940, the scenario changed as Hitler resumed his Blitzkrieg, and 'the twilight became night'.

Fall of France

With a view to bypass the French border fortification, the German attacked both Holland and Belgium in May 1940. Accompanied by the deadly bombing of Luftwaffe, Hitler's forces subjugated Norway and Denmark. The massive use of panzers and air power enabled the Nazis penetrate the French and British Armies was trapped. Belgium was forced to withdraw from the War, and the Allies evacuated from Dunkirk. In a heroic national effort, the British evacuated 350,000 troops. A large portion of the British armed forces managed to reach England. However, the British land force had been destroyed as an instrument of war.

In the beginning of June, the Battle of France was fought. The Germans routed the French and entered Paris on 14th June. By July, France was reduced and the French Marshal, Petain, was forced to surrender. The French Army hitherto had been the chief allied instrument of war, it now lay irretrievably broken. France had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Hitler's men for what she had done to the Germans in 1918.

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The Battle of Britain

After knocking France out of the War, the Nazis turned towards Britain. For two months, the Luftwaffe ceaselessly bombarded the industrial areas, ports and cities aimed at crushing the British people's will to exist. The German U-boats (submarines) attacked British ships. But the British people stood up to the German might. In the "Battle of Britain", Germany was forced to engage in a struggle of indefinite duration and doubtful outcome.

The American Attitude towards War

President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the US had declared his administration's opposition to communism, fascism and Nazism. However, in the realm of foreign policy, his administration continued to pursue the 'Policy of Neutrality'. But as Hitler's annexations in Europe continued, the Americans embarked on an urgent programme of defence building, especially strengthening the US Navy and US Air Force. Soon after Germany's attack on Poland, the US Government increased its defence supplies to England and other nations threatened by the Nazis. Roosevelt froze the Axis assets in America, imposed restrictions on American trade with them, including Japan. Thus, the country became less and less neutral as it aided Britain and gradually got involved in the War. Naval bases, ships and arms were made available, and a 13 billion dollars' lend-lease aid to Britain was sanctioned.

The War on the Eastern Front

By the spring of 1941, Britain was retaliating with very heavy bombing raids on Germany. Worried, Hitler ordered indefinite postponement of "Operation Sea Lion". This Operation was a planned military feat, in which 90,000 Nazi soldiers were to cross the waters and into Britain, followed by 170,000 more troops in two days. But the German Navy balked, since it did not have enough ships for the adventure, hence "Operation Sea Lion" was suspended.

Hitler planned his next Blitzkrieg, the war with Russia, the country with which he had entered into a marriage of convenience in the form of Non-Aggression Pact nearly two years earlier. Apart from Soviet Russia and some neutrals, the whole continent of Europe was now under effective German control. Now the master of Europe, Hitler, felt comparatively free from any immediate threat of invasion from the West, and he was ready to embark upon his greatest venture of all—the attack upon his country's ideological

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and military rival. His military and air force officers prepared a blue print for the invasion of Russia, known as 'Operation Barbarossa'.

Hitler's long-term ideological battle against Communism, his scheme of Lebensraum, and more important, the immediate need for economic exploitation of Russia's vast food-producing and mines, mineral, oil-rich areas made an attack on it inevitable. Hitler took the world by surprise by sending a strong force of 160 divisions across the Soviet border without declaration of war. The 'Operation Barbarossa' was launched on 22 June 1941. Despite various warnings, the Russian preparations were not adequate, and the Nazi war machine repeated its earlier success story of the Western Front.

By the close of 1941, Moscow and Leningrad were under siege and the Nazi forces had reached the Crimes. Fortunately for Russia, its two classic assets, namely 'general winter and space', saved the day. Though the losses were very heavy and frightful, the Russians managed to hold out against the invading Nazi force. On 6 December 1941, the Russians launched massive counter-offensive that sent the German reeling back 50 miles by the end of the month. Moscow was saved.

In September 1942, after the Battle of Stalingrad, the Russians struck back and forced the Germans to beat a hasty retreat. Harassed both by the severity of the winter, shortage of supplies, and the scorched-earth policy and counter-attack by Russian soldiers, the mighty German Army suffered terribly. From its original strength of 330,000 officers and men, it was reduced to 12,000. This was the beginning of the end.

The War in the Mediterranean, North Africa and Pacific Regions

In this section, you will come to know about how the Second World War progressed in the Mediterranean, North Africa and Pacific regions.

The War in the Mediterranean and North Africa

When the War broke out, Mussolini's Italy had announced her neutrality despite the Pact with Germany. But after the fall of France, Mussolini was convinced that he must be present at the kill, if for no other reason than to be in a better position to assert his future claims.

Therefore, on 10 June 1940, Italy declared war on both France and Britain. Mussolini's main aim was to acquire the British colonies in North Africa, and capture Egypt and the Suez Canal. In September 1940, a strong Italian force invaded Egypt from Libya. But the British forces, under General Wavell, counter-attacked and captured the Italian colonies in *Eritrea*, Abyssinia and Cyrenaica.

Italy's defeats brought Germany to the Mediterranean and North African theatre of war, to rescue her ally. Under General Erwin Rommel, the Germans swept across North Africa subduing the British forces. They reached

EI Almerin, 80 miles off Alexandria, and the Suez Canal was threatened. In a meeting, Roosevelt and Churchill decided to mount an effective counter attack, and sent a powerful force—the Eighth Army under General Montgomery in October 1942. At the crucial Tank Battle of EI Alamein, Rommel’s Africa Korps and the Italian armies were decisively beaten, compelling the Nazi forces to retreat from the area across the desert westwards. Montgomery’s victory turned out to be the prelude for Mussolini’s fall in 1943.

Besides, North Africa fell under the control of the French Committee of National Liberation, led by General de Gaulle. Although the Germans continued to show their might in Tunisia, the combined Anglo-American forces under Montgomery and General Alexander inflicted a crushing defeat of Rommel in the Battle of Tunisia (1943). The Tunisian victory ensured for the Allies important communication lines in the Mediterranean, and enabled them to attack upon the Balkans and Italy.

The War in the Pacific

The whole war transformed by an event, far away from the European theatre. Here, the third member of the Axis, Japan, had been following the European events closely. Taking advantage of the War, it promoted an organization called the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere”, a garb for her imperialism. Pursuing her undeclared war with China (1937), Japan moved into Indo-China after the French collapse in 1940. Britain was not in a position to resist Japanese advance southward. The only country in a position to offer possible resistance was the United States of America. During 1941, talks were held between Japan and the US on the question of Japanese presence in China, but the talks failed to produce any result. Therefore, the military rulers of Japan concluded that if their ambitions in South-East Asia were to be realized, the Americans must be opposed by force. Since the US Pacific Fleet was concentrated at the Pearl Harbour (Hawaii), an attack on it would cripple America’s military power.

Attack on the Pearl Harbour

In December 1941, 189 Japanese bombers ‘swept in low out of the morning haze’ and attacked American war ships in Pearl Harbour. In this surprise air-attack, the US Navy suffered tremendous loss. The next day, the US and Britain declared war on Japan, followed soon by the British Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa). India was dragged into the war by the British, and China was also involved in it. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the US. The European war had suddenly become a world war. Soon the Central American and several South American States also declared war on the Axis. The Second World War was also fought in the Balkans and the Atlantic.

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The Allied Triumph

In 1943, the Allied forces crossed the Mediterranean region and invaded Sicily and Southern Italy. Mussolini's Fascist government collapsed and Italy surrendered unconditionally. To resist the Allied advance northward, Hitler rushed troops into Italy.

Following their great victory in the Battle of Stalingrad, the Russians seized the initiative. Materially assisted by the Americans through their Lend-Lease policy, the Red Army drove their Nazi counterpart from Russia. Thereafter, they pursued the Nazi forces through Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. In 1945, the Russians reached Eastern Germany and stormed into Berlin.

On 6 June 1944, the Anglo-American forces, under the supreme command of US General *Eisenhower* crossed the English Channel and landed in Normandy in Northern France. The invading Allied forces met a powerful German Army, which had been kept from the Russian front in anticipation of his attack. Thus, Hitler's "Fortress of Europe" was captured. The Allies pushed back the Nazi Army and drove the Germans away from the French soil.

The Victory in Europe

The final stages of Germany's defeat were rapid. In April 1945, the Russians occupied Vienna. Meanwhile the British and American Armies crossed the Rhine River and moved towards the Elbe. Here they met the Russians driving from the East. German resistance in North Italy collapsed. On 30 April 1945, Hitler committed suicide, and two days later, Mussolini met a squalid death at the hand of his own Italians. Soon thereafter, Germany surrendered unconditionally. The US President, Harry S. Truman, along with the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, officially proclaimed victory in Europe on 8 May 1945—the VE Day (Victory in Europe). Europe was liberated from the Fascist and Nazi dictatorship, but only to be replaced by another type of totalitarian regime—the Communist—in Eastern Europe.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

During 1943, the Japanese began to suffer reverses after reverses in the Pacific theatre. In 1944, the American forces returned to the Philippines. One after the other, Japan's territorial gains were lost. Their aggressive behaviour and harsh treatment of the peoples in the occupied territories made them extremely unpopular. In early 1945, the American captured Jima and Okinawa, the Japanese island bases. From there, the US Air Force launched destructive raids upon Japan. The British and Allied land and naval forces also inflicted several crushing defeats on the Japanese Army.

In August 1945, the US dropped two atom bombs, one on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and the other on Nagasaki, killing over a lakh of civilians

and causing immense damage to life, property and environment. Russia also declared war on Japan and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria. The atomic bombing episodes and loss of its allies forced Japan to surrender unconditionally. On 2 September 1945, President Truman officially declared the V-J Day (Victory Over Japan Day).

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Some Distinguishing Features of the Second World War

The major features of the Second World War are as follows:

- (i) **Total War:** The Second World War was fought not only by armed forces at the battlefields but also by civilians in factories and in their homes, including children. They actively participated in helping air-raid wardens, helping in War Bond Drives, assisting the victims of war, etc.
- (ii) **Global War:** Beginning in Europe, the War was fought on all major seas and oceans of Africa, Asia and Europe. It involved 60 nations, 7 of them on the side of the Axis.
- (iii) **Most Destructive and Costly War:** The Second World War was more destructive when compared to the First World War. Between September 1939 and August 1945, belligerent states mobilized more than 10 crore men. Though, due to the latest and sophisticated technology and weaponry (including the atomic energy) used, it is not possible to compute the exact cost of the War, it has been estimated that Germany alone spent more than 272 billion American dollars and the US more than 30 billion. The total cost of the war materials used exceeded 1,154 billion dollars.

General George Marshall estimated the total lives lost in the battlefield as 15 million men. This figure does not include the loss of civilian lives and the injured or maimed. It has been calculated that due to the atrocities of the Third Reich, nearly 40 million people perished. The loss of life in the Pacific theatre of war added enormously to this figure.

- (iv) **Misuse of Human Achievements in Science and Technology:** The Second World War witnessed the blatant misuse of human scientific and technical knowledge for destructive purpose. Scientists and engineers devised or adapted for the purposes of war such inventions as radar, guided missiles, jet propelled planes, magnetic mines, atomic energy, etc. At the same time, the War also saw the use of blood plasma, *penicillin*, and sulphur drugs to save lives.
- (v) **Use of Air Power:** The War, for the first time in history, made use of air planes on a large scale for attacking the naval ships, destroying rail-roads and industrial centres. Air cover was an essential factor in major offensives on the land or in the sea, as displayed by the RAF (Royal Air Force), the Luftwaffe and the US Air Force.

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Check Your Progress

5. What was the plan of action of the “Operation Sea Lion”?
6. When did Japan attack American war ships?
7. List two distinct traits of the Second World War.

13.4 RESULTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War affected the World more seriously when compared to the First World War. The economic, political and social consequences of the War were far reaching. We may briefly examine them in this section.

Economic consequences of the War

The economic consequences of the War are as follows:

- The Second World War was the costliest war in history. It involved a military expenditure of over 1,100 billion American dollars. Property worth more than 250 billion dollars was destroyed, shattering the economy of several countries.
- Countries of Europe and Asia, ravaged by the War, faced difficult problems of economic recovery, enabling the Communist economic system to spread from Soviet Russia to Eastern and Central Europe, and to several Asian nations.
- The defeated nations had to pay heavy indemnities, amounting to billions of dollars.

Social consequences of the War

The social consequences of the War are as follows:

- It was the most destructive war in the history of humankind. It took 22 million lives of soldiers civilians, and over 34 million were wounded.
- Several million people were uprooted from their native soil. Enormous amount of money and effort was needed to rebuild the lives of the refugees and displaced persons.

Political consequences of the War

The political consequences of the War are as follows:

- (a) **Collapse and overthrow of the totalitarian regimes:** The dictatorial regimes of Hitler, Mussolini and of the military rulers of Japan collapsed in the wake of the defeat of these countries. While Germany passed under the joint control of the four Allied powers, Japan was brought under American military occupation. In Italy, people opted for a liberal system of government.

- (b) **Decline of Britain and France:** The War exhausted both France and Britain militarily and economically. They declined as world powers and gradually relinquished major portions of their empires.
- (c) **Emergence of the US and the Soviet Union as Super Powers:** A significant outcome of the Second World War was the emergence of the US and the Soviet Union as the Super Powers. While the former claimed the leadership of the “democratic and free world”, Russia assumed leadership of the communist countries, particularly of Eastern Europe. With the decline of European powers after the War, the Soviet Union and the United States emerged as the two leading poles in the world. Soon these two blocs came into conflict. The Cold War that followed the Second World War, was essentially ideological, military, diplomatic, economic, technological and other forms of manoeuvres. Soon, the countries of the world came to be divided into two ideological-cum-military blocs.
- (d) **Downfall of Imperialism and the emergence of new nations:** By weakening Britain, France and Holland, the chief imperial power, the War enabled intensification of national liberation struggles in Asia and Africa. This hastened the downfall of the Western imperialism and the emergence of independent countries such as India, Pakistan, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Malaya and Indonesia.
- (e) **General effect:** The world post-Second World War was beset with serious social and economic problems. Mounting unemployment, shortage of essential commodities, hunger, poverty and other related problems created disillusionment and unrest in the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Moreover, the misuse of the greatest human achievement in science and technology for destructive purpose (e.g., atomic energy), resulted in renewed race of armaments. The expenditure on armament research and development (R&D) was so enormous that the amount could have gone a long way to feed the hungry millions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Instead, economic disparity between the rich and poor countries of the world widened, making international cooperation rather difficult.

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13.4.1 Wartime Conferences 1941–1945

The first involvement of the United States in the wartime conferences between the Allied nations opposing the Axis powers actually occurred before the nation formally entered World War II. In August 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met secretly and devised an eight-point statement of war aims known as the Atlantic Charter, which included a pledge that the Allies would not accept territorial changes resulting from the war in Europe. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, the wartime conferences focused on establishing a second front.

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At Casablanca in January 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to fight until the Axis powers surrendered unconditionally.

In a November 1943 meeting in Egypt with Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to a pre-eminent role for China in post war Asia.

The next major wartime conference included Roosevelt, Churchill, and the leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin. Meeting at Tehran following the Cairo Conference, the “Big Three” secured confirmation on the launching of the cross-channel invasion and a promise from Stalin that the Soviet Union would eventually enter the war against Japan.

In 1944, conferences at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks created the framework for international cooperation in the post war world.

In February 1945, the “Big Three” met at the former Russian czar’s summer palace in the Crimea. Yalta was the most important and by far the most controversial of the wartime meetings. Recognizing the strong position that the Soviet Army possessed on the ground, Churchill and an ailing Roosevelt agreed to a number of compromises with Stalin that allowed Soviet hegemony to remain in Poland and other Eastern European countries, granted territorial concessions to the Soviet Union, and outlined punitive measures against Germany, including an occupation and reparations in principle. Stalin did guarantee that the Soviet Union would declare war on Japan within six months.

The last meeting of the “Big Three” occurred at Potsdam in July 1945, where the tension that would erupt into the cold war was evident. Despite the end of the war in Europe and the revelation of the existence of the atomic bomb to the Allies, neither President Harry Truman, Roosevelt’s successor, nor Clement Atlee, who mid-way through the conference replaced Churchill, could come to agreement with Stalin on any but the most minor issues. The most significant agreement was the issuance of the Potsdam Declaration to Japan demanding an immediate and unconditional surrender and threatening Japan with destruction if they did not comply. With the Axis forces defeated, the wartime alliance soon devolved into suspicion and bitterness on both sides.

Check Your Progress

8. Mention the economic consequences of the Second World War.
9. When did the United States first participate in the Wartime Conference?

13.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Second World War began in 1939.
2. Germany introduced permanent conscription in 1935, with a clear aim of rebuilding its army (and defying the Treaty of Versailles).
3. In 1936, the fascist dictator of Italy and the Nazi dictator of Germany came together and signed a military assistance pact, known as the Rome-Berlin Pact. Shortly, Japan also joined the alliance, creating thereby the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
4. The achievements of the Policy of Appeasement are the following:
 - It postponed the inevitability of war by some months.
 - It gave a breathing spell both to the Allies and the Axis before the actual hostilities began.
 - It strengthened the dictators for making further aggression. Hitler could use the interval to consolidate the existing conquests, build the Siegfried Line or West Wall and complete the preparations for a general war.
5. “Operation Sea Lion” was a planned military feat, in which 90,000 Nazi soldiers were to cross the waters and into Britain, followed by 170,000 more troops in two days.
6. In December 1941, 189 Japanese bombers ‘swept in low out of the morning haze’ and attacked American war ships in Pearl Harbour.
7. Two distinct traits of the Second World War are the following:
 - (i) The Second World War was fought not only by armed forces at the battlefields but also by civilians in factories and in their homes, including children.
 - (ii) Beginning in Europe, the War was fought on all major seas and oceans of Africa, Asia and Europe. It involved 60 nations, 7 of them on the side of the Axis.
8. The economic consequences of the Second World War are as follows:
 - The Second World War was the costliest war in history. It involved a military expenditure of over 1,100 billion American dollars. Property worth more than 250 billion dollars was destroyed, shattering the economy of several countries.
 - Countries of Europe and Asia, ravaged by the War, faced difficult problems of economic recovery, enabling the Communist economic system to spread from Soviet Russia to Eastern and Central Europe, and to several Asian nations.

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- The defeated nations had to pay heavy indemnities, amounting to billions of dollars.
9. The first involvement of the United States in the wartime conferences between the Allied nations opposing the Axis powers actually occurred before the nation formally entered World War II.

13.6 SUMMARY

- The Second World War began in 1939 and lasted for six years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged all over the world and the War was the most widespread war in human history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercises.
- The Second World War was the outcome of a combination of numerous factors that made peaceful coexistence impossible, though several historians hold Hitler and his Nazi regime responsible for it
- The Treaty of Versailles was unpopular in Germany. Likewise, Italian and Japanese nationalists were also unhappy with the outcome of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919.
- Mussolini had his eyes upon Abyssinia (Ethiopia) as a suitable area for Italian expansion, and since 1932, he had planned the invasion of that lone independent country in Africa.
- The struggle for raw materials, markets for exports and colonies for increasing population had partly brought about the First World War in 1914. This struggle did not end after 1919, but rather became even more acute.
- A highly militaristic and aggressive attitude prevailed among the leaders of Germany, Japan and Italy. Compounding this fact was the traditional militant attitude of these three nations that had a similar track record.
- In 1936, the fascist dictator of Italy and the Nazi dictator of Germany came together and signed a military assistance pact, known as the Rome-Berlin Pact. Shortly, Japan also joined the alliance, creating thereby the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
- For three years, before Second World War broke out, attention of the European diplomats was focused on a policy shaped by Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, which came to be known as the “Policy of Appeasement”.
- Czechoslovakia was a multinational state formed in 1919. It contained troublesome minorities, including more than three million Sudeten Germans. The German wanted self-government, and they were

encouraged by Hitler who was determined to occupy this democratic country, created by the Treaty of Versailles.

- Having occupied Czechoslovakia, Hitler seized from Lithuania the port of Memel, given to her by the Settlement of 1919. Not to be left behind, Mussolini, too, invaded Albania. The actions of the dictators violated several treaty obligations.
- In the first phase of the War, Poland was crushed in three weeks and partitioned between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. The Russians, on their part, began to occupy the eastern areas of Poland.
- Despite the feverish preparations, mobilization and “bracing for battle”, nothing much happened on the Western Front for six months. The winter of 1939 witnessed what historians term, the “Phoney war”.
- President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the US had declared his administration’s opposition to communism, fascism and Nazism. However, in the realm of foreign policy, his administration continued to pursue the ‘Policy of Neutrality’.
- When the War broke out, Mussolini’s Italy had announced her neutrality despite the Pact with Germany. But after the fall of France, Mussolini was convinced that he must be present at the kill, if for no other reason than to be in a better position to assert his future claims.
- In December 1941, 189 Japanese bombers ‘swept in low out of the morning haze’ and attacked American war ships in Pearl Harbour. In this surprise air-attack, the US Navy suffered tremendous loss.
- On 2 September 1945, President Truman officially declared the V-J Day (Victory Over Japan Day).
- The Second World War affected the World more seriously when compared to the First World War. The economic, political and social consequences of the War were far reaching.

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13.7 KEY WORDS

- **Panzer:** It refers to a German armed vehicle which was especially used during the Second World War.
- **Lebensraum:** It refers to additional territory considered by a nation, especially Nazi Germany, to be necessary for national survival or for the expansion of trade.
- **Phoney war:** It is the name given to the period of time in the Second World War from September 1939 to April 1940 when, after the blitzkrieg attack on Poland in September 1939, seemingly nothing happened.

13.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short Answer Questions

1. What were the consequences of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis?
2. Write a short note on the 'Policy of Appeasement.'
3. What was the significance of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 1939?
4. Briefly mention the Wartime Conferences held from 1941 to 1945.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the causes responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War.
2. Describe the course of the Second World War.
3. Critically analyse the results of the Second World War.

13.9 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 14 THE UNITED NATIONS

Structure

- 14.0 Introduction
- 14.1 Objectives
- 14.2 Formation, Aims and Functions of the United Nations Organization ((UNO))
 - 14.2.1 Nature, Aim and Objectives of UNO
 - 14.2.2 Principal Organs of the UNO
- 14.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 14.4 Summary
- 14.5 Key Words
- 14.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 14.7 Further Readings

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14.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the causes, course and results of the Second World War.

The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945. It is currently made up of 193 Member States. The mission and work of the United Nations are guided by the purposes and principles contained in its founding Charter. The main organs of the UN are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the UN Secretariat. All were established in 1945 when the UN was founded.

In this unit, you will study about the formation and the aims, functions of the United Nations.

14.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the formation of the United Nations
- List the aims of the United Nations
- Explain the functions of the United Nations

14.2 FORMATION, AIMS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION (UNO)

Like the First World War, the Second World War also inspired the formation of an international organization on the model of the League of Nations, to preserve peace and promote international understanding.

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The impact of the Second World War was felt by all countries and in almost all spheres of their social, economic, political and cultural life. But it did not solve the problem of which it had been waged. Hardly the War had ended, the Cold War began. Armament race was again intensified and the world was divided into two military blocs, thus, endangering international peace and tranquillity. The only hope that the humanity could have of avoiding another world conflict rested in the effectiveness of United Nations Organizations (UNO).

After several conferences and meetings of the “Big Three”, the UNO finally was born on 24 October 1945. The United States became the first country to ratify the Charter as the American Senate overwhelmingly approved their country’s membership. Also, the administration of President Truman provided the UNO headquarters in New York City. Even before attaining full Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru declared India’s full support to the world body.



Fig. 14.1 Yalta Conference and the ‘Big Three’: Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin

14.2.1 Nature, Aim and Objectives of UNO

In this section, you will come to know about the nature, aim and objectives of the United Nations Organization.

Nature of UNO

The UNO was meant to be an entirely new departure, and in several respects, it did differ from the League of Nations. One notable feature of the new body was the absence of any provision linking it to a peace settlement. Yet, perhaps its most significant feature, both with respect to its essence and its structure, was its similarity to what in 1945 was seen “as an abortive precedent”. Evidently, the United Nations was not intended to be any more of a world government than the League of Nations had been. In fact, like

the League, it was also depended on the consensus of its member-states. Moreover, it acknowledged that the Great powers had a special role to play. In fact, the world body was completely under the sway of the US. In 1945, it was essentially an organization controlled and dominated by the Western Powers, in spite of the Soviet Union.

Aims and Objectives of the UNO

The aims and objectives of the UNO have been elaborately mentioned in its Preamble. We may summarize them as under:

- (i) To maintain international peace and security.
- (ii) By collective action, to remove threats to peace and suppress acts of aggression.
- (iii) To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples.
- (iv) To promote respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.
- (iv) To encourage international cooperation in solving social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

Basic principles of the UNO are as follows:

- Equality of all member-nations
- Membership is open to all peace-loving nations
- New members can be admitted by a 2/3 majority of votes of the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council.
- Each member is expected to fulfil its obligation in good faith.
- No member nation shall resort to force against any State and no other State shall support the Aggressor State.
- The UNO shall not intervene in internal or domestic affairs of any country.
- Action against an erring member shall be recommended by the Security Council to the General Assembly.

14.2.2 Principal Organs of the UNO

Article 7 of the UN Charter has mentioned six main organs. They are: (i) The General Assembly, (ii) The Security Council, (iii) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), (iv) The Trusteeship Council, (v) The Secretariat, and (vi) The International Court of Justice.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is a sort of legislative body of the UNO. All member-nations have representation in it; each member-state can send five representatives but has only one vote. It meets once in a year, though there

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can be a special session. The Assembly elects its own President and Vice President. Although normal issues require only a simple majority to decide, all “important questions” require a two-third majority.

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Powers of the General Assembly

The important powers of the General Assembly are to:

- (a) Discuss international problems fully and freely.
- (b) Make recommendations to member-nations, to the Economic and Social Council, to the Security Council, and to the Trusteeship Council.
- (c) Elect members of the organs of the UNO such as the Security Council, ECOSOC and International Court of Justice.
- (d) With the prior recommendation of the Security Council, to suspend or expel any member nation persistently violating UN principles.
- (e) Admit “peace-loving” nations to membership.
- (f) Approve the budget of the UN and apportion the expenses among the member-nation.
- (g) Propose amendments to the UN Charter, which would come into effect when ratified by two-third of the member-nations, including the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

Significantly, in 1945, out of the 51 member-nations of the UNO, 36 belonged to Europe and America, and only 15 to Asia, Australia and Africa. This enabled the US to maintain its influence effectively through its pro-Western allies over every decision of the General Assembly.

The Security Council

The Security Council is the executive body of the UNO, and hence, it occupies an important position in the world organization. Article 23 of the UN Charter fixed the number of its members at eleven, five of whom were designated as the Permanent Members of the Council. They were the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and Nationalist China. The remaining were the non-Permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years.

The Security Council meets more often and follows its own rules of procedure, including the selection of its President. Decisions on important issues require the affirmative vote of all the five Permanent members. Thus by a negative vote (veto), any one of them could defeat a decision of the Security Council. However, abstention from voting by a Permanent member is not considered a veto.

Powers of the Security Council

The UN Charter has laid down the powers and responsibilities of the Security Council. Among its main responsibilities and powers, the important ones are as follows:

- (a) Its primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security. In the discharge of its obligation, the Security Council may investigate disputes that could endanger peace, make recommendations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, or if necessary, call upon the UN member-nation to take economic or military action against an aggressor nation. All member nations are expected to carry out the divisions of the Council.
- (b) It has jurisdiction in matters such as the admission of new members, selection of the Secretary-General of the UN, and the judges of the International Court of Justice.
- (c) The Council is empowered to exercise all vital functions of the UN including the approval of the terms of the Trusteeship agreements and related matters.
- (d) The Security Council has Military Advisory committee to advise it regarding the use of armed force to preserve international peace.
- (e) It avails of the plans drawn up by disarmament Commission for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Security Council reflected the preponderance of the Great Powers in world politics. The superiority of the Great Powers was recognized by their possession of the veto. It was an important privilege in view of the fact that the Security Council alone could make divisions binding on member-states, in the primary area of responsibility i.e., international security. Moreover, the denial of similar power to the Non-Permanent members of the Council enabled any one of the Permanent members to nullify their proposals, even if they were all in agreement on a particular issue.

Moreover, despite the enhanced position of the General Assembly, ultimate authority still lies with the Great Powers, who are the Permanent members of the Security Council.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The economic and social functions of the UNO were placed in the hands of the Economic and Social Council, consisting of 18 members. This body presided over a broad range of activities, second only in importance to those directed by the Security Council. Its members are elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years.

The object of the ECOSOC has been to solve the international economic, social, educational, health and cultural problems. It was established for the purpose of promoting, encouraging and respecting human rights and freedom. Through its efforts, the UN has been trying to eliminate the underlying causes of war. It has been assisting the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council in matters relating to its area

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of operation. Since 1947, several regional economic commissions have been set up which come under the jurisdiction of the ECOSOC.

ECOSOC Commissions and Committees

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To further its objectives, ECOSOC organized commissions and committee such as:

- (a) The Commission on Human Rights seeks to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all persons.
- (b) Other commissions and committees concerned with such problems as control of narcotics, prevention of crime, and improving the position of women.
- (c) The ECOSOC also receives reports from such UN bodies as the UN Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN Development Programme.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship System was the outgrowth of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. Following the Second World War, the defeated powers were deprived of their colonies in Asia and Africa. The former colonies of Italy and Japan, together with the remaining mandates, were placed under the United Nations supervision as trust territories. Countries administering trusteeships pledged to prepare the peoples of the former colonies under their trusteeship for self-government under the supervision of the UN trusteeship Council.

The trust territories were divided into strategic and non-strategic areas. The former were placed under the control of the Security Council, and the latter under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. As trusteeships, Italy retained Italian Somaliland, Austria and New Guinea, the US received the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific. Besides, Cameroon, Togoland, Tanganyika, and some other territories were placed under the Trusteeship of as many as 12 nations such as the Big Five Powers, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium and Italy.

The Trusteeship Council consisted in equal number of nations administering and nations not administering trust territories. It also included all the Permanent members of the Security Council. The following were the powers and functions of the Council:

- (i) It considered reports submitted by the administering nations.
- (ii) It accepted and examined petition from the peoples of the trust territories.
- (iii) It sent, with the consent of the administering nation, an investigating committee, to inquire into the complaints of the peoples of the trust territories.
- (iv) It submitted to the General Assembly an annual progress report based on the replies received from the trustee nations to its questionnaires.

- (v) It exercised supervision over the administration of trust territories.

The main objective of the Council was the advancement of political, economic, social and educational life of the peoples with a view to develop self-government in trust territories and eventually their independence.

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The Secretariat

The Secretariat is the administrative organ of the UNO. Its headquarters are at New York. It is headed by the Secretary General. The personnel of the UN Secretariat are recruited from different member-nations, but the Secretary General and his staff are completely independent of the authority of any individual country in the discharge of their duties. The UN Charter enjoins the member-states to respect the international character of the Secretariat. The primary loyalty of the Secretariat is to the United Nations.

The Secretary General according to Article 97 of the UN Charter, is appointed for a five-year term by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He selects and directs his staff to perform the administrative and administrative work of the UNO. In addition, he is authorized to:

- (i) Bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter threatening world peace.
- (ii) Perform any other task entrusted to him by the major organs of the UN, including diplomatic missions and directing the UN emergency military forces.

In appointing the members of his staff, the Secretary General is expected to recruit them from as many different member-nations as possible and ensure the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. The Secretary General's position has a high potential for political influence. For instance, General Trygve Lie of Norway, the first Secretary General, played an active role in diffusing international tensions. The Secretary General, through his annual report and personal equation with world leaders can create a climate favourable for international peace. It is rightly held that on him rests, to some extent, the effectiveness of the world body by advancing its aims and objects.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is an important organ of the UNO. It replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations. It meets in the same building occupied by the Permanent Court of International Justice at Hague.

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, for a term of nine years. The Court's jurisdiction extends to all states who agree to accept its verdicts. It has the power to:

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- (a) Settle legal disputes between nations.
- (b) Give its advisory opinion to the UN organs on legal questions.

Nations submitting disputes to the Court agree in advance to accept its decisions, though it has been observed that often nations, including the US have shown the tendencies to flout its verdict. It may be remembered that only States, and not individuals, could approach the World Court.

Specialized Agencies of the Uno

The UN Charter has also provided for the creation of certain Specialized Agencies to deal with the social, economic, cultural, scientific, educational and humanitarian activities of the World Body. Some of these have been associated with the ECOSOC for coordinating their activities with the UN. The Specialized Agencies are independent organizations with their own secretariats, Elective bodies and executive councils. Some of them predate the United Nations, and came into existence by inter-governmental agreement. They include most (but not all) nations as members. They secure their funds chiefly by voluntary contributions from member-nations. The Specialized Agencies created after the establishment of the UNO are given below.

- (i) **The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):** Established in April 1944, by a conference of the Allied powers in London, the UNESCO has been doing remarkable work in the fields of education, natural and social sciences, cultural activities, mass communication, relief services, and technical aid to developing countries. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution mentions that ‘since war being in the minds of men, it is in the mind of men that defences of peace must be constructed’. With this aim, it had, since its inception, undertaken various projects to raise educational standards, exchange visits by experts, cultural exchanges to promote cooperation among countries, and to combat ignorance and prejudice.
- (ii) **The International Labour Organization (ILO):** The ILO had been established in 1919 and was inherited by the UN from the League of Nations. Since 1919, it had been endeavouring to improve the conditions of labour all over the world. Its experts have been serving in several countries in the varied fields of productivity, management development, social security, vocational guidance and training, imparting technical education to workers, teaching industrial hygiene and better industrial relations, training for the blind, etc. It also defines the minimum labour standards and assists countries in formulating Labour Laws.
- (iii) **The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):** The FAO has been concerned mainly with the perennial problem of “hunger” with a view to tackle this serious malady it had been making attempts to raise food production in the world and improve the nutrition levels in

the underdeveloped and developing countries. It provides information to improve methods of cultivation and distribution of agricultural products. The FAO also has been assisting countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in pest control, use of better scientific farming, fisheries and forestry, thereby bringing the UN in active contact with the common people in different countries.

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- (iv) **The World Health Organization (WHO):** Created in July 1946 at New York, the WHO has done remarkable service to humankind by seeking to improve world health standards. It surveys health conditions, combat mass disease and epidemics like malaria and small pox, and helps nations to improve public health services. WHO's campaigns against Cancer and Syphilis is well known. Besides, it has been rendering invaluable aid to the victims of earthquakes and other natural calamities.
- (v) **The International Monetary Fund (IMF):** The IMF came into existence in 1944 as a result of the discussions between 44 countries at Bretton Woods Conference in the US. The aim of the Fund has been to help in promoting international trade. One of its important objectives has been to help nations to maintain stable currencies.
- (vi) **The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank):** The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 also led to the creation of the World Bank with the avowed object of encouraging world economic progress by providing loans for large-scale rebuilding development projects, such a railroads, highways and electric power plants. However, from the very beginning, the activities of the Bank were influenced by political considerations. Moreover, it is under the commanding influence of the US.
- (vii) **The United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF):** The UNICEF was established on 11 December 1946 with a view to provide relief to poverty-stricken children in the underdeveloped countries and arrange for their rehabilitation. Within a span of four years i.e., by 1950, it provided relief suppliers to more than 12 nations, irrespective of race, religion, nationality or political ideology.

The UNICEF's immediate concern was to provide relief and secure rehabilitation for the unfortunate children; but soon the UNICEF realized that it was of vital importance to enhance the capacities of the governments of the countries concerned to institute permanent programmes for child welfare and health. As David Thomson has pointed out:

'...raising funds from governments and through public appeals, it fed over five million hungry or starving children in a dozen European countries and Asia. When created, the UNICEF was intended to meet an emergency, and perhaps was a temporary organization, but the problems of hunger proved so perennial that is still active in 1993!'

In 1965, the UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Prize for its noble and humanitarian activities.

Other specialized agencies of the UNO

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Among the other Specialized Agencies of the UNO, we may mention the following:

- (a) The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICA) which works to expand and improve civil aviation and to standardize laws regarding use of airlines.
- (b) The Universal Postal Union (UPO) provides international postal services including fixing uniform mail procedure for parcel, money orders, subscription to newspapers and magazines etc. It has its headquarters at Berne (Switzerland).
- (c) The World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) was created for the purpose of coordinating data on weather and develop weather-forecasting services.
- (d) The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was set up in Geneva in 1964. Its purpose has been to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations by lowering the tariff barriers to enable the developing countries to actively engage in international trade and commerce.

Check Your Progress

1. When was the United Nations Organizations (UNO) established?
2. List the basic principles of the UNO.
3. Where is the headquarter of the Secretariat?
4. What were the powers of the International Court of Justice?
5. State the objective behind the establishment of the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

14.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. United Nations Organizations (UNO) was established on 24 October 1945.
2. The basic principles of the UNO are as follows:
 - Equality of all member-nations
 - Membership is open to all peace-loving nations
 - New members can be admitted by a 2/3 majority of votes of the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council.

- Each member is expected to fulfil its obligation in good faith.
 - No member nation shall resort to force against any State and no other State shall support the Aggressor State.
 - The UNO shall not intervene in internal or domestic affairs of any country.
 - Action against an erring member shall be recommended by the Security Council to the General Assembly.
3. The headquarter of the Secretariat is at New York.
 4. The Court's jurisdiction extends to all states who agree to accept its verdicts. It has the power to:
 - (a) Settle legal disputes between nations.
 - (b) Give its advisory opinion to the UN organs on legal questions.
 5. The UNICEF was established on 11 December 1946 with a view to provide relief to poverty-stricken children in the underdeveloped countries and arrange for their rehabilitation.

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14.4 SUMMARY

- Like the First World War, the Second World War also inspired the formation of an international organization on the model of the League of Nations, to preserve peace and promote international understanding.
- After several conferences and meetings of the “Big Three”, the UNO finally was born on 24 October 1945. The United States became the first country to ratify the Charter as the American Senate overwhelmingly approved their country's membership.
- The UNO was meant to be an entirely new departure, and in several respects, it did differ from the League of Nations. One notable feature of the new body was the absence of any provision linking it to a peace settlement.
- Article 7 of the UN Charter has mentioned six main organs. They are: (i) The General Assembly, (ii) The Security Council, (iii) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), (iv) The Trusteeship Council, (v) The Secretariat, and (vi) The International Court of Justice.
- The Security Council is the executive body of the UNO, and hence, it occupies an important position in the world organization. Article 23 of the UN Charter fixed the number of its members at eleven, five of whom were designated as the Permanent Members of the Council.
- The Security Council reflected the preponderance of the Great Powers in world politics. The superiority of the Great Powers was recognized by their possession of the veto.
- The Trusteeship System was the outgrowth of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. Following the Second World War, the defeated powers were deprived of their colonies in Asia and Africa.

NOTES

- The International Court of Justice is an important organ of the UNO. It replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations. It meets in the same building occupied by the Permanent Court of International Justice at Hague.

14.5 KEY WORDS

- **UN Charter:** It is a core constituent document of the United Nations, and the United Nations System.
- **Armament:** It is used to refer to weapons and bombs carried by an aircraft or other military vehicle.
- **The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC):** The economic and social functions of the UNO were placed in the hands of the Economic and Social Council. This body presided over a broad range of activities, second only in importance to those directed by the Security Council.

14.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the nature of the UNO.
2. List the aims and objectives of the UNO.
3. List the principal organs of the UNO.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the powers and functions of the main organs of the UNO.
2. Explain the functioning of the various specialized agencies of the UNO.

14.7 FURTHER READINGS

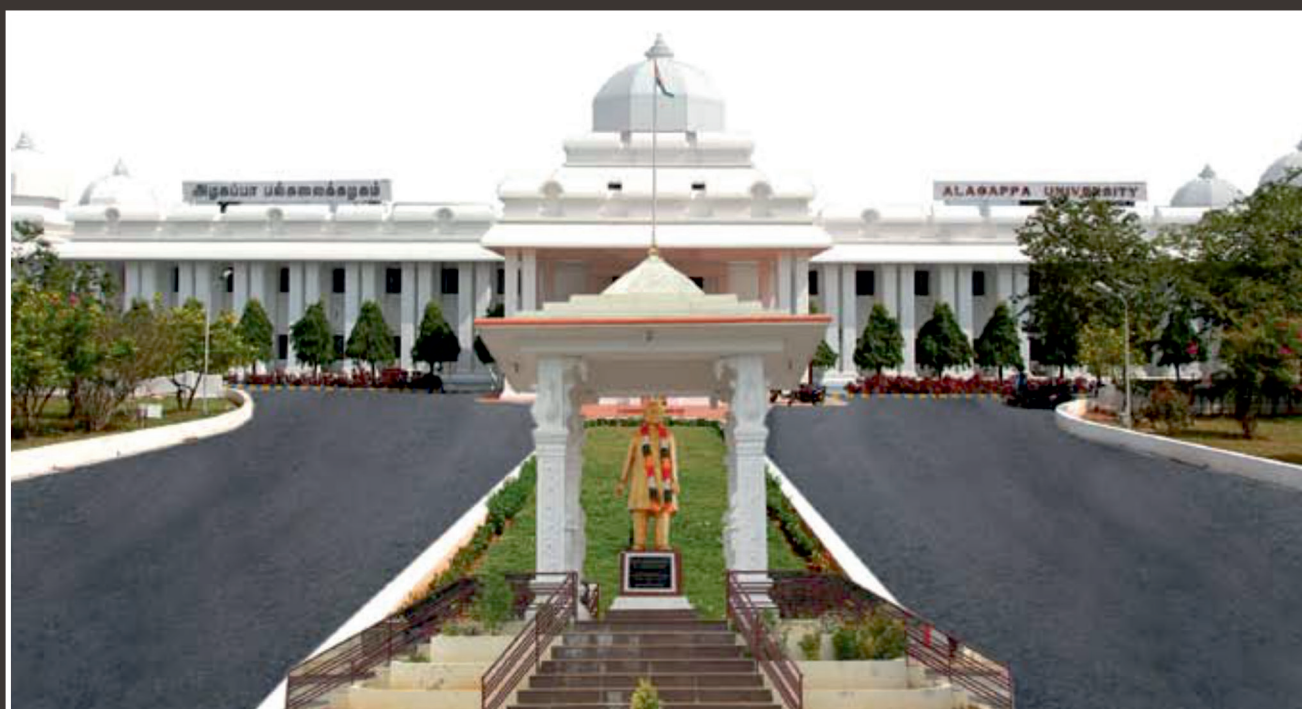
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II - Semester

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