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History of Modern World (1914 – 2000 A.D.)

**M. A. History First Year
Semester – II, Paper-IV**



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SEMESTER-II

ACHARYA NAGARJUNA UNNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY ARCHAEOLOGY

M.A. HISTORY :: PAPER – IV(H2.4)

204HI21 - History of Modern World (1914-2000 AD)

(Its equalence Twentieth Century World History-II 1914 to till date)

UNIT - I : Triple Alliaiance versus Triple Entente – First world war causes and course – Russian Revolution – Peace of Versailles – League of Nations – Organs and function.

UNIT - II : The Geneva Protocol and Locarno Treaties – The Great Depression of 1928 – Internal Developments in Soviet Russia.

UNIT - III : Nazism in Germany – Fascism in Italy – Japanese Imperialism and anchurian crisis – Spanish civil war.

UNIT - IV : Causes and course of the Second world war – Marshall Plan – Truman Doctrine – The Non – Aligned Movement.

UNIT - V : The U.N.O.: Challenges before U.N.O. – End of Cold War- changes in Political Order- Bipolar to Unipolar World order- Socialism in Decline- Liberalization-

Globalization - Its Economic and Political Impact.

Suggested Readings:

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History of Modern World (1914 – 2000 A.D.)

CONTENTS

S.No.	TITLES	Page No's
1	THE FIRST WORLD WAR	1 – 13
2	THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION	14 – 20
3	TREATY OF VERSAILLES (1919)	21 – 30
4	LEAGUE OF NATIONS	31 – 37
5	THE GENEVA PROTOCOL AND LOCARNO PACTS	38 – 47
6	WORLD DEPRESSION	48 – 54
7	INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA AFTER 1917 REVOLUTION	55 - 63
8	NAZISM IN GERMANY	64 – 72
9	HITLER HOME POLICY	73 – 89
10	MANCHURIAN CRISIS	90 – 98
11	SPANISH CIVIL WAR	99 – 106
12	SECOND WORLD WAR	107 – 118
13	TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND MARSHALL PLAN AND EARLY PHASE OF COLD WAR	119 - 135
14	THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT	136 – 144
15	THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION	145 – 153
16	THE ROLE OF UNO IN SOLVING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES	154 - 166
17	GLOBALIZATION AND THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES	167 - 179

Unit-1

Lesson -1.1.

12

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

1.1.0. Objective of the Lesson:

The World War 1 was happened due to several causes and the most important reason was the system of secret alliances among the European nations. Before 1914, Europe was divided into two armed camps. It is in this regard the main objective of the lesson to describe the causes and course of the World War I and its results.

Structure of the lesson:

1.1.1. Introduction

1.1.2. Militarism:

1.1.3. Narrow nationalism or competitive patriotism:

1.1.4. Economic Imperialism:

1.1.5. Role of Newspapers:

1.1.6. Character of William II:

1.1.7. Issue of Alsace-Lorraine:

1.1.8. Lack of International Peace Organisation:

1.1.9. Pride of Germany:

1.1.10. Hatred feeling between Italy and Austria-Hungary:

1.1.11. Eastern Question Problem:

1.1.12. Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand:

1.1.13. The Scope of the War:

1.1.14. The War in Europe:

1.1.15. Spread of the War outside Europe:

1.1.16. The Deadlock in Europe:

1.1.17. The policy of Blockade:

1.1.18. End of the War:

1.1.19. Summary

1.1.20. Self Assessment Questions

1.1.21. Reference Books

1.1.1. Introduction:

Before the 1914 Europe was divided into two important military groups. In 1879, Germany had entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary. In 1882, Italy joined the Austro-German alliance. As a result of efforts of Bismarck, France and Russia had not been able to come together. However, after his dismissal in 1890, Germany did not care for Russia and consequently, Russia began to lean towards France. Many other factors also brought the two countries together. Thus in 1894 were made the Franco-Russian alliance. Things remained in this condition for some time.

Although England had followed a policy of splendid isolation during the 19th century, she began to fear that she was alone. She began to fear the consequences of being alone in the world. To begin with she tried to enter into an alliance with Germany. When she failed to do so, she entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902. In 1904 was made the Entente Cordiale between England and France. When in 1907 England signed the Anglo-Russian Convention with Russia, there came into existence what is known as the Triple Entente. Germany got victory over Turkey to her own side. Thus Europe was divided into two blocks. In one block were England, France, Russia and Japan. In the other block were Germany, Austria-hungary, Turkey and Italy. There was not only jealousy but also enmity between the two groups. It was the mutual hatred created by the system of secret alliances which ultimately lead to the World War I. The importance of the secret alliances in bringing about the War can be explained thus: it all came from this D-D system of alliances, which was the curse of modern times. In addition to many serialised causes were responsible for the outbreak of World War I

1.1.2. Militarism:

This means the dangerous and burdensome mechanism of great standing armies and large navies along with an espionage system. It also means the existence of a powerful class of military and naval officers headed by the General Staff. It is these people who dominated the affairs of the countries particularly at the time of crisis. The military and naval armaments of the all Great Powers began to grow year after year. These armaments were alleged to be for defence and in the interests of peace. They were intended to produce a sense of security. However, their actual result was that there was universal fear, suspicion and hatred among the various nations. This is amply proved by the naval competition between Germany and England. Both countries entered into a race of naval armaments. For every ship built by Germany, two ships were built by England. Such a race could end only in a war. Moreover, militarism put too much of power into the hands of the General Staff of every country. That was not conducive to the maintenance of peace.

² **1.1.3. Narrow nationalism or competitive patriotism:**

The love of one's country demanded the hatred of the other. Love of Germany demanded the hatred of France and vice versa. It was intense nationalism in Serbia which created bitterness between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. That was also responsible for the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, in 1914.

1.1.4. Economic Imperialism:

Economic imperialism is also one of the reasons for War. Economic imperialism led to international rivalries. Every country tried to capture markets in every nook and corner of the world. That led to bitterness and heart-burning. The efforts to establish protectorates and spheres of influence in various parts of the world also resulted in bad blood among nations. When Germany tried to capture markets which were already in the hands of the English, that caused to bitterness between the two countries. Great Britain was not prepared to give up her colonies, protectorates, spheres of influences and markets to humour Germany. As Germany was bent upon getting them at any cost, war followed. There were also tariff wars between the various countries. That also resulted in the worsening of the relations.

² **1.1.5. Role of Newspapers:**

Very often, newspapers in countries tried to inflame nationalist feeling by misrepresenting the situation in other countries. Ambassadors and cabinet ministers frequently admitted the senseless attitude of the leading newspapers in their own countries. They offered apologies and promised to put restraint on them if the other governments would do likewise. The newspapers of two countries often took up some point of dispute,

exaggerated it, and made attacks and counter- attacks until a regular newspaper war was created. According to Bismarck, "Every country is held at some time to account for the windows broken by its press; the bill is presented some day or other, in the shape of hostile sentiments in the other country."

1.1.6. Character of William II:

The Emperor of Germany was very arrogant and haughty. He was very ambitious. He wanted Germany to be the strongest Power in the world. He believed in a policy of world power or downfall. He was not prepared to make any compromise in international affairs. He wanted to have his own way in every case. He had formed a very poor opinion of the English character. His view was that Englishmen would accept all his demands rather than fight against him. In this estimate of the English nation, he was sadly mistaken. The British desire to maintain peace was not an indication of her cowardice or weakness. It was a misunderstanding of the British character by William II that was responsible for his attitude towards England and that mistake proved to be his undoing.

1.1.7. Issue of Alsace-Lorraine:

Another cause of the war was the desire of the people of France to get back Alsace-Lorraine which had been snatched away from them in 1871 by Germany. The Government of the Third Republic in France left no stone unturned to keep alive the spirit of revenge and the hope for the restoration of the two provinces. The statue of Strasbourg in the place de la Concorde in Paris reminded the Frenchmen of their lost territories "La derniere classe" of Daudet brought forth tears from the eyes of the school children of France and created in them the spirit of revenge. Likewise, the songs of Paul Deroulede inculcated among the young men a feeling of revenge. There was also the economic motive for getting back Alsace-Lorraine. The iron and steel magnets of France felt that they could not do without the iron mines of Lorraine. There was a feeling that the industrial prosperity of Germany was due to the iron mines of Lorraine and the Frenchmen must have burnt their blood when they found the same in the hands of their enemies. It is pointed out that if Germany had not interfered in Morocco, Frenchmen might have found some material compensation for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and forgotten their revenge against Germany but the German interference in the affairs of Morocco added to the bitterness between the two countries.

1.1.8. Lack of International Peace Organisation:

² Another cause of the war was the lack of any machinery to control international relations. There was anarchy in the international relations of the various countries. Everything was secret and nothing was known about them to the people at large. It was found that the secrets of diplomacy were not known even to all the members of the same ministry. Even the legislatures were kept completely in the dark with regard to international commitments. Although Sir Edward Grey allowed in January 1906 the holding of naval and military conversations between France and England, the Cabinet came to know of them in 1912 and the Parliament was informed of the same in 1914. Secret diplomacy created a lot of confusion in the minds of the people and thus the issues and responsibilities were beclouded. Hysteria took the place of sobriety and sincerity. Forgery, theft, lying, bribery and corruption existed in every Foreign office and Chancellery throughout Europe.

Although there was a "code of international law and morality", there was no power to enforce the same. Many resolutions were passed at The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 but those were observed by the various States according to their convenience. Every State considered itself to be sovereign and did not regard itself to be bound by its international commitments. Although Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, she entered into separate agreements with France in 1902 and Russia in 1909. She was prepared to have an extra dance with the members of the opposite camp.

1.1.9. Pride of Germany:

² Another cause of the war was the permeation of Germany by the Prussian spirit. According to that spirit, "He who succeeds is never in the wrong." Victory was identified with morality. The Prussians were taught that war was the most logical thing in the world. According to Mirabeau, "War is the national industry of Prussia." According to Treitschke, the State is power, "The care for its power is the highest moral duty of the State. Of all political weaknesses that of feebleness is the most abominable and despicable; it is the sin against the Holy Spirit of politics." To quote Nietzsche, "Ye say, a good cause will hallow even war. I say unto you A good war hallows every cause. War and courage have accomplished greater things than love of their neighbour." The younger generation of Germany was indoctrinated with such a practical philosophy. Eminent historians like Dahlmann, Droyden, Sybel and Treitschke devoted their energy and learning to the task of justifying to the Germans the ways of Prussia. A similar effort was made by Bernhard in his writings. To Bernhard, "All which other nations attained in centuries of natural development- political union, colonial possessions, naval power, and international trade- was denied to our nation only- quite recently. What we now wish to attain must be fought for and won, against a superior force of hostile interests and powers." According to Prof. Lamprecht, "After bloody

victories the world will be heated by being Germanised. To quote Treitschke again "just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia, so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance of all German mind- in a word, of the German character."

1.1.10. Hatred feeling between Italy and Austria-Hungary:

Another cause of the war was the desire of the people of Italy to recover the Trentino and the area around the port of Trieste which were inhabited by Italians but were still a part and parcel of Austria-Hungary. There was frequently heard the cry of Italia Irredenta or "unredeemed Italy" and even the Italian ministers participated in those demonstrations. Such cries were those of war and were not likely to maintain peace in Europe. Italy also entered into a competition with Austria to control the Adriatic Sea. As Austria was not prepared to put up with that competition, there was bound to be bitterness in the relations of the two countries.

1.1.11. Eastern Question Problem:

Another cause of the war was the "Near-Eastern Problem." Many factors complicated the situation in the Balkans. The misrule of Turkey resulted in discontentment. There was a rivalry between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria for the control of Macedonia which had a mixed population. Russia was keenly interested in the Balkan politics and she backed Serbia on the occasion of the Bosnian crisis of 1908-9 and could be expected to do the same in future. The foes of Pan-Slavism added another factor into an otherwise complicated situation. The Austro-German Drang nach Osten or "Urge towards the East" made matters worse.

The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina created another "Alsace-Lorraine in the Balkans. These two provinces were given to Austria-Hungary by the Congress of Berlin of 1878. However, she was given the right merely to occupy and govern them and not to annex them. The sovereignty of the Sultan was maintained over them. However, Austria-Hungary annexed them in 1908 by her unilateral action. This brought forth bitter protests from Serbia. A strong agitation was started in Serbia to separate these provinces from Austria-Hungary and unite them with Serbia. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were more anxious for their independence from Austria-Hungary than for their union with Serbia. However, they were willing to accept help from Serbia in their efforts to become independent. After 1909, the rivalry between Austria-Hungary and Serbia in the Balkans became very keen and by 1914 it burst into a war.

1.1.12. Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand:

It was treated as immediate cause for the War. What actually happened was that there was rivalry between Austrian-Hungary and Serbia in the Balkans. Its intensity increased after 1909. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 added to territory, population and resources of Serbia. She was flushed with victory. She had not forgotten her humiliation of 1909. Because of this many secret organisation were formed to achieve the union of Slavs. The "Black Hand" society planned to kill Oskar Potiorek, the Governor of Bosnia. The seal of the society showed a skull and cross-bones, a dagger, a bomb and bottle of poison. However, it came to know at that time that Archduke Ferdinand and was coming to Bosnia. Highly placed persons in the Serbians government supplied weapons, munitions and instructors to the persons who were actually to carry out the murder. According to the plans, the Archduke and his wife paid a visit to Sarajevo, a city of Bosnia, on 28th June, 1914. And there both were shot dead by a member of secrete organisation of the earlier one at point blank.

Austria-Hungary was already sick of Serbia and she decided to take advantage of the new situation to crush her. Convinced of Serbia's complicity in the assassination, Austria served an ultimatum on 23rd July making eleven demands on Serbia. Austria did not expect these demands to be accepted and hence fixed a time limit of forty-eight hours for unconditional compliance. Serbia accepted most of the demands, but not all. Total acceptance of all the demands would have meant total loss of sovereignty by Serbia. Serbia's reply of 25th July did not conciliate Austria, and Serbia, knowing that it would not, had already ordered mobilization of her troops. Austria rejected Serbia's reply and immediately ordered the mobilization her army for an attack on Serbia. She was determined to put on end to this "permanent danger to my House and my territories", as the Austrian emperor called it in a letter to the German emperor. On 28th July Austria declared war on Serbia. On 29th July, the Austrian army bombarded Belgrade, Serbia's Capital.

The outbreak of war between Serbia and Austria was soon followed by wars between countries that were militarily linked together. These wars led to the general war or the First World War. In order to pressurise Austria-Hungary to abandon the war against Serbia, Russia ordered mobilisation against Austria. She could not permit Austrian expansion in the Balkans. Russia had her own ambitions in Serbia which would have suffered if Serbia gets defeated at the hands of Austria. As Germany would come to the aid of Austria, if Russia entered the war against Austria, Russia also prepared for war with Germany. Germany was

convinced that in the event of a war between her and Russia, France would join Russia against Germany. This would mean that Germany would have to fight on two fronts, with France in the west and with Russia in the east. To be successful in the war, Germany had made plans to first defeat France in a quick war by mobilising most of her troops for this purpose and then turn to Russia against whom a quick victory was not possible. Thus, the second war was between Austria and Germany on the one side and Russia and France on the other. The British position was still unclear as the British government was divided on the issue of going to war. She responded to the French request for help by promising to defend France's northern coast against the German navy. However, German invasion of neutral Belgium finally ended Britain's indecisiveness, and Germany and Britain were at war. Thus, the rival alliances, formed in the preceding years, had come into play. Only Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, remained neutral on the ground that Germany was not fighting a defensive war.

1.1.13. The Scope of the War:

On 1 August 1914, Germany declared war on Russia and on 3 August on France. In the morning of 4 August, German troops entered Belgium and at midnight of the same day Britain declared war on Germany. In the meantime the Serbo-Austrian war which had led to the conflagration involving Germany, Russia, France and Britain, appeared to have become secondary. Till 6 August Austria was not at war with Russia and till 12 August she was not at war with Britain and France. Soon others joined in as a result of efforts by both sides to win allies by promising them territorial gains. In August, Japan declared war on Germany. She had entered into an alliance with Britain but her main aim was to seize German territories in China and in the Pacific. Portugal, often referred to by Britain as her oldest ally, also entered the war. In May 1915, Italy declared war on Austria. Britain and France had promised her Austrian and Turkish territories. Later, Romania and Greece also joined Britain, France and Russia, and these countries along with their allies came to be known as the Allied Powers. German and Austria-Hungary were joined by Bulgaria in October 1915, having been promised territories in Serbia and Greece. Bulgaria was also given some Turkish territories. Turkey declared war on Russia in November and joined the war on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary. These countries- Germany and Austria-Hungary and their allies - came to be known as the Central Powers. Various other countries in other parts of the world also joined the war. USA entered the war in April 1917 on the side of the Allied Powers. In all, the number of belligerent countries rose to twenty-seven. These comprised countries from all continents. Thus, the scope of the conflict was widened. About 65 million men (soldiers)

were mobilised for the war. Of them over 42 million were mobilised by the Allied Powers and over 22 million by the Central Powers.

The Course of the War

1.1.14. The War in Europe:

The battles of what has rightly come to be called as the First World War were fought in different parts of the world. In terms of the intensity of fighting and killings, the battles in Europe overshadowed the battles in other parts of the world. On the Western Front in Europe, the War began the German armies, sweeping across Belgium, entered southern France and by early September had reached in the close vicinity of Paris. The French army, in the meantime, had moved to the France-German frontier to march into Alsace-Lorraine. The German army hoped to encircle the French army and achieve a quick victory. The French offensive into Alsace-Lorraine was repulsed but the retreating French forces along with the British force met the German forces in a battle known as the Battle of Marne (named after the river Marne near which the battle was fought). The German forces had to retreat and they entrenched themselves along the river Aisne. There were desperate fights, but by the end of November the war entered a period of a long stalemate on the western front when neither side could dislodge the other for about four years.

Behind a long unbroken chain of opposing trenches and barbed wire extending over hundreds of kilometres from France's southern border with Switzerland to the northern seacoast of France, the opposing armies dug themselves in. Protected from the machine gun and rifle fire behind the trenches, neither side could break through the other's line of trenches. Each side conducted raids on the other in the pre-dawn hours with little success, only steadily adding to the number of the dead on both sides. Germany, in 1915, started the use of poison gas to achieve a breakthrough, and Britain, in 1916, introduced the use of tanks, devised recently, for the same purpose. Neither made much difference. The losses suffered by each side were made up for by bringing in more troops.

On the Eastern Front, Russia achieved some initial successes against Germany and Austria-Hungary but these were short lived. In 1915, the Russian armies suffered grievously and the forces of the Central Powers entered many territories of the Russian empire. In 1915, Russia launched another offensive but was repulsed. After the October Revolution, Russia withdrew from the War. On March 2, 1918, she signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany and ceded many of her territories as the price of the peace. Out of a total of 12 million men mobilised by Russia, 1.7 million had been killed, about 5 million wounded and

about 2.5 million were either missing or had been taken prisoner. In the meantime, Serbia and Rumania had capitulated.

1.1.15. Spread of the War outside Europe:

Outside Europe, some major battles were fought in North Africa and West Asia. Germany and Turkey united to threaten the allied possessions and influence in North Africa and West Asia. Britain and France fought these attempts and tried to seize the Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire. They also established contacts with Arab nationalists and others and fomented anti-Turkish Arab risings. While pretending to espouse the cause of Arab countries freedom from Turkish rule, Britain and France entered into secret agreement, known as the Sykes-Picot agreement, in 1916. This agreement provided for the division of Arab countries between Britain and France. In 1917, the British government also pledged itself to the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. This 'pledge' by Britain about another country, which was not considered fit to be consulted, was to have serious consequences for peace and stability in West Asia.

During the course of the war, German colonial possessions in Asia and Africa were seized by Allied Powers. Japan made colonial gains in China by acquiring control over the German sphere of influence and forcing China to make further concessions to her. German South-West Africa was occupied by South African troops, Togoland by British and French troops and Cameroons by British, French and Belgian troops. The fighting between British and German troops in German East Africa continued till the end of the war.

1.1.16. The Deadlock in Europe:

In the meantime, what has come to be known as the 'war of attrition', continued in Europe. It meant each side trying to wear out the other side by mobilising more and more men and using enormous amounts of artillery and other weapons. Two catastrophic battles were fought as a part of this 'war of attrition'. In February 1916 Germany launched a massive attack on the French fortress of Verdun. The French in turn poured hundreds of thousands of their soldiers into the battle. This battle, which did nothing, to end the stalemate, resulted in about 700,000 soldiers killed or wounded, more or less equally divided between the two sides. The other was the battle of Somme (named after the river Somme along which the battle was fought). Here the Allied troops involved were mainly British who launched the attack. On the very first day of the battle, the British dead or wounded totalled about 60,000.

1.1.17. The policy of Blockade:

³ The war had become a total war. It was no longer confined to battles between armies. It required total mobilisation of all the resources of the main belligerent countries. An increasing amount of munitions and other war materials were required to be produced. This meant changing the production pattern. Every economic activity had to be subordinated to the needs of the war. ²⁵ It also required that no goods—food, raw materials, war materials, anything and everything—should be allowed to enter the enemy's country from anywhere. This implies a regime of economic blockade, where each side thought that the other would be starved into submission. Britain imposed a naval blockade on Germany and though the naval fleets of the two countries fought only one major battle, and that too indecisive, the British succeeded in their blockade of Germany. To prevent food and other supplies from reaching Britain, Germany started using submarines (U-boats, in Germany *Unterseeboot*) which it had developed to sink any ship, including those of the neutral countries, heading for Britain. This, among the other things, led to the United States entering the war on the side of the Allied Powers.

The use of aircraft in warfare also started and tough cities were bombed from the air and German and Allied aircraft had dog fights, air warfare played little role in deciding the outcome of the war.

1.1.18. End of the War:

Russia had withdrawn from the war after the October Revolution and had been forced to accept a humiliation treaty by Germany. However, the war between the Central and the Allied powers was to be decided elsewhere and not on the Eastern Front. The loss of Russia by the Allied was more than made up for by the entry of USA in to the war. USA had been supplying goods, including munitions and food, to the Allies from the time of the outbreak of the war and, as a result, the US economy had prospered. Now the armies and the vast economic resources of USA were to be directly used to defeat the Central Powers.

In the meantime, discontent had been rising in the civilian population and among the soldiers of all the major belligerent countries. There were demonstrations and mutinies. The autocratic Russian empire had already fallen. The discontent was much more widespread in the countries of the Central Powers. There was a wave of strikes in Germany and Austria – Hungary and a succession of mutinies in their armies and navies. In Austria – Hungary, there were desertions on a large scale among the soldiers of the “subject nationalities” and many of them were fighting on the side of the Allies. By about the middle of July 1918, the tide of the war was beginning to turn against Germany. Germany had launched a series of offensives on the western front, inflicting heavy casualties on the Allies. But by July, the

German offensive was contained and the Allies launched counter-offensives. In the meantime, the Allied forces had started their military intervention in Russia. In the east, thousands of Japanese troops poured into Siberia. While the Allied intervention in Russia was to outlast the end of the First World War, the collapse of the Central Powers had begun.

By the end of August 1918 only Germany remained a major central power to be completely defeated and final Allied offensives against Germany were launched in September. On 29 September 1918, Bulgaria surrendered. By the end of October the Ottoman Empire had ceased to exist. On 12 November, the Habsburg emperor abdicated. Most people of the Austro-Hungarian Empire - the Czechs, the Poles, the Yugoslavs and the Hungarians - had already declared their independence. On 3 November, revolution broke out in Germany; on 9 November, the German emperor abdicated and fled to Holland, and on 10 November Germany was proclaimed a republic. On 11 November 1918, the new government of Germany signed the armistice and at 11 o'clock in the morning of 11 November, the First World War came to an end.

1.1.19. Summary:

The war had far reaching effects. The destruction caused by the war in terms of human lives was terrible. Out of about 65 million soldiers mobilised by both the powers, about nine million were killed and about 22 million wounded. About 30 lakh German soldiers were killed and lakhs of people could not be treated and became permanent incapacitated. Due to air and other military operations civilians also suffered heavy human losses. The people who died on the war front were young and their families became headless and the number of widows and orphans very much increased. To understand the true nature of this catastrophe and its impact on European societies, it should be remembered that most of the dead and the survivors, "scarred physically and mentally", were the "flower of Europe", young people between the ages of 18 and 35. Erich Maria Remarque, who had been forced to join the German army, published a novel which in the English translation is entitled *All Quiet on the Western Front*. The dedication page of the novel carries the following statement:

"This book is to be neither an accusation nor a confession, and least of all an adventure, for death is not an adventure to those who stand face to face with it. It will try simply to tell of a generation of men who, even though they may have escaped its shells, were destroyed by the war."

1.1.20. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Discuss the causes and course of the World War I.
2. Write an essay on how Triple alliance and Triple Entente became significant causes of the World War I.
3. What are causes and results of the World War I?

1.1.21. Reference Books:

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LESSON: 1-2.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

1.2.0. Objective of the Lesson:

After the 1789 French Revolution, the October revolution of Russia had a very significant role in the history of world. The earlier one was political revolution and later one was economic revolution on the principles of Karl Marks. The main objective of the lesson is to describe the causes and course of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its results.

Structure of the Lesson:

1.2.1. Introduction:

1.2.2. Movements in Russia:

1.2.3. The February Revolution:

1.2.4. The October Revolution:

1.2.5. Civil War and Foreign Intervention:

1.2.6. Conclusion:

1.2.7. Self Assessment Questions:

1.2.8. Reference Books:

1.2.1. Introduction:

During the years of World War I, the Russian Revolution, an event of great historical significance took place. Certain aspects and events of Russian history – Russian colonial empire, the autocratic nature of her political system, the backwardness of her economy, her defeat at the hands of Japan the role played by her in the European conflicts, particularly in the Balkans, and her entry into the war have already been mentioned. In the nineteenth century, there were various reform and revolutionary movements expressing discontent among the Russian peasantry who continued to live in misery even after serfdom was abolished in 1861. Vast

estates were owned by the Russian nobility and the Church, and there were millions of peasants without any landholdings of their own. The industrial workers, a new class that had emerged with the beginning of industrialisation, also lived in conditions of misery. While the common people were obviously opposed to the existing system in Russia, the middle classes and the intellectuals were also united in their opposition to the autocratic political system and were thus drawn to the revolutionary movement along with the peasants and workers.

1.2.2. Movements in Russia:

Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, socialist ideas had begun to spread in Russia together to form the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov popularly known as Lenin was the leader of the left – wing section of the party. In 1903, this section secured a minority in the party and came to be known as Bolsheviks, while the minority sections were known as the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks, while defining their final goal as the establishment of socialism, proposed their immediate tasks as the overthrow of the autocratic rule of the Czar and the establishment of a republic, ending the oppression of the non – Russian nationalities of the Russian empire and granting them the right of self – determination, introduction of an eight – hour working day and abolition of inequalities in land and the end of all feudal oppressions of the peasantry. There was a revolution in Russia in 1905, which forced Nicholas II, the reigning Czar, to agree for the establishment of a Parliament, called the Duma, along with other democratic rights of the people. During this period, a new form of workers organisation had come into being, called the Soviet. It was a body of workers representatives set up for the purpose of conducting strikes. Later, Soviets of peasants were also formed – followed by Soviets of soldiers – and these sprang up all over the country. The Soviets were later to play a crucial role in the history of the Russian Revolution.

1.2.3. The February Revolution:

The Revolution of 1905 had not ended the autocracy in Russia. Though the Duma existed, the power in Russia was wielded by the Czar, the nobility and the corrupt bureaucracy. Russia's imperial ambitions led her to the war but the inefficient

and corrupt Russian government was incapable of carrying on a modern war. The war exposed the bankruptcy of the existing system in Russia, aggravated the crisis of the autocratic system and, ultimately, brought about its downfall. The Russian soldiers, 12 million of whom had been mobilised, were ill – fed. The Russian army suffered heavy losses during the war. The war had further worsened the already poor state of the Russian economy, further adding to the growing unrest. The country, including the capital city of Petrograd with its population of two million, was facing prospects of starvation. There were long queues for bread which was in short supply. From the beginning of the year 1917, there was a spate of strikes, which took the form of a general strike. The demand for ending the war and the rule of the Czar grew and on 12 March many regiments of the army joined the striking workers, freed political prisoners and arrested Czarist generals and ministers. By the evening Petrograd had passed into the control of insurgent workers and soldiers. These events of 12 March 1917 marked what has been called the February Revolution (because, according to the old Russian calendar, the date was 27 February). The Czar, who had been away from the capital, had ordered the suppression of the insurgents and the dissolution of the Duma. However, the Duma decided to take over power in its own hands and on 15 March announced the formation of a Provisional Government. That very day, the Czar was forced to abdicate and his autocratic rule came to an end. A few months later, in September 1917, Russia was proclaimed a republic.

The end of the Czarist autocracy was welcomed the world over. But the Provisional Government failed to solve any of the problems that had led to the collapse of the Czarist government. The policy of pursuing the War was continued and nothing was done to solve the land problem. The Bolsheviks were the only party which had a clear- cut programme. As we have seen earlier that two Russian socialists – Lenin and Martov – had drafted a part of the Second International's resolution which called upon workers to utilise the crisis, created by the imminent danger of the war, if it broke out, and overthrow the system which had led to the war. The Bolshevik were consistent in their opposition to the war. There were five Bolshevik members of the Duma. They opposed the war when it broke out. They were arrested and exiled. When the February Revolution took place, Lenin was in

Zurich, Switzerland. He called it only the initial, but by no means the complete victory, and declared:

1.2.4. The October Revolution:

At the time of the February Revolution, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies had been formed and it became the most important force in the fast – changing situation. On his arrival in Petrograd in April 1917, Lenin addressed the people with the following appeal:

“The people need peace; the people need bread; the people need land. And they give you – war, hunger, no bread; they leave the landlords on the land.”

He gave the call: “No support for the Provisional Government, All Power to the Soviets.” At this time there was another threat to the Provisional Government. General Kornilov had risen in revolt in an effort to establish his dictatorship. However, the attempt was thwarted by the workers and soldiers who rose up to Revolution. At this time, the Provisional Government was headed by Aleksander Kerensky, who held liberal and democratic views. He, however, failed to make any departure from the policies which had been pursued by the Russian government since the outbreak of the war, and proved himself to be totally ineffective. He was totally lacking in support.

In October, the Bolsheviks made careful preparations for an uprising. The All – Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies had been assembled on 25 October. The uprising to overthrow the Provisional Government had been timed to coincide with the Congress. The uprising began in the early hours of 25 October in Petrograd and within a few hours, almost every strategic point in the city was occupied by the revolutionary soldiers and workers under the guidance of the Bolsheviks. At 10a.m. Lenin's address, “To the Citizens of Russia”, was broadcast. He said, “The provisional Government has been deposed.... The cause for which the 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 – this cause has been secured”.

The date of this event was 25 October according to the Old Russian calendar; hence it is called the October Revolution. It actually happened on 7 November. At 10.40 p.m. the meeting, of the All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies began. At about the same time, the assault on the Winter Palace, the headquarters of the Provisional Government, started. At 1.50 a.m. on the next day (26 October according to the old calendar), the Winter Palace had been occupied and the members of the Provisional Government put under arrest. The head of the Government, Kerensky, had, however, escaped. At 9 p.m. the second session of the Congress of Soviets started. According to the eye – witness account of John Reed, an American journalist, Lenin was received with a “long – rolling ovation” as he stood up. As the ovation finished he said simply, “We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order”.

The first act of the new government was the adoption of the Decree on Peace. It expressed the resolve of the government to immediately enter into negotiations to conclude a peace without annexations or reparations. The workers of Germany, France and Britain, the Decree said:

“Will understand the duty imposed upon them to liberate humanity from the horrors and consequences of war, and that these workers, by decisive, energetic and continued action, will help us to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace – and at the same time, the cause of the liberation of the exploited working masses from all slavery and all exploitation.”

As a consequence of such a policy, Russia withdrew from the war even at the cost of losing many of her territories which Germany had made a condition for agreeing to peace.

The second step taken by the revolutionary government, headed by Lenin, was the Decree on Land, which was adopted at 2 a.m. on 27 October. This Decree abolished private property in land and declared land to be the property of the entire nation. Soon it renounced unilaterally all the unequal treaties which the Czarist government had imposed on countries such as China, Iran and Afghanistan. The right of all people to equality and self-determination was proclaimed.

1.2.5. Civil War and Foreign Intervention:

The uprising in Petrograd, which led to the establishment of the Bolshevik government, was followed by similar uprisings in other parts of the former Russian empire, and by February 1918, the new government had established its authority throughout the country. Soon, however, Russia was involved in a civil war. The forces loyal to the old regime, known as the White Russians, had organised themselves to overthrow the revolution. The Allied powers – Britain, France, USA, Japan and others – also started their military interventions in Russia, to bring Russia back to the war, to exploit her resources for the war and to aid the counter – revolutionary forces. The civil war and foreign military interventions, however, ended by 1920.

1.2.6. Conclusion:

The dynasty of the Czar was the first to fall during the First World War. Two other imperial dynasties – the German and the Austro – Hungarian – fell before the war was over. Another – that of the Ottoman Sultans – fell soon after the war.

The significance of the October Revolution extended beyond the boundaries of Russia. Soviet Russia, later the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, became a major influence in the subsequent history of the world.

1.2.7. Self- Assessment Questions:

1. What are the causes for the outbreak of October, 1917 Revolution in Russia?
2. Narrate the significance of October 1917 Revolution in Russia.
3. Explain Causes and results of the 1917 Bolsheviks Revolution in Russia.

1.2.8. Reference Books:

1. Davies, **World History**
2. Evans, J., **the Foundations of a Modern State in the 19th Century Europe**
3. Florinsky, M.T., **the End of the Russian Empire**
4. Hobsbawm, E., **Nation and Nationalism**

5. Lucas, Colin, **the French Revolution and the Making of Modern Political Culture, Vol.12.**

6. Porter Andrew, **European Imperialism, 1860-1914**

7. Thomson, David, Europe **since Napoleon**

Lesson: 1-3.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES (1919)

1.3.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the significance of Treaty of Versailles and its provisions are the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the lesson:

1.3.1. Introduction

1.3.2. Paris Peace Conference

1.3.3. The Treaty of Versailles

1.3.4. Provisions of the Treaty

1.3.5. Treaty of Saint Germaine

1.3.6. Treaty of Neuilly

1.3.7. Treaty of Trianon

1.3.8. Treaty of Serves

1.3.9. The Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

1.3.10. Summary

1.3.11. Self Assessment Questions

1.3.12. Reference Books

1.3.1. INTRODUCTION:

William Kaiser of Germany fled to Holland and in Germany a socialist Republic was set up. The war ended on 11th November, 1918, which created its own problems. The

questions posed were how to make up financial losses incurred during the war, how to organise civic life and what sort of treaties should be made with the defeated countries. Similarly their concern also was what type of steps should be taken so that in future world wars do not break out. It was with a view to solving these problems that in 1919, delegates from 37 countries assembled at Paris.

1.3.2. PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE:

The Conference took place on 18th January 1919. The delegates of France, England, Italy, America and Japan took very active part in the Conference. The Conference was guided by the decision of 9 members and the war committee set up during the war. It consisted of England, France, America and Italy i.e. the Big Four. These decided in the Conference. The conference continued for about 4 months. It hardly cared for Fourteen Point Programme of President Woodrow Wilson of United States of America, Instead each nation tried to evolve a formula by which it could get maximum booty from the loot which was likely to be obtained from the defeated nations. In fact each nation had become so much ambitious that it became difficult to adjust the conflicting views. After prolonged deliberations on May 6, 1919, a draft treaty was prepared for signing with Germany.

1.3.3. The Treaty of Versailles (1919):

The signing of the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany held on 28 June. 1919 was not an easy affair. When the draft of the Treaty was ready, Germany was asked to send her delegates. She decided to send some subordinate officials to bring the document to Berlin for consideration. This was interpreted as an insult to the Allies and Germany was told that she must send a full – fledged diplomatic delegation to receive the document or there would be trouble. Ultimately, a German delegation led by its Foreign Minister went to Versailles. Unfortunately, the movements of the members of the delegation were strictly watched and they were not given the liberty of going out. They were kept in a hotel behind barbed wires. They were not allowed to communicate with anybody. On 7 May 1919, the peace terms were handed over to the German delegation. It is pointed out on that occasion when the Allied and American delegations came to the spot, they were saluted by a Guard of Honour but the same was withdrawn when the German delegation arrived. Clemenceau, the French Premier, addressed the German delegation in these words: "You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great Powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our accounts. You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace." The German Foreign Minister replied to Clemenceau while sitting. He confessed that

the German "were under no illusion as to the extent of their defeat and the degree of their helplessness," but he denied the charge that Germany was responsible for the war. He declared that Germany was friendless, yet she had justice on her side. The German delegation was informed that they must send their reply within three weeks and all communications by them must be addressed in writing.

We are informed that the publication of the peace terms sent a wave of bitterness all over Germany. The Allies were condemned for their treachery and deceit. The German Government submitted a detailed memorandum on the Treaty. While the terms of the Treaty covered 230 printed pages, the German Memorandum consisted of 443 pages. A few minor alterations were made in the original Treaty on the suggestion of Lloyd George and the revised treaty was given to the Germans and they were given 5 days to accept the same and were warned that if they failed to do so, their country would be invaded. The terms of the Treaty were so unjust that there were many Germans who were prepared to wreck their country while fighting against the Allies rather than accept the terms of the Treaty. However, Field- Marshal Hindenburg made it clear that it was impossible to fight successfully against the Allies. Germany was in the grip of a famine and the German Assembly at Weimar decided to accept the terms of the treaty but objected to the provisions relating to war-guilt and the demand for the surrender of the war criminals. The Allies demanded unconditional acceptance and when the Germans found no other alternative, they submitted. It was contended by the German representative that his country was submitting to "overwhelming force, but without on that account abandoning her views in regard to the unheard of injustice of the conditions of peace." It was difficult to find some prominent German to go to Versailles to sign the Treaty. Ultimately, the German Foreign Minister headed the delegation. For the second time, the German delegates were treated like prisoners during their stay in Paris. When the German delegates left Paris for Versailles where the ceremony of signing the Treaty was to be held in the Hall of Mirrors, the Parisian mob threw stones at them and also hurled abuses on them. It was in these circumstances that the German delegates signed the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June, the 5th anniversary of the murder of Archduke Ferdinand.

1.3.4. Provisions of the Treaty:

The documents containing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles consisted of 15 parts and 440 articles and a score of annexes.

- (1) Germany had to give Alsace – Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, Memel to Lithuania and a large part of Posen and Western Prussia to Poland. She agreed to give Upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland if the

people concerned were in favour of joining it and their wish was to be ascertained by means of a plebiscite. When the plebiscite was actually held, the returns showed that more than 700,000 persons voted for Germany and 480,000 for Poland. When that happened, Poland demanded that he must be given those areas which had Polish majorities. The contention of Germany was that the entire region was an indivisible economic unit and could not be divided. There was a deadlock for some time and ultimately it was decided to partition Silesia in such a way as to leave more than half of its people and the land area to Germany, but Poland was given more of economic resources. The latter got 53 out of 67 coal mines. She also got all the zinc and lead foundries and about three – fourths of the coal producing area. She also secured 11 out of 16 zinc and lead mines.

- (2) Danzig was taken away from Germany and set up as a Free City under the League of Nations. Poland was given special rights in the city of Danzig.
- (3) The Rhineland was demilitarised. Germany was forbidden to "maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine." The existing fortifications were to be destroyed. No military force was to be maintained in that area. No manoeuvres of the army were to be held in the Rhineland.
- (4) "As the compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment toward the total reparation demand from Germany for the damages resulting from the war," Germany had to give the coal mines of the Saar Valley "in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation." The Saar Valley was put under the League of Nations for 15 years and then a plebiscite was to be held to decide as to whether the Saar Valley was to remain under the League of Nations or go to Germany or France. When the plebiscite was actually held, the people of the Saar Valley voted for Germany.
- (5) It was provided that the fortifications and the harbours of the Islands of Helgoland and Dune were to be destroyed. Germany promised to acknowledge and respect the independence of Austria.
- (6) Germany was forced to give up all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions to the Allies and those were divided among themselves by Great Britain, France, Japan, Austria, New Zealand, Union of South Africa and Belgium. Japan got the lease of Kiao-Chow and other German concessions in the province of Shantung. New Zealand got the German portion of the Island of Samoa. England got the German West Africa, England and France divided among themselves the Cameroons and Togoland.

- (7) The complete independence and full sovereignty of Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia were recognised by Germany. She also agreed to cancel the treaties of Brest – Litovsk and Bucharest.
- (8) Germany gave up her special rights and privileges in China, Thailand, Egypt, Morocco and Liberia. The Allies also reserved to themselves the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights and interests of the German nationals or companies abroad and the German Government was required to pay compensation to them. The property and concessions enjoyed by Germany in Bulgaria and Turkey were forfeited.
- (9) An attempt was made to cripple once for all the military strength of Germany. The German General Staff was abolished. The total strength of the German army was fixed at one lakh. The German army was to be maintained only for the maintenance of law and order within the country and the protection of her frontiers. It was specifically provided that the number of the customs officials, coast guards and forest guards was not to exceed the figure of 1,913. The police force was to be increased only in proportion to the increase in the population. Restrictions were put on the manufacture of armaments, munitions and other war materials by Germany. Both the import and export of war materials was banded. She was neither to make nor to purchase from outside tanks, armoured cars and poison gases. There was to be no conscription in Germany. The German soldiers and officers were not to be retired prematurely and frequently to add to the effective military strength of the country. "Educational establishments, the universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs and generally speaking associations of every description, whatever be the age of their members, must not occupy themselves with any military matters."
- (10) The German Navy also met with a step – motherly treatment. Germany was allowed to have only 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. No submarines were to be allowed. Submarine cables were to be surrendered. A new warship could be built only to replace an old one and not otherwise. The navy was not to have more than 15,000 men including officers. The members of the German merchant marine were not to get naval training. All the surplus war vessels were to be destroyed or converted into merchant ships or surrender all aeronautical war materials. The Allies reserved to themselves the right to appoint commissioners to find out whether the above military provisions were being carried out faithfully by Germany or not.
- (11) William II, the German Emperor, was charged with "the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." He was to be tried by a tribunal. This provision became infructuous because the Government of the Netherlands refused to hand over the German Emperor to the Allies. Germany also agreed to surrender other

persons "accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war." However, only a dozen unimportant German war criminals were tried by the tribunal and given light punishments.

- (12) Germany had to admit that she was responsible for the war of 1914 – 18. To quote Article 231, "The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." However, it was realised that Germany could not pay for all losses and damages and she was allowed "to make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers to their property, by land, by sea and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annexure 1. . . " There were 10 categories of losses and damages in the Annexure. Germany was to compensate Belgium for all the money borrowed by the latter during the war. She was also to pay interest at the rate of 5%.
- (13) Provision was made for the appointment of a Reparations Commission to determine the total amount of reparations to be paid by Germany and the methods by which the same was to be done. However, up to May 1921, Germany was required to pay about 500 million dollars. The economic resources of Germany were to be employed for the physical restoration of the invaded areas. Germany agreed to deliver specified quantities of coal to France, Belgium, Italy and Luxembourg. France was also to receive certain quantities of benzyl, ammonium sulphate and coaltar.
- (14) Germany was required to return the trophies, works of art and flags taken from France in the Franco – Prussian War of 1870-71. She was to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents. She was to restore the original Koran of the Caliph Othman to the King of Hedjaz. She was to restore to England the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa.
- (15) The Elbe, Danube, Oder and Niemen rivers were internationalised. The River Rhine was put under the control of an international commission. The Kiel Canal and its approaches were opened to all nations. Germany was to give on lease free zones to Czechoslovakia for 99 years in the ports of Hamburg and Stettin. The Allied goods were to be given a favourable treatment on the German railways.
- (16) Provision was also made for the enforcement of the above clauses. The German territory west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, was to be occupied by the Allied troops for a period of 15 years. If Germany carried out her obligations faithfully, the bridgehead at Cologne was to be evacuated after 5 years, that at Coblenz after 10

years and that at Mainz after 15 years if Germany misbehaved, the occupation was liable to be prolonged. As a matter of fact, all the troops were withdrawn by 1930.

The Reparations Commission was duly appointed and ultimately it fixed the war - indemnity at 54 billion dollars.

The treaty has been very adversely criticised. Though the allied powers made self-determination and national unification as their objectives, yet they failed in that. Germany was completely crushed and thus bound to react. A powerful nation obviously could not accept a subordinate position for long. The conditions imposed on Germany were both harsh and humiliating. From the very beginning it was clear that the provisions of the treaty will be violated at the first available opportunity. France was of course happy that she had taken revenge of her insult on Germany, forgetting that such attitude was bound to recoil. The treaty was signed by Germany under the threat of renewal of war and the nation accepted that only by a majority of vote.

In addition, Germany was made to accept such conditions which she could not fulfil. She was to pay war losses without resources having been left with the nation. At the peace Conference she was humiliated and her national honour injured. The concept of German nationalism was violated and her colonies were snatched away. Her army was reduced and thus she was made defenceless. Germany was made to pay Rs 80 crores annually, which she could not pay as the treaty left no resources with her.

Other important treaties pertain to post World War I that is between the victorious and defeated nation as follows:

1.3.5. Treaty of St. Germaine (1919)

This treaty was made between Austria - Hungary and the Allies. Austria recognised the complete independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. She gave up many territories which formerly were included in Austria - Hungary. The result of this treaty was that Austria was reduced to a small Republic with an area and population smaller than those of Portugal. She was deprived of her sea - ports. Her army was reduced to 30,000 men. The International Reparations Commission was to fix the war - indemnity to be paid by Austria.

According to Grant and Temperley, "The Treaty of St. Germaine reduced Austria to less than half her old population. She surrendered seven and a half million Slavs in Galicia to the new Poland, and over a million other non - Germans. She gave up also nearly four

million Germans, of whom three and half millions went to Czechoslovakia. Austria's new boundaries confined her to the Austrian Archduchies, Styria and the Tyrol, with a population of about eight millions odd, nearly all of pure German race. The once proud Austria, which had ruled over twenty million subjects and fifteen different races, was reduced to less than half of her former size, and lost a third of her purely German population. She became miserably poor and dragged out a pathetic existence from this time, and was annexed by Germany in 1938.

1.3.6. Treaty of Neuilly (1919):

This treaty was signed on 27 November 1919 between Bulgaria and the Allies. Bulgaria gave up most of those territories which she had got during the Balkan Wars of 1912 – 13 and the World War I. She gave up a part of Macedonia to Yugoslavia and the whole of Dobrudja to Rumania. She gave the Thracian Coast to the Allies and the latter gave the same to Greece. Bulgaria was to pay a war indemnity of about half a million dollars. Her army was reduced to 33,000 men.

1.3.7. Treaty of Trianon (1920):

This treaty was signed on 4 June 1920 between Hungary on the one hand and the Allies on the other. By this treaty, Hungary gave up the non – Magyar population. While Slovak provinces were given to Czechoslovakia, Transylvania was given to Rumania and Croatia was given to Yugoslavia. Banat was divided between Yugoslavia and Rumania. The Hungary army was reduced to 35,000 men. The population of the new State of Hungary was eight million and area about 35,000sq. miles.

1.3.8. The Treaty of Serves (1920):

It dealt with Turkey. By it, it was provided that Britain will control Hejaz and she will have Jordan, Mesopotamia and Palestine as mandate territories. Syria will be a French mandate and Italy's area of influence was accepted over Anatolia. Dardanelles will be internationalised and Greece will get Thrace, Adrianople, Gallipoli and islands of Tenedos. The treaty was signed by Sultan but when Kamal Pasha came to position he did not accept it. It was subsequently revised by the treaty of Lausanne.

1.3.9. The Treaty of Lausanne (1923):

The Treaty of Sèvres had conferred more privileges on Britain and Greece than on Italy and France and as such both before the signing of the treaty Turkish armies threw French and Italian forces out of Anatolia. The Turkish force also defeated Greece in Greco – Turkish war (1921- 22). The Treaty of Lausanne gave Turkey control over Anatolia, Cilicia, Adalia, Gallipoli, Adrianople and eastern Thrace. She was not to repay reparation charges and strength of her army and navy was not to be reduced. She was also not to remain under international control.

1.3.10. Summary:

The power at Peace Conference at Paris claimed that while making treaties two principles will be followed namely that of self-determination, and national unification as regards the first principle, these nations followed it to some extent enlargement of Rumania, Italy and France on the one hand and Baltic Republic and decentralisation of Russia on the other. But at the same time these took consideration basic factor that balance of power was not disturbed. France therefore, did not allow acquisition of Austrian Germans by Germany. Another factor which weighed with them was historic claim. France's claim of Saar Basin was partly on this ground. Similarly geographical considerations and nationality were also started to have weighed with these powers.

All these treaties were signed on June 28, 1919. Germany ratified it on July 9 and few days later Parliaments of victorious countries also ratified these. USA however, refused to sign the treaty and she signed separate treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary restoring normal relations with all the three countries.

1.3.11. Self Assessment Question:

1. Critically examine the significance of the Treaty of Versailles.
2. Comment on the peace of Versailles.
3. Describe the significance of Post-World War I treaties.

1.3.12. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. III**

2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
5. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
6. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**
7. Rao, B.V., **World History**
8. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Lesson -1.4.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1.4.0. Objective of the Lesson:

The main objective of the lesson is to describe the foundation of the League of Nations and its organs and its success and failures.

Structure of the lesson:

1.4.1. Introduction

1.4.2. Aims of the League:

1.4.3. Organs of the League

1.4.4. The Assembly

1.4.5. Council

1.4.6. Secretariat

1.4.7. Permanent Court of International Justice:

1.4.8. International Labour Organisation

1.4.9. World Health Organisation:

1.4.10. The International Boundaries Commission:

1.4.11. Achievements of the League

1.4.12. Cause for the Failure of the League

1.4.13. Summary

1.4.14. Self Assessment Questions

1.4.15. Reference Books

1.4.1. Introduction:

One of the covenants of the Treaty of Versailles provided for the establishment of an international organisation to maintain peace and security in the world. President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson, the author of this idea, felt that such a system was badly needed if the world was to be made safe from future catastrophes. After returning home he pleaded with Senate to approve the Versailles Treaty but it rejected it. So, the U.S.A. could not become a member of the League of Nations. Germany and Russia could not be members of the League of Nations till 1934. Without the membership of these three important countries, the League had no chance of achieving success. The League had fifty-five member-nations on its roll.

1.4.2. Aims of the League:

The League aimed at preventing wars through peaceful settlement of disputes among the member-nations. Secondly, it desired to preserve and protect the independence of member-nations by promoting international understanding and cooperation.

1.4.3. Organs of the League:

The League set upon itself the task of achieving the above aims through its organs—mainly the Assembly and the Council. To begin with, all those powers who worked for the defeat of Germany and her allies became members. A number of neutral powers also joined the League after receiving the invitation. Germany was not invited to become a member and the U.S.A. and Russia also could not join.

1.4.4. The Assembly:

Each member-nation sent three representatives to the Assembly, but exercised only one vote. The Assembly met from time to time to discuss general problems, and elected members to serve in the other organs.

1.4.5. Council:

The League's Council met three to four times in a year and discussed important matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and stability. It consisted of eight members (four Permanent and four non-Permanent members). The Council's important resolutions required the unanimous approval of all of its members to become effective. Whenever acts of aggression were committed by the member nations, the League recommended economic sanctions against them.

1.4.6. Secretariat:

The Secretariat of the League consisted of the Secretary General who was appointed by the Council with the approval of the Assembly and of such other staff as were required for its work. The Secretariat was located at Geneva, Switzerland and the staff was appointed by the Secretariat General in consultation with the Council. The member states had to pay towards the expenses of the Secretariat in certain proportions. While the meetings of the Council and the Assembly were held from time to time, the Secretariat continued to work throughout the year. The officials of the League enjoyed certain privileges and immunities while engaged in the work of the League.

1.4.7. Permanent Court of International Justice:

The world Court consisted of fifteen judges who were mostly drawn from member – countries. Its headquarters were at The Hague. The World Court heard appeals from member – countries regarding boundary disputes with their neighbours. The World Court disposed of many cases relating to boundary disputes and thus, prevented the parties from going to war. The decisions of the World Court were binding on both the parties relating to the dispute.

1.4.8. International Labour Organisation:

An International Labour Office was established for the purpose of drawing the attention of member – countries to the conditions of labour and to suggest improvements. The International Labour Office worked for improving the conditions of labourers in many countries. It recommended many measures to be adopted by member – countries for improving the labour welfare.

1.4.9. World Health Organisation (W.H.O.):

The World Health Organisation was founded to improve the standards of health enjoyed by the peoples of many countries. The W.H.O. began to fight malnutrition among children in many countries and also worked for the eradication of many contagious diseases such as malaria, cholera and small – pox. The affluent countries of Europe began to provide funds for research work undertaken by many scientists belonging to W.H.O.

1.4.10. The International Boundaries Commission:

The League set up the International Boundaries Commission to adjudicate many boundary disputes brought before it by the member – nations. It rendered great assistance to the League in settling many border problems.

1.4.11. Achievements of the League:

One of the major achievements of the League of Nations was that it averted wars for the next twenty years. Countries, large and small, frequently depended upon her for the settlement of disputes. The decisions taken by the League were respectfully obeyed by the member – nations. The following disputes were solved by the League of Nations:

- (1) Dispute between Finland and Sweden (over Aland Island in 1921), dispute between Germany and Poland over Silesia (1921), disputes between Greece and Bulgaria (1925), and between Iran and Turkey over Mosul oilfield (1926).
- (2) It arbitrated in the dispute between Greece and Italy during the Corfu crisis and averted a possible war between Yugoslavia and Albania.
- (3) The League successfully supervised the administration of the colonies coming under the Mandate system;
- (4) It helped Austria, Hungary and Greece with economic aid and brought about the resettlement of the refugees. It also checked the spread of many diseases. It checked trafficking in slavery and narcotics.

1.4.12. Cause for the Failure of the League:

From the very beginning the League lacked the cooperation of some of the major powers. When the League was founded in 1919, it was assumed that all states in the world would join it, that is, its membership would be universal. President Wilson of the United States, who initiated the institution, caused the first major disappointment. Influenced by both isolationist and utopian tendencies, the US Senate refused to approve the Treaty of Versailles which the senators feared would mean abandonment of the time – honoured US principle of non – involvement in European affairs. Thus, the most important major power never joined the system of collective security.

Without US participation, the mainly European character of the new organisation gained further emphasis. Japan was the only non – European member of any importance. Except for Great Britain and France, which remained members during the entire life of the League, most of the major powers joined it only for brief periods. Germany joined in 1926, but withdrew in 1933, when Japan also left after having been condemned for its intervention

in Manchuria. Italy withdrew in 1937 after its conquest of Ethiopia. The Soviet Union joined in 1934, but was thrown out after its attack on Finland in 1939.

The failure to obtain universality of membership and the unwillingness of some states to renounce war as a means of policy came in conflict with the fundamental principles of the League. Moreover, the members declined to accept the rule that an attack on any one state was to be considered an attack on all others, which was the main idea behind the League's for the system of collective security was singularly lacking in the 1930s, the rather positive results achieved in the first decade of the existence of the League could not be repeated. During the first half of its existence, the League had comparatively more members and fewer disputes. It successfully brought several of them to an end. These included hostilities between Bulgaria and Greece, and disputes between Sweden and Finland over the Åland Island in 1925.

When the League attempted, during the next decade, to deal with more serious conflicts involving more powerful states, it did not succeed. Japan gave no heed to demands by the League that it should cease attacking China, and Italy's Mussolini directed the conquest of Ethiopia before the sanction ordered by the League could have any effect.

The only time when sanctions were invoked was during the Abyssinian war. After a great deal of delay economic sanctions was applied Italy except as regards oil. France was almost unwilling to carry out her share of the sanctions due to her eagerness to keep Italy as a potential ally in any future combat with Germany. Great Britain applied sanctions half – heartedly and made it clear that it was not prepared to risk any war with Italy. Military sanctions in any case were never attempted under the League and the Anglo – French appeasement policy further weakened the League. England and France were so afraid of driving Fascist Italy into the open arms of Hitler's Germany that they turned a deaf ear to the helpless appeals of Abyssinia. Rearmament of Germany, the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, the Japanese aggression on Manchuria and the Rome – Berlin – Tokyo Axis followed by the unprovoked aggression on Austria, Czechoslovakia, Algeria and Poland brought about the dissolution of the League.

In fact, after the conquest of Ethiopia and the resignation of Italy, the League had little political significance. The Spanish Civil War never figured on its agenda in a meaningful way, despite the intervention of Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union. The German demands on Czechoslovakia were considered outside the League at the Munich Conference. The expulsion of the Soviet Union for its attack on Finland did little for the embattled Finns. The German attack on Poland in 1939, which was the signal for the beginning of World War II, never came on the League agenda.

Many analysts of the failure of the League attribute it to the unwillingness of the major powers of the League England and France to use this device of collective security. The non – universality of membership, itself a crippling blow to collective security, pointed to a broader lack of agreement among the great powers than the resistance of the British and the French governments. In addition, the unanimity rule of voting in the Council and the Assembly created a structural obstacle to action. Nevertheless, in limited conflicts among small states, the League often found it possible to produce useful effects, even if it could not cope with a deliberate policy of an aggression, such as that of Japan, Italy, Germany and the Soviet Union.

1.4.13. **Summary:**

The League could never apply sanctions. Whenever these were needed the major nation states, who could carry them out, withdrew support, nor could the League apply them as these states took too much time to decide. There was no way to enforce sanctions as the League did not possess an armed force and, unlike the United Nations, could not play the role of peace keeping.

The period of existence of the League was one of constant political instability in the international arena, for which it had not been prepared to deal. The international system was faced with one of the worst economic crises. The League had taken upon itself very few functions in the economic and social spheres. The concept of peace – building was then a relatively neglected area of concern. It attracted interest only after World War II.

The nations of the world who were still used to old diplomatic practices were suspicious of the new methods of open diplomacy practised by the League. The League Covenant was a part of the Treaty of Versailles and the members, therefore, used the League to fulfil its treaty obligations. The political fallout of this was reflected in the working of the League. Any changes in the League Covenant needed unanimity which was extremely difficult to attain in such a large body as the League.

Moreover, there were other potentially explosive issues of European boundaries and national self – determination which had not been settled amicably by the peace treaties concluded after World War I. The European state system was still in ferment and a general feeling existed that the League was an imposition of the victorious powers of World War I. Until a political settlement acceptable to all the relevant nation – states was made, the League system was bound to face disruptive forces signalled time and again by disgruntled elements to whom the Paris Peace Treaties did not appear just. Coupled with this was the frequent use by nations of the plea of “domestic jurisdiction” which made it increasingly

difficult on the part of the League to interfere in many conflicts. The League's attempt at disarmament was also not successful, especially in the field of general and comprehensive disarmament.

In the final analysis, what must be stressed upon is that the political environment was not conducive to international peace and to the recognition of the demands of interdependence. National interest and state sovereignty were the greatest hindrances to the effective functioning of the League.

1.4.14. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Give a brief structure of the League of the Nations and mention its aims.
2. Write a note on the achievements of the League of Nations.
3. Trace the Factors responsible for the Failure of the League of Nations.

1.4.15. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
5. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
6. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**
7. Rao, B.V., **World History**
8. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-2

Lesson-2.1

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL AND LOCARNO PACTS

2.1.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Significance of Geneva Protocol and Locarno Pacts in protection peace and order among the belligerent nations of Europe is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

2.1.1. Introduction

2.1.2. The Geneva Protocol

2.1.3. Significance of Geneva Protocol

2.1.4. Locarno Peace Pact1(925)

2.1.5. Results of Locarno Pact

2.1.6. Assessment of Locarno Pact

2.1.7. Summary

2.1.8. Self Assessment Question

2.1.9. Reference Books

2.1.1. Introduction:

It was natural that the war should be followed by a wave of anti-war feeling. The war had done what the writing of all the economists had failed to do: it had demonstrated that modern warfare brought loss on a colossal scale to the victors as well as to the defeated. The establishment of the League of Nations, and its early

activities, showed a general determination to find an alternative to war for the settlement of international disputes. Yet very soon the politicians became aware of weaknesses in the League as an instrument for peace. France, in particular, still dreading a renewal of German aggression, had no confidence that the League could give her the security that she needed. France wished for the League to have an armed force of its own, ready to be sent anywhere to subdue aggression promptly before it could spread into open war. This lack of confidence in the League resulted in various agreements which aimed to give greater all-round security. In this scenario there were two important Pacts were concluded among nations of Europe, viz., Geneva Protocol, and Locarno Pact.

2.1.2. The Geneva Protocol, 1924:

One of the difficulties of dealing with possible breaches of the peace was that the League Covenant did not define "an act of aggression". As a result, either the Assembly or the Council of the League would need to consider each incident between two nations as it arose and then to decide whether or not there had been such an „act". Only then could it recommend a course of action to its member-States. This vagueness and waste of time would cause ineffectiveness and loss of confidence in the League. From time to time various suggestions were made to remedy this defect.

Finally in the 1924 Assembly of the League, Ramsay Mac Donald, Labour Prime Minister of Britain, and Eduardo Herriot, Prime Minister of France, together proposed a 'Protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes', more commonly known as the Geneva Protocol. By its terms every League member would agree to submit every dispute to arbitration and not to go to war while arbitration was taking place. An aggressor would thus be any Power that refused either to submit a dispute to arbitration or to accept the verdict of the arbitrating body. Further, every member would agree to take part in a conference for the limitation of armaments.

2.1.3. Significance of Geneva Protocol:

This Protocol seemed a simple and complete solution of the problem of defining an aggressor, but it never came into operation. Fundamentally this was because the

nations had not yet sufficient confidence in a system of arbitration; nor, in the last resort, were they prepared to go to war in order to safeguard some distant State where their own security was not threatened. Britain and her Dominions, for example, had no desire to be dragged into war again, perhaps concerning the boundary of some Balkan country. The only chance that such an idea of mutual security would ever become acceptable was that it might be applied regionally to groups of nations. The members of such a group would realize that their own security would depend upon preserving peace among their own neighbours. This was the basis of a peace pact made in the year following the proposed Geneva Protocol.

2.1.4. Locarno Peace Pact (1925):

¹ The Locarno Pact of 1925 was an expression of the common weariness of the French, Britain and German people on account of the struggles which had continued without interruption from the time of the Peace Settlement of the occupation of the Ruhr Valley. During the period, Great Britain had to tried to restore a balance of power French policy had tried to hold Germany within the limits of the Treaty of Versailles until such time as Great Britain was prepared to guarantee her security. During the same period, German statesmen had tried to exploit, the Anglo-French differences in order to escape from the chains of the Treaty of Versailles. In this triangle struggle, France came out successful and British policy proved to be a failure. The occupation of the Ruhr Valley had brought about the economic ruin of Germany. However, Germany resistance proved that although France had the upper hand she had gained nothing substantially. By 1924, the French found themselves dangerously isolated. The value of France began fall. It was found that the occupation of the Ruhr Valley had brought nothing but a harvest of hatred. Germany was also completely exhausted. Great Britain felt that unless she was prepared to make a war against France, she had to meet the legitimate demand of France for security. There was a move for a compromise for the first time since 1919. The Labour Government in Britain was also inclined towards a settlement between France and Germany. The coming to power of Briand in France also facilitated the task. He was favourably inclined towards Germany. The first definite move was made by Stresemann, the Foreign Minister of Germany who was the greatest

supporter of Franco-German collaboration. In February 1925 he sent to Herriot proposals for a peace pact which was to apply to a particular region of Europe and was to be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Italy, and Germany. When negotiations started in the summer of 1925, it was agreed to put the frontier between Germany and Belgium on the same footing as between Germany and France. The guarantee was to apply to the Rhineland as well. Italy offered to guarantee the frontier along with Great Britain. As a part of the settlement, Germany was to join the League of Nations and get a permanent seat on the Council of the League.

It was in this situation that delegates from Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy Czechoslovakia, Poland and Belgium met at Locarno, a Swiss beauty-spot on Lake Maggiore from 5 October to 16 October 1926 and seven treaties were signed. There was a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee of France-German and Belgo-German frontiers between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy. There were arbitration conventions between Germany and Belgium and Germany and France. There were arbitration Treaties between Germany and Poland and Germany and Germany and Czechoslovakia. There were also Franco-Polish and Franco-Czechoslovakian Treaties for mutual assistance in case of aggression by Germany.

2.1.5. Results of Locarno Pact:

The major treaty referred to the western frontier of Germany with France and Belgium and secured the same. It was provided that the powers "collectively and severally", guaranteed both "the maintenance of territorial status quo resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and Germany and France" as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles. The de-militarisation of the German territory west of the line drawn 50 kilometres east of the Rhine, as stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles, was also guaranteed. Germany, Belgium and France agreed that they would, in no case, attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other, except in legitimate defence in case of flagrant breach of the de-militarisation formula, in fulfilment of the sanctions of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations or as a result of the action of the League against a state which was the first to attack a member of that body. They also undertook to settle by peaceful means, "all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the

normal methods of diplomacy.”” All the signatories to the Treaty pledged themselves to help that state which was the victim of aggression. If the question of the Treaty was a doubtful one, the matter was to be referred to the Council of the League for final disposal. The Treaty was to come into force only after the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and was to remain in force till such time as the Council of the League by a two – thirds majority might decide that the League “”ensures sufficient protection to the High Contracting Parties.””

The four arbitration treaties and conventions provided that all disputes between Germany and other signatories “which it may not be possible to settle amicably by the normal methods of diplomacy, shall be submitted for decision either to an arbitration tribunal, or to the Permanent Court of International Justice”. However, this provision was not to apply “ to disputes arising out of the events prior to the present convention and belonging to the past””, and it was not binding in the case of the problems which arose out of the Peace Settlement. The Franco – Polish and Franco – Czechoslovak Treaties provided that if the signatories to the main treaties were made to suffer from a failure to observe the undertakings of Locarno, they would “lend each other immediate aid and assistance if such a failure is carried by an unprovoked recourse to arms.”

The Locarno Pact made a distinction between the German frontier on the west and the German frontier on the east. While the western frontier of Germany was guaranteed to be sacred and both Great Britain and Italy came forward to guarantee the same, that was not true of the eastern frontier of Germany with Poland and Czechoslovakia. It was implicitly conceded that the eastern frontier of Germany was not based on justice and Germany would be justified in asking for its revision. However, she was not to resort to war to get the same changed and was to follow the method of arbitration to achieve her objective. Obviously, that led to the grading of the frontiers of Germany. The Locarno Treaties were a violation of the Treaty of Versailles and were recognition of the fact that the Peace Settlement of 1919 – 1920 was not based on justice. However, it cannot be denied that the Locarno Treaties lessened the tension between France and Germany for some time to come. The Locarno Pact was violated in 1936 when Hitler ordered the German troops to occupy the Rhineland.

The Locarno Pact gave satisfaction to France as the frontier between France and Germany was accepted by Germany. France would have liked to have similar guarantees regarding the eastern frontier of Germany as that involved the security of the states who were the members of the Little Entente. Great Britain and Italy were not prepared to give such a guarantee with regard to Eastern Europe and that left scope for German aggression on her eastern borders. Germany was prepared to put up with the loss of Alsace, Lorraine, Eupen and Malmedy, but the loss of Danzig, the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia remained what Schuman called a "festering wound in the hearts of all patriots and none could abandon the hope of recovering these territories in future. Their recovery however demanded a new dismemberment of resurrected Poland and behind Poland stood France and the Little Entente, firmly resolved to maintain frontiers as they were." What Germany agreed at Locarno was that she would not resort to force for the revision of her eastern frontier and nothing more.

The states in Eastern Europe highly disapproved of the differentiation between the Rhine and the Vistula frontiers made by the Great Powers. The Soviet Union looked upon the Locarno agreements with suspicion and distrust. The unwillingness of Great Britain and the refusal of Germany to guarantee the eastern frontiers was an eye – opener to the Soviet diplomats. Four days before the signing of the Locarno pact a new trade agreement was signed between Germany and the Soviet Union. This was described as the anti – Locarno Pact by the western democracies. In April 1926 a non – aggression pact was signed between Germany and the Soviet Union.

2.1.6. Assessment of the Locarno Pact:

¹ Briand referred to the importance of the Locarno Pact in these words: "peace for Germany and for France; that means that we have done with the long series of terrible and sanguinary conflicts which have stained the pages of history. We have done with black veils of mourning for suffering that can never be appeased, done with brutal and sanguinary methods of settling our disputes. True, differences between us still exist but henceforth, it will be for the judge to declare the law. Away

with rifles, machine – guns, cannons, clear the way for conciliation, arbitration and peace!”

GA Thorne Hardy says that the immediate effect on international relations in Europe was most unfavourable. The sense of improved security which the British guarantee implanted in the minds of Frenchmen and Germans had great importance. “Locarno Pact was an effective and formidable – looking scare – crow,” which went far to justify the opinion of its creator, Mr .Austen Chamberlain, that “its erection marked the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace.” The view of E. H. Carr is that in the long run, the Locarno treaty was destructive both of the Versailles Treaty and of the Covenant of the League. It encouraged both the view that the Versailles Treaty, unless confirmed by other engagement of a voluntary character, lacked binding force and the view that Governments could not be expected to take military action in defence of frontiers in which they themselves were not directly interested. Ten years later, nearly all Governments appeared to be acting on these assumptions. L.A. Mender says that the Locarno agreements were of limited value because the general diplomatic situation might so develop as to reduce the Rhineland problem to a secondary factor. The view of Simonds and Emeny is that the importance of the Locarno episode lies in the fact that it clearly demonstrated the value of the League machinery for a worth which actually desires to employ it and is ready to endure the existing territorial conditions. According to Langham, the Locarno achievements were widely hailed as precursors of a new era in world history, but neither the Pacts nor the spirit of Locarno were actual guarantees of peace. The problem of the eastern frontiers of Germany remained unsolved and there was no guarantee that the same would be solved peaceably. The spirit of friendliness was evident only sporadically in international affairs after 1925. It seemed to have been entirely forgotten in the very next year when Germany”s application for membership of the League was under consideration.

David Thomson says that in the favourable atmosphere of 1925, the Locarno treaties undoubtedly contributed to the general pacification of Europe. They were the first successful attempt to recognise impartially the needs of both France and Germany was brought back into the circle of Great Powers. Yet the implications of Locarno were sinister as well as reassuring. The implicit grading of frontiers implied

that the Settlement of 1919 was followed in so far as it had later been voluntarily endorsed by Germany. The distinction made by Britain between frontiers that she would guarantee and those which she would not guarantee, undermined the general obligations of the Covenant of the League. If the Versailles Settlement lacked binding force unless it was voluntarily reinforced in this way, it was precarious as a whole. France had over – burdened herself by special obligations in Eastern Europe without partnership in Britain. If the members of the League were to distinguish between those parts of the Settlement in which they were intimately interested and were prepared to guarantee and the other parts in which they were less interested and were not prepared to uphold by military action, general security suffered from Locarno. There were technical absurdities in the notion of planning in any military cooperation between the General Staffs of Britain and France against possible German attacks, if the British Staff were at the same moment supposed to be concerting similar action with the Germans against a possible French attack. These realistic problems were not considered at that time and were smothered by the prevailing mood of optimism and goodwill. The view of Grant and Temperley is that the agreement of Locarno was not useless though it was short – sighted. It did not fulfil the prediction of Austen Chamberlain that it marked the real dividing point between the years of war and the years of peace. It did produce an atmosphere of goodwill and a period of appeasement which was actually of importance and might have been decisive. Austen Chamberlain and Briand worked hard for cooperation with Germany and the same was true of Stresemann. However, the future depended on the League being able to negotiate a general disarmament all round. The limitation of armaments had been promised at Versailles and that promise was now repeated and its observance would have made Locarno a real treaty but the same was not done.

2.1.7. Summary:

Agreement on the terms of the Pact was reached at Locarno in October and it was formally signed in London in December by the first five Powers named above. The Pact was not a single measure but consisted of several treaties closely related together.

The first was a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee whereby all five Powers guaranteed the existing frontiers between Germany, France, and Belgium, and the demilitarization of the Rhineland. These three countries agreed also not to make war on one another unless the terms of the agreement were flagrantly broken or unless so directed by the League against an aggressor.

This was followed by four arbitration treaties between Germany on the one hand and, on the other, France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, each of whom undertook to settle all disputes peacefully. In the event of any one of the signatories' failing to keep the terms of the Pact, the others would help the aggrieved country.

The Locarno Pact was an event of the highest importance in Europe. Unlike the Treaty of Versailles, it was signed by Germany voluntarily, and she was thereby recognized as the equal of other European Powers, which seemed a step towards the end of Germany's bitter resentment against her conquerors.

2.1.8. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Explain the importance of Geneva Protocol and its results.
2. Assess the importance of Locarno Pact after the Treaty of Versailles in the International Relations of Europe.
3. Comment the Locarno Pact.

2.1.9. Reference Books:

1. Davies, **World History**
2. Evans, J., **The Foundations of a Modern State in the 19th Century Europe**
3. Florinsky, M.T., **The End of the Russian Empire**
4. Hobsbawn, E., **Nation and Nationalism**

5. Lucas, Colin, **The French Revolution and the Making of Modern Political Culture, Vol.12.**

6. Porter Andrew, **European Imperialism, 1860-1914**

7. Thomson, David, **Europe Since Napoleon**

Lesson: 2-2.

WORLD DEPRESSION

Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the causes of the World economic depression and its Impact is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

2.2.1. Introduction

2.2.2. Causes of Economic Depression

2.2.3. Economic Depression 1929-33

2.2.4. Economic Depression Impact on United States

2.2.5. Effects of Depression

2.2.6. Summary

2.2.7. Self Assessment Questions

2.2.8. Reference Books

2.2.1. Introduction:

By the summer of 1929 there were already symptoms of a coming depression. Production was declining in the building, steel and automobile industries and workmen were being laid off. But scarcely anybody realized the significance of these facts, since attention was concentrated on the dizzy rise in the price of stocks. In retrospect, in fact, the great bull market of 1929 can only be regarded as case of temporary mass insanity.

That the proper functions of the stock market were to provide facilities for the investment of capital in productive enterprise was now almost forgotten. It had become a place where a large portion of the American people expected to make fortunes by gambling on the price of stocks. People bought stocks not because they wanted sound investments but in the hope that they could sell them to other people a few weeks later at substantial profits. But this process could not continue indefinitely, and as soon as prices began to turn downwards, the millions of people who had bought on margin stocks which they could not genuinely afford would be forced to sell in a hurry.

Catastrophe was therefore inevitable. Nevertheless, many bankers, economists, and public officials reiterated that stock prices were not too high; and since experts viewed the situation so optimistically, the general public could scarcely be expected to show more foresight. Some of the bankers, notably Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank, were, in fact, doing everything possible to stimulate stock – buying by as many people as possible. The Federal Reserve Board had powers to limit speculation and curtail broker's loans, but it took no action until March, 1929, and when it finally tried to check buying on margin, some of the bankers violently denounced it and refused to comply with its recommendations. By this time, of course, it was too late to save the situation; any public recognition that speculation was excessive would in itself precipitate the crash.

On October 19, 1929, stock prices passed their peak, and began to fall. The first bad day was October 24, but the real catastrophe came on October 29. Some 16, 500, 000 shares were traded; dropped in some cases as 80 per cent below their September levels; no buyers at all could be found for many of them; and hundreds of thousands of margin accounts were wiped out. These events marked the beginning of a depression which spread to every country in the world except the Soviet Union and rocked to its foundations the whole structure of Western civilization.

2.2.2. Causes of Economic Depression:

In 1918 First World War came to an end which left the whole of Europe completely shattered. There was no country of the world, except the USA, which was not worst hit during this bloody war, which engulfed whole of Europe. The nations

had to divert all their economic resources to the production of war material. The people were taxed and forced to pay beyond their means and resources. Natural and mineral resources were diverted to the production of war equipment's. All developmental activities came to a standstill and in fact no nation thought of economic development. Road and transport system came under heavy pressure -- a pressure which it could not bear and which had to be maintained with great difficulty.

Every nation tried to win the war at all costs and thus took no chance to nature or anything else. When therefore, the war ended the situation was as follows:

1. The people in almost all countries of the world had no tax paying capacity, except of course those few who had carried out of production of war equipment and material.
2. The state treasuries were completely exhausted and almost every state had heavily borrowed and thus was heavily under debt.
3. The machines had been excessively used and completely worn out. These were not in a position to produce more. If these were to be used for production purposes, heavy investment was needed.
4. Transport and Communication and in fact every system had come under heavy strains and needed immediate attention for repair and development, for which money was needed, which was not available.
5. During the war there was destruction all around. Now that the war was over, the most difficult and costly task of reconstruction was needed to be immediately undertaken. The destruction was of unprecedented and nature and as such reconstruction needed heavy amounts. The need for reconstruction was of course immediate but for that the resources were not at all available. The State had exhausted their treasuries, whereas the people had no tax paying capacity.
6. The war had provided employment to thousands and thousands but after the war was over, the people were discharged from their duties. They became unemployed. They required immediate employment. Not only this, but during war the states could not undertake any employment generating programme. The number of unemployed youth had everywhere increased and was increasing day by day.
7. Youth is the greatest possession of a nation. It is this youth force which can help in increased production and solve social and economic problems. But every

nation had lost blooming youth during war years and everywhere youth was short in availability.

Thus the immediate task after the war was over was that of reconstruction. Each nation wanted to have favourable balance of trade to put its economy on proper lines but that was not possible because production everywhere was low and could not be increased unless old machinery was replaced by the new one. There was cut throat competition in the international market for capturing markets for each and every commodity. Need and necessity of colonies was badly felt but again during war days economic resources of the colonies had been exhausted by the colonial powers. The nations also needed ready money to replace machines, to set right transport and communication system, to improve agriculture and undertake the task of reconstruction. The money became scarce.

2.2.3. Economic Depression 1929-33:

It was in this above difficult situation under which the whole of Europe was badly reeling and its very bad and adverse effects were felt in the end of 1920's and 1930's when there was great economic depression in whole of Europe. The boom which some nations and few people had seen during war was not over. During this period trade and economic activity almost came to a standstill because there was no buyer in the market because of shortage of money. The international trade was at its lowest ebb. Unemployment of both skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers everywhere increased. There was great demand for money because it was clear that by the time there was capital formation, the capacity of the people to tolerate will come to the brim. There was no short cut to solve the economic and social problems or to find out avenues for the unemployed to provide them full or partial employment.

The position went on worsening day after day and it was clear that on the economic front, from 1929 and there will be great cause of worry and concern. There was no country of Europe where economic problems were not posing a threat to social and political life. The worst came in 1930's when all over Europe there was economic depression, which could not be checked by the financial assistance which was provided by the USA to the western world.

During war time some countries were in a position to have favourable balance of trade because these could sell war equipment's and material to some other countries at very high prices. This favourable opportunity also raised the living standard of their peoples. But it was a short lived boom. As soon as the war was over the boom period came to an end. Trade came down drastically reducing living standard of the people. The Allied powers had put very hard conditions on the defeated nations, while concluding peace treaty. These conditions had bad effects on the economy of these nations making it almost impossible for them to recover from economic disaster of war, less to talk of recovery. In fact all such areas which could help in economic recovery were taken away by the victorious nations. The defeated nations were not in a position to pay war indemnity and after some time even interest on that. Their industrial progress, which would have helped in solving economic problems, came to a standstill. On the other hand these industrially advanced nations became dependent on already economically depressed victorious allied powers. The depression which continued for about four years adversely hit many European nations and America.

2.2.4. Depression Impact on United States:

The United States of America being a dominant powers in the World economy during the World War I and later in the 1920's, the Great Depression that hit the United States also. One often cited barometer is the mere fact that between 1929 and 1933 the value of world trade declined by about 40 per cent. American exports alone went down from \$5.4 to \$2.1 billion in the same period. While annual external investment slumped by a quarter. This, as well as the political problems that the Depression caused or exacerbated in Europe and Asia, played a major role in the road towards the Second World War. In the United States itself, the Great Depression destroyed politically the credibility of the Republicans, and allowed Franklin Roosevelt to defeat Herbert Hoover in the 1932 presidential election.

2.2.5. Effects of the Depression:

In the economic field unemployment very much increased. By 1932, even in USA the number of unemployed persons went up to 12 million people. The trade and industries received serious setback. Share markets crashed. Even very sound

industrial firms and undertakings came down crumbling and declared themselves bankrupt. The sovereignty of small nations practically ended because these had to depend on big nations for credit facilities. Living standard of the people came down and consumption of commodities very much decreased.

In the political field, in several states the governments were forced to resign on account of their failure to check inflation and find a solution to the economic problems. This resulted in political instability. In addition, the people's faith in democracy was shaken. It was found that democracy was not a form of government which could solve the economic crisis, which confronted the nations. In fact in several countries there was a realisation that dictatorship or some similar form of government was better than democracy.

In the social field many problems had to be faced. The living standard of the people considerably went down. This resulted in several crimes and the people indulged in anti – social activities. Not only has this, but the number of divorce cases very much increased resulting in family instability. Social and moral values altogether changed. During war days the women had worked on many fronts and got work experience. They now tried to be economically self-sufficient and wanted to reduce their dependence on men – folk. They also now wanted more freedom to express their views in all walks of life. These wanted to have high social status and more share in political life.

2.2.6. Summary:

In fact depression which mainly touched economic life of the people left its bad effects on all walks of life. It was after about 4 years that Europe and United States could heave a sigh of relief from this depression. Economy of many countries was built and developed on right lines. In addition, the nation could also undertake the difficult task of reconstruction. Many far reaching measures of deflation which had been taken during depression years were not relaxed and a new era of hope began. This was however, short lived because in 1939 Second World War broke out, which again put Europe in the jaws of destruction and devastation, miseries and sorrows resulting in social and economic problems.

2.2.7. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Discuss the consequences of the Great Depression of 1929.
2. Critically examine the causes and results of 1929 World Economic Depression.

2.2.8. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
5. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
6. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**
7. Rao, B.V., **World History**
8. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-2

Lesson: 2.3.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA AFTER 1917 REVOLUTION

2.3.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the significance of internal development after the Bolshevik Revolution in Soviet Union is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

2.3.1. Introduction

2.3.2. War Communism and New Economic Policy (NEP)

2.3.3. Industrial Development and Collectivisation

2.3.4. Formation of the USSR:

2.3.5. From One Party Rule to Dictatorship

2.3.7. Foreign Policy of the Soviet State

2.3.8. Summary

2.3.9. Self Assessment Questions

2.3.10 Reference Books

2.3.1. Introduction:

Most historians considered the Russian Revolution as one of the most significant events of the twentieth century. Many people the world over, for a long time, viewed it as the beginning of a new era in human history. They saw it as "an alternative and superior system to capitalism and one destined by history to triumph over it". By all accounts, it was a major factor in the shaping of the twentieth century world. No other revolution in human history had professed to bring about such

fundamental transformation of society as the Russian Revolution of 1917. Since the beginning of civilisation over 5000 years ago, if we take the world as a whole, the common feature of all „civilised“ societies had been social and economic inequalities and exploitation of one class by another. The state, whatever be its form, was used to maintain the system of inequality and exploitation. The Russian revolutionaries proclaimed as their objective the overthrow of the system of inequality and exploitation, and the creation of a society in which no one would live off the labour of another.

The immediate steps taken by the revolutionary government of Russia was the proclamation of two decrees - Decrees on Peace and Decree on Land. Soon after, all industries and banks were nationalised. A Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia was issued. It announced the end of the oppression of the non-Russian nationalities of the Russian empire and proclaimed the right of all nationalities to self-determination, equality and sovereignty. All the secret treaties signed by the Czarist government were annulled and peoples of the East were called upon to overthrow colonial rule.

In January 1918, Russia was proclaimed as the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). By the time the First World War ended, the Bolsheviks had established their control over the territories of the former Russian empire, except Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, which had emerged as independent states. Poland also emerged as an independent nation and included all the Polish territories which had earlier been part of the Russian empire. In the meantime, civil war had broken out and foreign military intervention started. The Soviet policy on land and non-Russian nationalities helped in the consolidation of the Soviet power. By 1920, both the civil war and foreign intervention came to an end.

2.3.2. War Communism and the New Economic Policy (NEP):

The First World War, the civil war and the foreign intervention which followed the revolution had totally ravaged the economy of Russia. These, along with the famine that followed, resulted in the death of millions of people. In 1921, industrial production was 13 per cent of what it had before 1914. The Soviet government had

resorted to various stringent measures to prevent a total collapse. Landed estates had been confiscated and distributed to peasants but all that the peasants produced beyond their minimum essential requirements was appropriated by the government to feed the rest of the population. Almost nothing could be bought or sold. Whatever was produced by industries was distributed to workers and other people to meet their minimum essential requirements in lieu of wages. The system which came into being as a result of these measures is known as War Communism. It created widespread discontent and in some places there were revolts.

In 1921, a new policy, called ¹¹the New Economic Policy (NEP), was adopted and ¹¹the system. War Communism was withdrawn. Peasant control over their produce was restored, salaries were paid in cash, trade in goods was reopened, and efforts were made to rehabilitate the economy. In some industries, private management was introduced and many small industries were allowed to remain in private hands. ¹¹A large number of cooperatives were set up. In 1921, ¹¹there was a large – scale failure of crops in almost the entire country, creating conditions of mass starvation. A massive nation – wide effort was launched to provide relief. People from many other countries also organised relief aid to the Soviet people. USA, though refusing to recognise the Soviet government, also sent food supplies.

2.3.3. Industrial Development and Collectivisation:

The NEP helped the economy to recover to the pre – war level and laid the foundation for further development. This policy remained in force till 1928 when a massive efforts was launched to achieve a high level of economic development through successive Five Year Plans. ¹³The first Five Year Plan was launched ²³in 1929 and ²³the second in 1934. By ²³the time the Second World War started, USSR (for short Soviet Union), which had been set up in 1924 and of which Soviet Russia was a part had become a strong industrialised and military power. No other country had industrialised herself as fast as the USSR. Also, the conditions under which her economy developed were totally different from those of other countries. This was achieved by mobilising her own internal resources, entirely under the auspices of the state. Whatever private enterprises existed during the period of the NEP were taken over by the state, and private ownership of and control over industry and trade

became non-existent. It is notable that the only country to escape the effects of the Great Depression was the Soviet Union.

Vast changes took place in the agricultural sector. The changes introduced were supposed to facilitate the modernisation of agriculture with the help of machines and tractors. They had disastrous consequences in human terms. Vast state farms were set up and the rest of the farmlands were collectivised. The individual holdings of the peasants were brought together and collective farms, called *Kolkhozes*, were set up. By the end of the 1930s, almost all land was brought under collective farming. The peasants worked on these farms collectively, without owning any piece of land. This was often done by adopting measures of extreme coercion. The class of rich peasants was eliminated. Many million peasants are believed to have perished during the period of collectivisation.

2.3.4. Formation of the USSR:

According to a new constitution proclaimed in 1924, all the Soviet republics such as the Russian (RSFSR), Georgian, Armenian, Turkmen, Ukrainian, Azerbaijan, Caucasian, etc., were brought under one union – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1936, when another constitution came into force, there were eleven republics constituting the USSR. These republics were formed ¹ on the basis of the principle of nationality and the equality of all nationalities. According to the constitution, they were given ²³ the right to secede from the Union. The constitution gave each nationality of the former Russian empire the right to promote its own language and culture. The cultural and economic development of the Asian republics of the USSR was very impressive, particularly to the peoples of other countries of Asia who were struggling to liberate themselves from colonial rule, and for them the USSR became an ideal model to be imitated.

2.3.5. From One Party Rule to Dictatorship:

The political development of the Soviet Union was accompanied by gross violation of individual liberty and the principles of democracy. The Soviets, which had been formed during the struggle for revolution, had been acclaimed as the true and authentic form of democracy. They involved vast masses of people in the process of

decision - making, which affected their lives and brought millions of common people into direct political activity. A number of political parties and groups – such as the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries – had their members in the Soviets. During the civil war and later, when there were attempts to organise uprisings, they were eliminated from the political life of the country. Most of the leaders of these parties either left the country or were exiled to Siberia. Even after the revolution had consolidated itself and there was no longer any possibility of a counter – revolutionary movement succeeding, they were not allowed to play any role in the political life of the country.

The Bolshevik Party, later known as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, became the sole political party in the country. Even within this party, there was a gradual elimination of all democratic decision making processes. The Bolshevik Party had earlier developed under Czarist autocracy which had made it impossible for the Bolshevik to function legally in the open. As a party which was working to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of the existing order, it developed a certain system of functioning that allowed debates and controversies, sometimes very fierce ones, within the party, but obliged the members to follow the decisions once they had been taken by the majority. This way of functioning of the party continued as long as Lenin, the greatest leader of the Russian Revolution, was alive. There were occasions when other communist leaders openly opposed Lenin's views and there are instances when Lenin was left isolated within the party. However, the expression of these differences did not lead to suppression of the people who differed with the views of the majority or of the leadership. Thus, democracy within the party was maintained.

After the death of Lenin in 1924, there was a fierce struggle for power within the party. There were serious differences over the means and methods to be adopted for building socialism and also on whether it was at all possible to build socialism in one country or whether the primary task of the Soviet government should be the promotion of world revolution. There were differences on the question of collectivisation and the methods to be adopted for industrialisation. The method which was later adopted in resolving these differences was not just taking a decision by the majority and going ahead with implementing it but also treating those who had opposed the decision as enemies of the party and the country.

The first major struggle inside the party took place between Stalin and Trotsky. Stalin had become the general secretary of the party. Trotsky's role in the revolution and subsequently ¹⁷as foreign minister and still later as war minister is considered to be second only to Lenin's. In 1927, however, Stalin emerged victorious, and Trotsky was ¹⁸expelled from the party and, in 1929, he was exiled. In 1940, Stalin, got him assassinated in Mexico where he had been living for some years. Later, many other leaders were accused of being Trotskyites and they were arrested and executed. Two other leaders of the party – Zinoviev and Bukharin – who disagreed with Stalin's policies on different occasions, were eliminated.

Gradually, in the 1930s, in a country which professed building a new type of society and a higher type of civilisation, dictatorship of one man took shape. All power was concentrated in the hands of Stalin, who was supposed to be the source of all wisdom. His decision could not be questioned. In the writings of some socialist thinkers and leaders, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was envisaged as a stage in the building up of socialism. All capitalist countries were viewed as having dictatorships of the bourgeoisie, even they had democratic political institutions, because the state in these countries was seen as the instrument for the maintenance of bourgeois predominance. The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", in the same way, was viewed as a state which would use its power to maintain the domination of the working class. This "Dictatorship" did not meant the abolition of political freedom, elimination of all other political parties, and rule by one single party. However, the way the Soviet Union's political system developed, it came to mean, first, the dictatorship of the party and, by virtue of Stalin's domination of the party, the dictatorship of Stalin. After Stalin's ¹⁷death in 1953, this phenomenon was described by the Soviet communist leaders as Stalin's "cult of personality".

The dictatorship or ¹⁶the "cult of personality" of Stalin led to grave distortions in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. In 1934, Kirov, the leader of the communist Party in Leningrad (now St Petersburg) was assassinated. It is now generally believed that Stalin got him assassinated. The assassination was, however, utilised by Stalin to launch repression against everyone who was suspected of the slightest disloyalty. It soon developed into what has come to be known as the Great Purge. The number of people who perished in the Great Purge is only now beginning to be fully estimated. Their number was enormous. They included some of the most

prominent communist leaders, veterans of the revolution, writers, artists, scientists, military and civil officers as well as some leaders of the communist parties of other countries.

For a long time, the people outside the Soviet Union, who were sympathetic to socialism and in their own countries, were involved in the struggle against colonial rule or capitalist exploitation did not realise the enormity of the crimes that were being committed in the name of socialism. One reason for this was that the Soviet Union was surrounded by countries which were hostile to her and to socialism. Some of these countries made no secret of their aggressive designs against the Soviet Union and declared that they would destroy communism. Many of these countries held many other people under colonial subjugation. The economic system of these countries bred inequality and resulted in mass unemployment, misery and poverty. Repression inside the Soviet Union came to be seen in the context of the Soviet Union's efforts at preserving her independence as well as the socialist system in an extremely hostile world.

2.3.7. Foreign Policy of the Soviet State:

The international role of the Soviet Union demarcated her from all other great powers of the time. She had been kept out of the peace conference held in Paris after the war to prepare treaties of peace with the Central Powers. In 1921, she entered into treaties with Iran and Afghanistan which strengthened the independence and sovereignty of these countries. A treaty was signed in the same year with the government of Mustafa Kemal, which was engaged in a war to restore the territorial integrity of Turkey. She participated in various disarmament conferences and made proposals for general and complete disarmament. In the 1930s, she took a forthright stand against the fascist countries acts of aggression and strove for united action with other countries to check fascist aggression. Most western countries, however, chose to appease fascism in the hope that fascism would destroy communism. In 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations and made efforts in the direction of making the League take resolute action for the maintenance of peace and for the liberation and independence of subjugated nations. The Soviet Union was also the only major power at that time which opposed the continuance of

colonialism and imperialism. She came to be looked upon as a friend of the people who were fighting for their independence.

2.3.8. Summary:

After Revolution, Soviet revolutionary leaders devoted themselves to the cause of new task of social reconstruction. The old capitalist system which had divided the society between the rich and the poor was bade fare well. Every one who tried to revive the old system was considered to be the enemy of the revolution and was punished. ³⁷ It was now believed that in the new social order the labouring and the toiling classes will have more important place than other person. There will now be no division of society on the basis of classes. The Soviet Union will practically be a classless society. Exploitation in every form, direct and indirect, is forbidden and an exploiter is considered to be the enemy of the state.

2.3.9. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Briefly describe the internal development of Soviet Union after the 1917 Revolution.
2. Narrate the significance of internal developments of Soviet Russia between the two World Wars.
3. Explain the importance of Communist regime in Soviet Union after the 1917 Bolsheviks Revolution in Russia.

2.3.10. Reference Books:

1. Davies, **World History**
2. Evans, J., **The Foundations of a Modern State in the 19th Century Europe**
3. Florinsky, M.T., **The End of the Russian Empire**
4. Hobsbawm, E., **Nation and Nationalism**

5. Lucas, Colin, **The French Revolution and the Making of Modern Political Culture, Vol.12.**
6. Porter Andrew, **European Imperialism, 1860-1914**
7. Thomson, David, **Europe Since Napoleon**

Unit - 3

Lesson: 3.1.

NAZISM IN GERMANY

3.1.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the rise of Nazism and its impact on Germany is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

3.1.1. Introduction

3.1.2. Early Career of Hitler

3.1.3. Emergency of Nazi Party

3.1.4. Formation of Party Army

3.1.5. His Mein Kamp

3.1.6. Growth of Nazi Party

3.1.7. The Purge (1934)

3.1.8. Summary

3.1.9. Self Assessment Questions

3.1.10. Reference Books

10

3.1.1. Introduction:

The defeat of Germany in the World War I was a major event which changed the course of German history. Germany had joined the war in the hope that it would be short – lived and also that after the war was over Germany would be a happy and prosperous

nation. But that did not materialise. The war got prolonged and as a result there was shortage of everything in the country. The people began to suffer miserably and wanted that the war should be ended as soon as possible. The war ended but not with prosperity. Germany was defeated and badly humiliated. ¹² She had to pay a heavy war indemnity and came under complete foreign domination and control. She was financially bankrupt and her territorial integrity had been shaken. She had lost her respect in the family of ¹¹ nations. It was in these circumstances that German Emperor ¹ was forced to leave the country and the throne of Germany fell vacant. At this very time in 1919 Hitler found National Socialist German Worker's party, which subsequently came to be known as Nazi party.

3.1.2. Early Career of Hitler:

For the formation and rise of Nazism in Germany, Hitler played a very prominent and paramount role. He was born in 1889 in an Austrian village. His parents were poor with the result that he could not get proper education. He became orphan at a very young age. He was interested in architecture course but he failed to get admission in any architecture college. ³⁹ In 1913 he left Vienna for Munich in search of employment. In 1914, when the First World War was broke out he joined in German forces and as such due to circumstances he was forced to change his taste from architecture to army. As a soldier he proved to be a great success and awarded for his gallantry.

When he heard about the news of the defeat of his armies on the battlefield and subsequent treaties for the cessation of hostilities, he was so much pained that he could not reconcile himself to the idea that German armies could be defeated on the battlefield. According to him his armies were so strong that no power of the world could be match with them. If the armies were defeated the sole cause was the treachery of the leaders and commanders who sabotaged from the back. His views were also shared by many others in Germany, including Leftist politicians.

3.1.3. Emergence of Nazi Party:

Of course Germany had been defeated but Hitler was keen that nation should rise at the earliest. He therefore, collected few devoted patriots who shared his views and ideas about rise of Germany. Along with them Hitler prepared a blueprint of the new party. They all agreed that there will be scheduled method of running the party. The party should have its own army and given an attractive name. Need for a party paper was considered to be unavoidable.

In 1920 the party was started in a rented house with seven members only. It then issued a twenty point programme. It demanded union of all German States thus forming Greater Germany. These states should be given the right of self-determination. Every person of German blood could be a racial comrade. There was no question of religion in this regard. The Jews were excluded from being German Comrades.

A demand was made that peace treaty should be aborted and German colonies should be returned to Germany. Limitations should be put on profits from wholesale enterprises and all trusts should be nationalised. Demand was also made for land reforms. It was suggested that higher education should be brought under Government control. Military power of Germany should be increased and the Jews should be boycotted. A ban should be put on the coming of foreigners to Germany and all those parties which propagated against German nationalism should be ended forth with. The party programme made it clear that communism should be opposed tooth and nail. It was also of the view that parliamentary form of Government did not suit Germany and as such should not be introduced in the country.

Hitler thereafter started preparing for basic postulates of the party and gave that a flag, uniform for the members, prepared songs for the party and as happens in all traditional societies he gave a sense of belonging to all members. He made 'Swastika' as party flag and prescribed red shirt for the members. He had every fear that party meetings may be disturbed. Keeping this end in view and ensuring that party propaganda was undisturbed an uninterrupted he prepared a group of young men who were to sacrifice their everything for the sake of the party. This consisted of ex – soldiers, veterans and Hoodlums. These people took part in all sorts of demonstrations.

He also started a party paper called 'Radical Observer'. It was propaganda organ of the party. In the beginning it was weekly but subsequently it became daily. The articles published in the paper touched emotion of the masses. These created fear of communism on the one hand and hatred against Versailles treaty on the other.

3.1.4. Formation of party army:

As per programme of Hitler an army of the party was founded. It was divided into two wings. One wing of the party wore brown shirts and had a red baton tied on the left arm which bore the sign of Swastika. The army was required to see that its party meetings were not disturbed whereas those of the others were disturbed even by violent means. The Second party consisted of chosen members of the party and wore black shirts.

The work of the party and its philosophy soon began to be appreciated by the masses. Pan German League and other patriotic societies in Germany began to extend their cooperation. Support also came from extreme nationalist, who had never reconciled themselves to the defeat of Germany.

Having been encouraged by the achievements of the party, Hitler now put his heart and soul in the party. His capacity to attract the people with slogans and that of playing with their feelings of the patriotism paid rich dividends. His speeches created magic effect on the mind of the people and they began to pour from remote villages even to listen to his speeches and his view point. Number of the party members began to increase. It was in this atmosphere that in 1923 French army captured Rurh. This was intolerable for the people of the Germany who revolted against the government. But the revolt did not succeed and Hitler who was the leader of the revolt was arrested and imprisoned for five years. He was however, not deterred by this and defended his policies and programmes in the open.

The arrest paid him rich dividends. He became a watch word in Germany. His thoughts became very popular in country and this comparatively unknown person became very popular in the whole length and breadth of Germany.

3.1.5. His Mien Kamp:

After coming out of the prison he tried his best to see that his party became popular and he was much success in that. The party now had branches in all most all the towns of Germany and Hitler was its undisputed leader. While in jail he wrote his famous Mien Kamp in which he expounded the plans and programmes of his party. It was not only widely read but worshipped like a scripture. It was in this book that he said that defeat of Germany in the World War I was not due to inferior quality of German solders but because of the law of succession of rulers in Germany. Other important causes were trade union, lack of confidence among the rulers and dearth of firmness of character of the leadership. He therefore, suggested that in order to avoid recurrence of such things in future it was essential that all powers should be concentrated in one person.

In this book he tried to point out that the best state and Constitution was one which was capable of locating and identifying the genius and install him or them to the supreme position of authority. The leader should be given unquestionable control over his subordinates. The state was the most powerful institution in the country and as such must be put on high pedestals to be worshipped. Unless one individual is given absolute powers, there can be no triumph in the world.

According to him German race was most superior one in the world. He did not believe that Marxism was a scientific concept and hated that on account of its international creed. He hated the Jews who he considered were of very low and inferior quality. In fact he made them scape goat for all this inadequacies.

3.1.6. Growth of Nazi Party:

The ideas of Hitler, as available in Mein Kampf became very popular and he began to be considered as the only national leader, who could lead the nation. The people were most willing to accept him as their leader. It was in this atmosphere that in 1929 Europe faced economic crisis and Germany was badly hit by these. Almost every mill and factory was closed and there was danger of widespread starvation. Though the crisis was a world – wide phenomenon, yet Hitler took advantage of the situation. He made out a case that the Republic was responsible for economic troubles of Germany. Not only this but he also in a position to enlist the cooperation of a majority of the members of the people.

The result of all this was that when elections were held in 1929 Nazi Party captured 12 seats in German Reichstag. But party got considerable encouragement in 1930. It was in that year that in the Reichstag of 576 it could secure 107 seats with the support of more than 75 lakh voters. Thus it became an important party next only to social Democratic Party which was in majority in Reichstag.

Elections for Chancellorship of Germany were held in 1932. Hindenburg was a candidate supported by Social Democratic Party. The Communists had fielded Tholmann as their candidate whereas Hitler was sponsored by Nazi Party. It was time when in the country there was unemployment, higher taxes, financial bankruptcy and all business activities in the country had come to standstill. The people of Germany were not at all satisfied with the Government and their own economic conditions. The economic depression of 1929-30 had already added to the economic miseries of the people and had rendered more than 6 lakhs of the people as unemployed. Jobless people were looking forward to the Communist Party for solving their problems. The workers were, however, joining Nazi Party, as Hitler had promised them prosperity, **pride and power through the overthrow of the Republic**. He had also promised them the establishment of a glorious Germany and third Reich which will be constituted **on the basis of anti – Marxist, anti – Semites and anti – capitalist philosophy**.

The capitalists and the conservatives too were in favour of the Nazi Party and so was the case with reactionaries who wanted to retain their social and political supremacy. They had favoured Nazi Party because they felt that Nazis alone could check communism in Germany, which was posing great threat to capital and private property.

In the elections held in 1932, Social Democratic party got 53% votes, 37% were secured by Hitler and remaining 10% by the Communist candidates. But one remarkable feature of the elections was that Nazi Party could enlist the support of one crore thirty four lakh voters, which was almost double of 1930 elections. Though in the electoral field Hitler had lost the battle, yet for all practical purposes it was his victory because electoral support to his party had immensely increased.

In 1932 fresh elections for the Reichstag were held Nazi Party emerged as the largest party. The party won 230 seats, whereas Democratic Party got 133 seats and 82 seats went to the Communist Party, in a House of 607.

Hindenburg first of all appointed Than Paipan as chancellor of Germany but after some time he was replaced by Shleshar. Paipan was not happy with this and he wanted to remove Shleshar from the position of chancellor and thus made friendship with Hitler. He pressed that Hitler should be made chancellor and on 10th January, 1933 he became Chancellor of Germany, as a result of coalition with the nationalists and big business. Thus Hitler did not become Chancellor of Germany as an outcome of electoral majority but as a result of conspiracy which Paipan hatched with Hitler against Shleshar. Paipan was head of the Baron Cabinet in May, 1932 and Hitler appointed him as Vice Chancellor. Hitler's coming to power was thus nothing else but a political manoeuvre which was initiated by Paipan. Hitler had only three members of the party in the cabinet out of 12 and the rest were the representatives of the nationalist parties, including those of Von Paipan, the Vice – Chancellor. There were representatives of army and Prussian, land owns and big industrialists and financiers. They were sure that Paipan was clever enough to trap Hitler at the appropriate time. Their confidence was because they knew that Hitler was new to the office to which he had been appointed with their cooperation.

On his part Hitler was not satisfied with the position which he had got with the help of those with whom he did not see eye to eye and whose policies he never favoured. He wanted to have full control and grip over the situation. It was only then that he could act in a way he wanted to act. He, therefore, started making efforts for winning absolute majority in the Reichstag. He contacted Catholic Centre Party for this support and was not very keen to have the support of the Centre. His aim was that Reichstag should be dissolved, new elections held and an opportunity provided to his party so that he could show his strength. When his talks with the Centre failed, he got a decree from President Hindenburg for the dissolution of Reichstag and got March 5, 1933 as the new date for the holding of elections.

Hitler then started his manipulation. His secret party agents burnt down secretly Reichstag building and immediately Nazi Minister without portfolio declared that this was the

mischief of the Communists. Several allegations were levied against them and their prominent leaders were arrested. In the country there was terror on the one hand and anti – Communist feelings on the other. The Nazis took full advantage of the situation and horrified the people with the propaganda against Communist Party. As a result of elections held in that year the Nazis won 44% of the total votes, which was much below their expectation, particularly under the circumstances in which elections had been held in the country. They were also not in an absolute majority in the Reichstag.

First meeting of the Reichstag was fixed for March 21, 1933 at Potsdam. The new Reichstag passed a law for removing the distress of the people and Reich. It was known as enabling act. By this Act it was provided that for four years the Government would have the right to decree any law or treaty independent of Reichstag. This made Hitler very powerful and practically a dictator. Reichstag now became a ceremonial body to be addressed by Hitler from time to time, if any important development took place in the country. In this way for all practical purposes Weimer Republic came to an end.

After assuring for himself these powers and getting absolute authority, Hitler now started acting. In October, 1933 Germany left the League of Nations and this ended Disarmament Conference and his action was approved by a plebiscite in which he got 96.3% votes. On August 2, 1934 died old President Hindenburg and almost all the powers vested in him were now vested in the Chancellor, Hitler. He thus combined in himself powers of both the President and the Chancellor. The armies took oath of allegiance to the Chancellor in name, Hitler who addressed Further of German land and people. He became undisputed leader of the nation and real master of Germany. In Germany he was more powerful than Kaiser William II of Germany. On August 19, 1934 the people of Germany were again asked to left the Chancellor know if they approved his action and 90% of the voters approved the action taken.

So far Hitler had been acting with the approval of the electorates and thus his every action for all purposes had popular support. But he gradually started acting as dictator. He ordered abolition of both the socialist and communist parties and thus Nazi party was the only party which was left in the field. By a law passed by Hitler, it was provided that it will be illegal for anyone to organise any new political party. German states of Prussia, Bavaria etc. were denied their right of self Government, which these have hitherto been enjoying.

3.1.7. The Purge (1934):

Hitler had come to power and his Nazi party was in a position to win mass support. But that did not end the ambition of Hitler. He did not wish that even his party members

should stand on the way of his dictatorial tendencies. He wanted to be an absolute dictator for all purposes. Meanwhile party workers had been creating problems for the people. By their activities the party was becoming much more unpopular than popular.

The party machinery was becoming un-manageable and the party had been swamped by people who were unruly and not prepared to accept any discipline. They wanted to create a situation of chaos in the country to their advantage only. Brown Shirts needed strict control and check so that people were not harassed by them and the reign of terror which had been created to some extent was not allowed to develop further. These troopers were arresting the people without reason which was an alarming situation.

Ernest Robon, the leader of Brown Shirt, too was creating problem for Hitler. He was himself trying to control the army so that he could effectively check the authority of Hitler.

In order to effectively and timely deal with the situation, Hitler decided to purge the party of undesirable elements. On June 30, 1934 more than 100 well known leaders of Nazi party opposed to Hitler and his authority were killed. These included Ernest Robon. These murders very much strengthened the position of Hitler. It became clear that it was difficult to deal with Hitler and his Nazi supporters. Control of Hitler over German affairs became absolute after this purge.

The Nazis now began to control religious, social and political life of the people. The Jews who were considered as people of the inferior race were harshly dealt with. They were deprived of their jobs and professions and their shops and business centres were burnt. Terror was then used to free the nation from the danger of the Social Democrats, Communists, Liberals and of those Nazis who possibly could check the authority of the Nazi party. All this was done with the help of Gestapo – Secret police of Germany, which was headed by Hitler himself. He started controlling business and farmers and all economic activities. He made it clear to his people that if Germany was to rise for that war was unavoidable. He, therefore, gave his people a slogan, 'Guns before butter'.

In order to propagate Nazi philosophy and strengthen the position of Hitler in all educational institutions only such education was imparted which was in keeping with the philosophy of Hitler.

3.1.8. Summary:

Hitler came to power in Germany within a very short time. He could build his party which could win elections and control Reichstag in the face of many well organised parties,

even the Communist party. Not only this, but the people of Germany backed Hitler and his party with massive support and he continued to rule Germany till Second World War. His words were law for the nation. A very important and relevant question which arises is as to what were the important causes responsible for the rise of Nazism in Germany.

3.1.9. Self Assessment Question:

1. Elaborate the rise of Nazism in Germany.
2. Trace the factors responsible for the rise of Nazism in Germany.

3.2.10. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III
2. Davies, World History
3. Fisher, H.A.L., A History of Europe
4. Hunter, W.W., The Indian Empire
5. Langsam, W.C., The World Since 1919
6. Lyall, A.C., The Rise of the British Dominion in India
7. Raj, Hans, History of Modern World: An Overview
8. Rao, B.V., World History
9. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr. , The 20th Century World, a reading guide.
10. Wells, H.G., An Outline History of the World

Unit-3

Lesson - 3.2.

HITLER HOME POLICY

3.2.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the Hitler's Home Policy and its importance is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

3.2.1. Introduction

3.2.2. Hitler's anti-Parliamentary System

3.2.3. Hitler's Anti-Jew Policy

3.2.4. Hitler's anti-Roman catholic policy

3.2.5. Hitler's Economic Policy

3.2.6. Hitler's Religious Policy

3.2.7. Hitler's Religious Policy

3.2.8. Nazi and Military Power

3.2.9. Summary

3.2.10. Self Assessment Questions

3.2.11. Reference Books.

3.2.1. Introduction:

During his own days Hitler was the most powerful personality and he too was committed to work for the people of Germany. He was determined that the people of Germany should get back their own glory, which they somehow had lost. He, therefore, paid his maximum attention on the home front to education, politics, industries and in fact every aspect of national life. All the departments of the

Government were headed by the people who were devoted and sincere to him and to the cause to which they were engaged.

Hitler wanted to tackle the people psychologically. He knew that if the people were treated that way and their cooperation won, then many problems will find their own solution. In January, 1933 he became the Chancellor of Germany and decided that national flag of Germany given by the Republic should be repudiated and its place that of the imperial days, with suitable modifications, should be introduced. In April, 1933 Hitler was made all powerful for 4 years by Reichstag and thus he became dictator of Germany for all intent and purposes. He called it as Third Reich. In 1934 when Chancellor Hindenburg died, he combined in himself the powers of President and Chancellorship and thus the leader of Reich and further of Germany. Germany now came under autocratic rule. Though the Parliament was there and also its meetings were held, but its character had changed.

3.2.2. Hitler's anti-Parliamentary System:

Hitler was bitterly opposed to Parliamentary form of Government. According to him democracy and parliamentary system was a hoax and in that there was simple wastage of time and useless talk. The people in the Reich opposed each other simple for the sake of opposition. It was wrong to think that it ensured any freedom. The members of Parliament were always hostile to each other. He, therefore, simply maintained the structure of Reichstag depriving it of all powers and in this way wiped out all such elements which could prove hostile to him or challenges his authority or supremacy. He banned all political activities except those of the Nazi party. All existing and potential opposition leaders were arrested and put behind the bars. There was strict press censorship so that public opinion could be moulded and viewpoint focused. In the way Hitler liked that all opposition party speeches, activities, platforms etc. ruthlessly crushed so that there were never in a position to rise again. There was nothing in country like the opposition.

Not only this, but as time passed Hitler found that in the Party itself there was considerable opposition against him. Some ambitious persons in the party were preparing to challenge his authority. It was intolerable for him. With the help of his Gestapo he identified such people and got them shot dead at the earliest

opportunity. It was unfortunate that some of the people who were thus shot dead were those who were at one point of time very close associates of Hitler and had struggle for the stability of the party. But Hitler did not mind even shooting such persons, when he found that they challenged his authority.

3.2.3. Hitler's Anti-Jew Policy:

On the home front he clearly showed his disliking for the Jews. He felt that they had proved traitors and worked against Germany during First World War. He was equally sure that if another opportunity arose they will not hesitate to betray the nation again. According to him whereas the Germans were Aryans the Jews were non-Aryans. He, therefore, enacted such laws by which the activities of the Jews were practically banned. They began to be treated discriminately and forced to leave the country. They were not allowed citizenship rights and thus treated as foreigners living in Germany. Not only this but all facilities for getting university education were denied to them. They were thrown out of all Government jobs. Hitherto they were controlling German trade. Now they were deprived of the right to trade. In fact by putting many restrictions and depriving them of all trade and other economic facilities, Hitler created an atmosphere by which it became impossible for the Jews to live in Germany. They thus began to leave the country.

3.2.4. Hitler's anti-Roman Catholic Policy:

On the home front Hitler was very much opposed to Roman Catholics. His prejudices were mainly on two accounts. Firstly he felt that Roman Catholicism was an international organisation and he was not preferred to tolerate any such organisations. He always preferred national over international organisations. Secondly, he was conceived that the Roman Catholics always looked forward to the Pope rather than national leadership whenever there was conflict between the two. He was, therefore, not prepared to tolerate their extraterritorial loyalties. He, therefore, decided to take strict steps towards them. Hitler got an opportunity to crush them when they decided to oppose him or challenged his authority. The result was all their political activities were banned and many priests and Bishops were arrested and put behind the bars.

3.2.5. Hitler's Economic Policy:

Hitler fully well knew that all these actions will be tolerated only when the people felt that their economic conditions were improving. As long as their economic conditions remained miserable, they will remain dissatisfied and disgruntled. He, therefore, decided to have some economic reforms. The people of Germany were suffering economically. They had no living standard. There were lock-outs in the factories and employment position was very tight. Unemployment in country was increasing day by day. Unemployment youth were being attracted by Communist philosophy and they were going near Communism.

Hitler was sure that employment opportunities in the country could not increase as long as both the labourers and the workers cooperated with each other. He, therefore, tried to bring them closer and hearer to each other. He made them both realise that the interests of the nation were above all other interests. Nation was supreme and that this basic principle should not be forgotten. He created joint unions in which all disputes of the employers and employees were to be solved.

He felt that labourers should be provided facilities so that there was increased production but at the same time he believed that strikes were not in the national interest. He denied labourers the right to strike. He paid attention to the problem of development of industries and all were encouraged to produce much articles which hitherto were not being prepared in the country and for which Germany was dependent on others. Arms, ammunitions, aeroplanes and ships began to be manufactured in country. Of course he faced several difficulties in producing raw material but he successfully tied over the difficulty.

Hitler worked with the basic idea that there should be economic self-sufficiency in the country. He was not prepared to tolerate that if any way Germany should be dependent on others. He laid stress on the production of capital rather than consumer goods. But Hitler's problems increased because Germany was short of raw material and in order to get ready for any further war huge raw material had to be diverted for stock piling arms and ammunition. Difficulty also arose because many western nations which could advance loan were not prepared to do so. The country had unfavourable balance of trade. Hitler tried to come over the difficulty by

restricting import of only very unavoidable goods. He also exported goods at subsidised rates so that he could have somewhat favourable balance of trade. In order to reduce dependence for raw materials on foreign countries, synthetic products began to be prepared and these proved to be good substitutes for oil, rubber and wool. Payment of all interests on foreign debts was stopped without getting consent of the loaning nations. Efforts were made not to pay for imports either by way of gold or money but by way of barter trade.

Hjalmar Schacht who was a financial wizard did his best to set the finances of Germany in order by carrying out several novel experiments. He was appointed as President of the Reich bank and subsequently as the Minister of the Economics. He maintained strict control both over Germany's international trade as well as over currency. If more than ten Marks were to be taken out of Germany, for that special permission was needed and nothing could be important within the country without similar permission. Steps were taken for increasing foreign exchange balance of the country and to the extent possible favourable trade balance was maintained. Foreign firms were encouraged to make investments in country. In order to have foreign wealth in Germany tourist industry was fully encouraged and tourists were always a welcome.

Though Hitler had fixed the target of self-sufficiency in the economic fields, yet he made it clear to his people that for these immense sacrifices were needed. The whole burden will have to be shared by the people of Germany themselves. The people of Germany were psychologically prepared to have guns before butter and also that collective good will always have preference over individual good. In this way Hitler tried to revive the economy of Germany which had gone out of gear and he was much successful in that. Economic conditions of the people improved and everywhere there were visible signs of prosperity. Industrial production very much increased and Germany became self-sufficient in many economic fields. Germany had favourable balance of trade and German goods began to flood international market. These too had wide acceptability. Industrial unemployment came to end and every jobless in country got a job.

3.2.6. Hitler's Religious Policy:

In the religious field Hitler felt that due to international nature of Roman Catholicism and extraterritorial loyalties of these people they should not be tolerated. He therefore banned all their activities and arrested many priests belonging to Roman Catholicism. This attitude was adopted towards Christianity as a whole. Hitler felt that Christian ideology and Nazi viewpoint could not keep pace with each other. But it was somewhat difficult for Hitler to take action against Christianity in the country because Christians had never sided with any political powers that be in country. But in spite of all this Hitler went on with his policy of arresting Christian Ministers. He had however, not much success in this. Christians in Germany as well as all over the world decided to face the challenge.

In 1934 much against his wishes Hitler reached a compromise with Pope in which it was decided that the Catholics of Germany will take no interest in political affairs of the country. Hitler similarly assured Pope that he too will not interfere in religious affairs and that the church will be given freedom to run its own educational institutions. Provision was made for joint Bishops, who now began to be called as Reich Bishops.

But many in Christian world did not agree to this and they began to oppose Hitler. It was intolerable for him to tolerate opposition. A struggle between Hitler and Protestants, therefore, started. In 1937 Hitler ordered that the church will not have any control over its available finance. Many Protestants were arrested and same was the fact of the Catholics, but Hitler did not succeed to woo Christian church to its own ideology or viewpoint, thus struggle between the two continued.

In so far as Jews were concerned Hitler had all hatred for them. He was not satisfied with this that they had been deprived of all citizenship rights or removed from all government jobs or from all professional institutions, but went a step further. On April 19, 1933 only one day boycott of Jew firms was started. It was on the day that thousands of the Jews were dragged to these concentration camps and Jewish places of worship were completely burnt down. It is said that even elderly respectable Jews were exposed to all indignities and made to sweep streets with their tongues while Germans jeered at them. They were forbidden to marry German girls and in the parks and other public places they were not even allowed to sit on benches provided for the visitors. It was clear to almost everyone who came to

Germany or was living in the country that there will be no punishment for attacking a Jew. In fact it was said that it was something good to attack a Jew. A Jew was forbidden to fly a German flag and even did not have the right of a serf. A Jew could be removed from his house without any reason, by any policeman even at the dead of night. Their pitiable condition can be imagined from the fact that a Jewish lad murdered a German official in Paris, to have revenge of the murder of his father. The Jews in Germany were punished for this and they were forced to pay a fine of a billion Marks. Not only this, but a wave of indignation started against Jews in which many innocents became the victim of wrath of German for no fault of their but that of a lad in Paris.

3.2.7. Hitler's View about Education:

Hitler was of the view that the most important system in a nation was educational system. It was key nerve of the society because students of today were the citizens of tomorrow. They were the defenders of any political system once they were convinced about its soundness and stability. He therefore, introduced **far reaching reforms in the educational system**. He infused **in** their tender minds Nazi ideology and made them convince that alone could solve all national problem. He taught every student Nazi philosophy and no other system of Government was allowed to be studied in Germany. In this way he tried to see that every young boy who came out of school and college was only Nazi and nothing else.

3.2.8. Nazi and Military Power:

Hitler had promised to his people that he will give back Germany its own past glory which had somehow been lost to it. He had also promised that old colonies will be got back and that Treaty of Versailles will be thrown to the winds. But he knew that all this could be done only when Germany had strong army which Allied nations will no case allow. But he was determined to go on his way. He, therefore, decided to develop military power of Germany. He made it clear to the people of Germany that what was needed was not bread out weapons and gun powder, if the people wanted to have an honourable place in the family of nations. In 1936 he started fortifying Rhine land and increased both land and naval forces. In order to have more soldiers at any moment he made compulsory for all young and physically sound people

military training, so that if war broke out stream of trained soldiers did not dry down. With the help of these and similar other measures Hitler was in a position to build a very powerful army in Germany and he was ready to face any European nation. In fact western nations so much got scared from him that they felt that war was at hand.

3.2.9. Summary:

Under leadership of Hitler Germany restored its past glory. The ³⁸World War II was the direct outcome of the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler's ambition to dominate the whole world. With surprising rapidity Germany rose from the ashes to defy the world in 1939.

3.2.10. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Describe the Hitler's home front policy.
2. Give a brief sketch on the structure of the Hitler's home policy.

3.2.11. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
5. Langsam, W.C., **The World Since 1919**
6. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
7. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**
8. Rao, B.V., **World History**
9. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr. , **The 20th Century World, a reading guide.**
10. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-3

Lesson:3.3.

FASCISM IN ITALY

3.3.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the rise of Fascism and its role in the development of Italy is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

3.3.1. Introduction

3.3.2. CAUSES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

3.3.3. RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

3.3.4. BENTO MUSSOLINI

3.3.5. THE PRINCIPLES OF FASCISM

3.3.6. ACHIEVEMENTS OF ITALY UNDER FASCISM

3.3.7. Summary

3.3.8. Self Assessment Questions

3.3.9. Reference Books

3.3.1. Introduction:

After World War I, Italy became a totalitarian state, in which Fascism, under Mussolini developed and grew to the full. The Fascists had their own philosophy which was based on the principle of one nation, one party and one leader. Between two world wars Italy under Fascism made rapid progress. But obviously a question

arises as to why Fascism developed in Italy alone and in no other country of the world.

3.3.2. CAUSES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ¹RISE OF FASCISM IN

ITALY :

After World War I Italy was in a difficult and miserable position. Though she had joined the Allied powers during World War I, yet when the war was over the victorious big powers did not properly deal with Italy. She was not given her share in the war booty. This created a lot of resentment among the people. This discontent was also because country had heavily spent during war days and she was now faced with economic crisis. The Allied powers which themselves were faced with economic problems did not come to her help. The machines during the war had so much been used that now these were not capable of any production. The workers were discontented and dissatisfied and the government was incapable of meeting their demands. There were frequent strikes and lock outs. The production had considerably gone down.

In the country local forces and regionalism had become very strong and forces of disintegration were raising their head. Need of a strong government which could deal with such forces and Allied powers was everywhere being keenly felt. For many thinkers it was the basic cause for the rise of Fascism in that country, though that cannot be accepted as true. Administration in the country was corrupt as well as inefficient. At that time liberal party was in power in the country but that had failed to tackle these problems, which were irritating the people.

Before the outbreak of First World War in 1914, Allied powers had come to an understanding with Italy by which she was promised part of the province of Tyrol, territories of Dalmatian of Coast, part of Albania and some territories of Turkey and Germany. Italy was therefore, thinking of expanding in Balkan and Africa. But when war came to an end, she was not given the promised territories. The result was that her plans to expand collapsed and in spite of the fact that she was a victorious nation, she got nothing from the Allies. This created a great discontentment among the people all over Italy. The nationalists made the people realise and they propagated that the country had been stabbed in the back by the Allied powers.

They also held the government responsible for signing a treaty with the Allied powers which was not in the interest of the people of Italy. They now wanted a party which was strong enough to raise the lowered prestige of the country and deal suitably and appropriately with the Allied powers.

Italy was economically bankrupt after the World War I was over and allied powers had not come forward to help her out of this difficult situation. She had to pay heavy debt and at this time she was forced to devalue her currency, giving further set back to her economy. This also brought great economic instability in the country. There was everywhere hunger and unemployment increased beyond all proportions and unemployed youth got engaged in disruptive activities. The economic crisis and difficulties went on multiplying with the passing of every day, with no solution in sight.

The socialists in Italy found it a most appropriate time to spread their ideology in Italy. They were encouraged by the achievements of Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union. The revolutionaries in Italy were encouraged to spread disorder and a new party known as Socialist Democrats came into being. The party attracted unemployed youth and jobless labourers. They created discontentment everywhere and the policies of the government began to be openly criticised. They also began to sabotage railways and factories and there was chaos and disorder everywhere. Their activities would have been challenged by the patriots and nationalists but they too kept away because they felt that the government of the day had humiliated the people by signing a disgracing treaty with the Allied powers. The maximum opposition to chaotic activities should have come from the government. But it was corrupt and inefficient. In fact it was not capable of controlling the situation, which was going out of its control. It was not really worried either about national respect or economic worries of the people. Industrial disorder was not their worry and so was the case with ever increasing unemployment.

In the country, the terrorists were raising their heads and it was unfortunate that the government of the day which believed in democratic principle was an absolute failure in checking activities.

It was this chaotic situation and disorder, which resulted in favourable conditions for the spread of Fascism in Italy. In fact there was no section of society which favoured the then existing government in the country. Everyone wanted that

the present regime should be replaced by a new one which should be powerful and strong enough to deal with the chaotic situation and improve economic conditions of Italy.

3.3.3. RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY:

Budding youth and the soldiers found it almost impossible to tolerate the existing situation and started negotiating with a comparatively less known party named **Fascio**, which subsequently under the leadership of Mussolini came to power in Italy. It then removed the old government. When elections were held in 1921, Mussolini won 35 seats in the Parliament, which was quite a remarkable achievement. In 1922, Giolitti Ministry resigned and Mussolini sent his 30,000 black shirted followers from Milan to Rome to overthrow the government. At the Fascist Congress of Naples held in that year he declared that his soldiers will not hesitate to grab power by invading Rome. At this critical juncture the King found that army was favourably inclined towards the Fascists. Thus instead of inviting a civil war he invited Mussolini to come to Rome and form a Government. He accepted the invitation of the King and thus came the Fascists to power. In spite of the fact that his party was in minority in the Chamber of Deputies, yet the House agreed to give him vast powers to set the House in order. Though the powers were given to him only for one year, yet this period proved sufficient for him for consolidating his position. During this period Mussolini very beautifully consolidated his position. He got the electoral law amended in such a way that it was ensured that his party alone came to power. As the time passed, the Fascists crushed all opposition and destroyed freedom of press. Autonomy of local bodies was taken away from them. A new penal code was given and democratic institutions and systems were gradually brought to an end. In 1934, Corporate state was established. Chamber of Deputies was abolished and in its place Chamber of Fascists and Corporations was created in 1939, in which Mussolini became all powerful. All parties were dissolved and it was made clear that the Fascists do not believe in opposition and talks but action only. Fascist's regime under Mussolini had thus come to stay in Italy, without any danger or challenge from inside and outside the country.

3.3.4. BENTO MUSSOLINI:

One person who brought Italy ¹⁰ out of chaos and disorder was Mussolini. He ¹⁶ established Fascist regime in the country and with his courage and ability he was capable of ruling the nation and in solving many of its existing problems. He was born in Romagna in 1883, in a blacksmith family. As a child he was known for his revolutionary ideas. He started his life career as a journalist and was attracted by Communist ideology. In his early days he propagated communist philosophy in Switzerland. Because of his revolutionary ideas he had to leave Switzerland and migrate to Rome. Here also he gave vent to his revolutionary ideas and was imprisoned in 1908. After his arrest he became popular and top Communist leader. He became chief Editor of "Forward," a Communist party organ of Italy. ⁴ In 1914, when the First World War was broke out under his influence Italy joined with Allied powers as against the axis powers. When Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, in Italy Mussolini founded his own party Fascio. Though in the beginning this party did not draw much attention, yet thanks to the efforts of Mussolini that soon it became a very powerful party and number of Mussolini's followers went on increasing. By 1922, the party was very popular throughout Italy. Thereafter Mussolini invaded Rome and captured power and became Prime Minister of the country without any opposition or bloodshed. Once in position, he began to consolidate his position and authority. Gradually he became so powerful that though he was officially the Prime Minister, yet for all practical purposes he was a dictator.

As a Fascist leader he made it his aim to awaken his people and inculcate among them spirit of pride and self-confidence. He successfully crushed all anti-nationalist elements and forces and took effective steps to ensure that Italy progressed socially, economically and politically. Both in army, civil and judicial administration he gave all high and responsible posts to his trusted people and thus had full grip over administration.

3.3.5. THE PRINCIPLES OF FASCISM:

Italy, under Mussolini, organised Fascist party and Fascism became the well-established system in the country. For about 20 years (1919 – 1939) Italy knew nothing else than Fascism. The word Fascism derives its origin from Roman word "Fascio." The Fascism, as it developed in Italy, had certain basic principles. The Fascists had no faith in democratic system and considered that it did not at all suit

Italy. According to them ²⁹ gap between the rich and the poor goes on increasing in this form of government. They gave the slogan of one party Leader and one nation. The nation can become strong only when there is only one party and one leader. Under such a system the administration can become really both efficient and pure, without corruption.

They believed that the nation and its leader is above everything else. ³⁰ The people had no right to raise their voice either against the state or its leader. The commands of the leader must be obeyed without any grudge. There is nothing outside the state but everything is within ¹⁰ the state. The Fascist did not believe in the philosophy of individualism. The capitalists could not spend their capital in the way they liked. Similarly the workers had no right to go on strikes. Mussolini always laid stress on quality rather than on quantity. ³⁰ The people had no right to raise their voice either against the state or the leader. Both the capitalists and the workers must keep the nation above everything else.

The Fascists did not condemn war. On the other hand they believed that it was necessary for the health of the nation. No nation could maintain its pride unless it followed an aggressive policy. They believed in action rather than in theory. The theory must follow action. Mussolini had believed that peace was injurious for nation's health.

3.3.6. ACHIEVEMENTS OF ITALY UNDER FASCISM:

Under Fascism Italy became a powerful nation. Anti-nationalist elements and forces were crushed. Working conditions of the workers changed and the strikes were banned. Syndicates were established to improve employer--employee relations and positive steps were taken for increasing production. In the industrial field tremendous success was achieved. Now land was brought under plough and production was increased. In fact quantity of agricultural produce was more than doubled. Unemployment problem was checked and means of transportation and communication increased.

The country's national budget was balanced and national administration was made more stable and efficient. Corruption was brought under control. Significant changes were brought about in the educational system and education was made

widespread. But in the schools only Fascists philosophy was taught and preached. Illiteracy was somewhat checked. Feelings of nationalism were inculcated among them and military training in all educational institutions was made compulsory. The naval strength of the nation was increased. Several hydroelectric power plants were set to increase power generation capacity. Thus country made rapid progress in the field of industry, trade and military strength.

Mussolini did not wish to pick up any quarrel with the Pope, who commanded great respect among the Catholics of Italy. The government allowed Pope to keep Vatican in his possession. All political powers were taken away from him and instead he was given an annual pension of rupees ten crores. Roman Catholicism was accepted as state religion of Italy. The Pope could appoint any non – Fascist person as Archbishop. He was also empowered to appoint teachers to teach religious education. No religious worker or officer could take part in politics. In this way Pope accepted superiority of state in non – religious matters. By concluding an agreement with the Pope many problems on both the sides were solved.

Under Mussolini, Italy made tremendous progress in external affairs. She practically regained her lost glory. He made it clear to the whole world that the provision about Italy in the Treaty of Versailles should be revoked. He got back from Turkey the islands of Dodecanese and Rodhej. .From Yugoslavia he got back the city of Fume. In 1926-27 he established his influence over Albania, which was gradually merged in Italy. He signed trade pact with Russia and made friendship with France by signing another pact. He also took Abyssinia in Italy's possession.

He also signed a treaty with England to check increasing influence of Germany under Hitler. Over the issue of Albania he even came out of the League of Nations. Mussolini helped General Franco in coming to power in Spain and thus Italy and Spain came closer to each other.

Thus under Mussolini, Italy made remarkable progress. Order was brought out of chaos and respect out of utter disregard for the nation. She got international glory and the people much needed reforms.

But all this was achieved at much cost. The people were denied all liberties. They had no right to express their viewpoint. The freedom of press and assembly

was just unknown to them. Not only this but the workers could not unite less to talk of going on strike. The leader could not be opposed. His words were final and every citizen was simply supposed to obey his commands. There could be no political opposition and in the country all were required to speak only one language. All concentration of powers was only one hand. The people were no more than dumb driven cattle. They were always to remember that nation, leader and the party were above the individual. Though industry was technically not nationalised, yet in actual practice it produced the types of goods which the State required the factories to produce. Education was confined to narrow teachings of Fascism and most of the people could not go in for vocational education. No basic reforms were introduced in the peasantry system.

3.3.7. Summary:

Thus under Fascism Italy gained much but at the same time the price was no less heavy. The individuals had to pay heavy price for gaining national glory. So Mussolini's multi-pronged efforts to bring about the economic and military development of the country met with considerable success. Whatever success he achieved in improving the economy of his country was nullified by the advent of the „Great Depression“ of 1929. When his efforts to fight the depression failed miserably, he sought to achieve Italy's glory by means of war.

3.3.8. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Describe the causes for the rise of Fascism in Italy. What was its early achievements?
2. Describe the rise of Fascism in Italy.

3.3.9. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**

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9. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr. , **The 20th Century World, a reading guide.**
10. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-3

Lesson: 3.4.

MANCHURIAN CRISIS

3.4.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing Manchurian crisis and its importance in the relation between Japan and China is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

3.4.1. Introduction

3.4.2. Japan and China's Positions in Manchuria

3.4.3. Reasons for Japan's Interests in Manchuria

3.4.4. Japan's Increasing Population

3.4.5. Japan's Commercial Interests

3.4.6. Rise of Capitalism

3.4.7. Depression of 1929

3.4.8. Increasing Pressure of Army

3.4.9. Feelings of Nationalism

3.4.10. Tariff Autonomy of China

3.4.11. Sense of Isolation

3.4.12. Occupation of Manchuria

3.4.13. Summary

3.4.14. Self Assessment Questions

3.4.15. Reference Books

3.4.1. Introduction:

Japan had been claiming her interests in Manchuria since quite some time past. She had all along considered this part of China, under her sphere of interest and influence. China was equally opposing this, but due to her weak position and superiority of Japan in Asia, no nation bothered about China's claim. Japan was permitted to continue her policy of aggression and League of Nations even failed to check this rising power in Asia.

3.4.2. Japan and China's Positions in Manchuria:

Japan's interests in Manchuria were an open secret. As early as in 1854 Yoshida Shoin, a Japanese reform leader in a book entitled *Yushu Roku* wrote, "The territory of Manchuria in the north should be ceded to uswe should build up our national strength, annex the weak, and attack the stupid, seize Manchuria and Korea and conquer China." In spite of the fact that she accepted in principle „Open Door“ policy of U.S.A., she continued to distinguish between her China Policy and Manchurian policy. Her interests in Manchuria were so vital for Japan that at Washington Conference she even refused to consider the question of abrogation of treaties of 1915 by which she had got (a) concession and the lease of Kwantung territory for 99 years and (b) right to acquire land by lease for agricultural purposes. The position of China and Japan in Manchuria by 1931 was as under:

1. Manchuria was an integral part of China and the Kuomintang Government and party considered that both Manchuria and China were inseparable. Manchuria had also entered into an agreement with the Nanking Government of China. This had weakened the position of Japan in Manchuria, because Manchuria, under treaty obligation with Central Government of China could not be pressed to the extent to which it would otherwise have been, Japan had also issued a warning to Subedar of Manchuria that in future she should not enter into any agreements with the Government of China. This treaty was a strong point of China and weakness of Japan.

2. When China was weak she had been forced to accept a situation in which Japan had claimed her interests in Southern Manchuria and Russia in Eastern Manchuria. Over the rest of Manchuria, China had her interests and supremacy. But the situation changed when Russia was defeated by Japan and with that Japan's influence in Manchuria still more increased. But a critical situation developed after the rise of the Kuomintang in China and the establishment of strong government at the Centre in that country. Chiang – Kai – Sheik could successfully infuse feelings of nationalism among the people of China. The people were decided to check aggressive designs of Japan. They were unwilling to accept Japan's intervention in Manchuria. In fact it became amply clear that Russia, Japan and China could not pull on together and there must be a conflict to establish their respective spheres of interests.
3. In 1915 China had entered into some treaties and agreements with Japan by which she had leased to Japan some territories in Manchuria for a period of 99 years. The treaties were to be operative after the 25 years lease period originally granted to Russia and Japan, was over in 1923. Japan claimed her legitimacy and strength on the basis of these treaties which were strongly refuted by strong Kuomintang government of China. The Chinese now made it clear that since Japan got these treaties signed with the use of armed strength, therefore, these were not valid. On the other hand Japan claimed that these treaties were very much valid and must be honoured. Therefore, a conflict was bound to arise.
4. China was claiming that since Japan had agreed to respect her territorial integrity, therefore, she had no right either to advance in Manchuria or to maintain her hold over there. Any such act was violation of agreements reached at Washington Conference. But on the other hand Japan maintained that Manchuria was not integral part of China and as such Japan's advances in Manchuria in no way interfered with the decisions taken at the Washington Conference. She also claimed that special interests of Japan and Russia in Manchuria, in no way could be considered anti to the Chinese national interests.
5. China was now taking active interests in Manchuria to establish her hold and control. The Kuomintang Government had sent her volunteers to Manchuria to

infuse among the people there feelings of nationalism. Similarly number of people of Chinese origin in Manchuria had considerably increased. Out of the total population of above 3 crores, the people of Chinese origin were about 2 crores. Moreover, more and more Chinese were now working in mines of Manchuria. They were also encouraged to cultivate in Manchuria and be benefited by the fertile lands of that part of the country. Moreover, China also decided to lay down railway lines in her own part of Manchuria and develop her own ports so that Japanese commerce and transport facilities were undermined and underestimated. This was also Worrying Japan. She felt that this was bound to adversely affect her interests in Manchuria which she wanted to protect.

6. Still another cause of conflict and clash was an army of Japan which had been posted in Manchuria. This army assumed an aggressive role. It did not confine itself to only protecting her interests over Southern Manchuria or Southern Manchurian Railways but went beyond that. It now considered that it was the responsibility of this army to protect the interests of Japanese citizens, in which so ever part of China they were settled. Thus this army claimed extra territorial rights. As long as there was weak central Government in China, the problems did not come to surface. But the situation changed when strong Kuomintang Government came to prominence in that country. She refused to accept this role of the army with the result Japan wanted to exert herself and use force, if necessary, to have this right of army established.
7. Another reason for the conflict between two countries was the Korean people. About 800,000 Koreans were settled in Manchuria. Since Korea was under Japan therefore, the Government of China felt that settlement of Koreans in Manchuria was against her national interests. The Chinese therefore, took steps by which they could check the inflow of Koreans in Manchuria. Since the Koreans were mostly cultivators, the Government of China took steps to ensure that Koreans could not get any land in Manchuria. This irritated Japan. This irritation still more increased when Chinese did not allow Koreans to construct canals for getting water for irrigation purpose. This was used as a pretext for the sending of police force by Japan in Manchuria. Such was the explosive situation when Japan sent her armies in Manchuria.

3.4.3. Reasons for Japan's Interests in Manchuria:

A very pertinent question arises as to what were so very compelling reasons for Japan to take that deep interest in Manchuria. In fact there was not one specific reason, but there were many reasons for that, which might briefly be discussed as under:

3.4.4. Japan's Increasing Population:

Population of Japan was very rapidly increasing. In fact during the last 75 years her population had increased from 2.5 to 8 crores. Japan was therefore faced with the serious problem of settlement of her population abroad in her colonies because her own land was not in a position to absorb this growing population. Japan could not send her people to western countries for settlement because these were unwelcome there due to colour barriers. Similarly Korea, where Japan had established her hold, was not in a position to abroad labourers and other unskilled workers. Therefore, it was essential that Japan must find a place for the settlement of her people and for this aggressive policy was to be inevitably followed.

3.4.5. Japan's Commercial Interests:

In the beginning of 20th century Japan had become a commercially advanced country and was faced with the problem of having a market for her finished goods. In 1914, First World War broke out. This provided an opportunity for Japan to use Asian markets because European countries could not send their finished goods to these countries. As the war closed U.S.A., England and France began to flow their finished goods in Asian countries. This eliminated Japan from the Asian markets. Moreover, in order to discourage supply of Japanese cheap goods from being dumped in the Asian markets, heavy tariff and customs duties were levied. This created a very serious economic problem for Japan. She now wanted to have a permanent market for dumping her goods on the one hand and drawing of raw material on the other. Thus Japan found that Manchuria was a good market for both these purpose.

3.4.6. Rise of Capitalism:

Capitalism and imperialism must go hand in hand. After 1894 – 95, Japan was slipping gradually in the hands of the capitalists. Investment of the capitalists in industries and factories had increased from 30,80,00,000 yens in 1895 to 13,79,98,00,000 yens in 1925. This whole commercial activity in the country was dominated by a financial clique called Zaibastu consisted of 20 multi – millionaire families. Even out of them Mitsui, Sumitoms, Mitssubishi, Shibusawa, Yasuda and Asano were more important. It is said that 1.5% of the total Companies in Japan invested 68.5% of the total capital in that country. These few families also controlled banks, textiles, mines, chemical industries and even shipping companies. These few families did not confine themselves to commercial activities but also took interest in national politics. They provided funds to political parties and thus influenced nation's political life. They had made few politicians as puppets in their hands. Obviously these powerful capitalists in national political life, wanted that Japan must follow policy of expansion and imperialism. Unless policy of expansion was not followed, their interests could not be protected. Since Japan was under pressure from these capitalists, therefore, there was no go but to follow aggressive and expansionist policy.

3.4.7. Depression of 1929:

In 1929, there was world-wide economic depression and Japan was no exception to that. All those countries which once used to purchase Japanese goods were not purchasing them because these had no purchasing capacity. Since there was no export market, factories had to be closed down. This created labour problem. This situation was not confined to industry. In the agricultural field to the situation was too bad. Her agricultural products were nowhere acceptable. On the trade side, the situation was not satisfactory. Since the people had no purchasing capacity, therefore, trade activity came to a standstill. The Government was also not less worried. It was difficult to recover tax arrears and the question of levying new taxes did not arise. The only way out of this difficult situation was that Japan must follow policy of expansion and for that Manchuria was a fertile ground.

3.4.8. Increasing Pressure of Army:

Chance as it would have been in the army of Japan high posts were held by such persons who had public contacts. They were fully aware of the increasing economic pressure on national economy. They also knew the extent of unemployment at all levels in the country. But at the same time they felt that the only way out was that army should be allowed to advance. But civil authorities had another solution to offer. They suggested that strength of the army should be reduced. This was absolutely unacceptable to the army authorities. Since army authorities had contacts with the public, therefore, they could have their say. They forced civil Government to follow aggressive policies to meet economic crisis. The pressure of the army was so deep – rooted that many a time civil administration had to act under the pressure of the military authorities. In the words of Richard Storey, “The blatant contrast between Japanese promises and the action of the Japanese troops spreading fan like through Manchuria led the world to suppose that the cabinet in Tokyo had adopted a policy of deliberate chicanery and deceit. This was not so. What happening was the breakdown of coordination between civil and military wings of the Japanese structure of state power.”

3.4.9. Feelings of Nationalism:

In Japan feelings of nationalism were rapidly increasing. There were many societies which were propagating nationalism in the country. These parties wanted the Government to follow a strong international policy. They felt that at Washington Conference, China had lost much and it must now gain what she had lost. The Government was under strong pressure from these nationalists. As is well known that nationalism and imperialism very much go hand in hand. This also forced Japan to follow aggressive policies.

3.4.10. Tariff Autonomy of China:

Japan was the biggest sharer of China's maritime commerce. Her interests were promoted if China did not insist on increasing tariff rates. It was in 1929 when there was world-wide economic depression that U.S.A. agreed to China's demands for resumption of tariff autonomy. This gave a serious setback to Japan's economy which she felt could be revived only if she acquired more colonies. Thus it became essential for Japan to follow the policy of acquiring more and more colonies.

3.4.11. Sense of Isolation:

By 1929 Japan felt as if an attempt was being made to isolate her from the world. At Washington Conference practically Anglo – Japanese Treaty was abrogated. At this Conference she was given inferior naval ratio. U.S.A. passed American Immigration Law by which entry of Japanese immigration was regulated. England also tried to build a strong naval base to check Japan's advances if need be. Due to this Japan felt that this ring of isolation should be broken. That was possible only when she followed an aggressive policy.

3.4.12. Occupation of Manchuria:

Gradually a feeling developed in Japan that Manchuria was economically indispensable for her. She wanted not only to use Manchuria as her market but also for using her resources. An impression was created that Japan's economy will be shattered without Manchuria. It was under these circumstances and in the face of policy of aggression of Japan that in 1930, a Japanese soldier was killed in Manchuria. This provided a chain of incidents. In the following few months there were clashes and each clash created tense situation. On 18th September 1931 a bomb exploded on a railway line owned by Japan in Manchuria. The damage was not heavy, but the consequences were serious. Japan ordered her forces to enter Manchuria and weak Suberdar, as well as China could not resist advancing armies of Japan. The attack was so well planned that before the year was out Japan occupied whole of Manchuria under her occupation. Clyde and Beers say, "By the application of force Japan had gained control of nearly half a million square miles of territory by means which the international legal opinions of governments did not regard as war and which the Japanese termed euphemistically an „incident“. It was peaceful war, or war that is not war at all."

3.4.13. Summary:

It was how Japan occupied Manchuria. She used the naked force but assured the world that it was only police action. She had no mind to expand or to widen the scope of conflict. Gradually it was clear before the world that there was a great difference between what Japan said and what she wanted to do. In fact, Franz

Schumann makes us believe, that, "After 1931, when Japanese moved into Manchuria and set up the puppet Manchuria government, it became increasingly obvious that Japan was making a bid for complete domination of China." Even this issue came before the League of Nations by the Complaint of China that could not be solved by the League because of Japan's aggressive attitude and withdraw from the League. In this way Japan continued to be an aggressor. She got what she wanted to have. She was benefited by the fruit of aggression till Second World War broken out.

3.4.14. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Write a critical note on Manchurian crisis.
2. Examine the circumstances leading to Manchurian Incident of 1931. What were its repercussions on international diplomacy ?
3. Discuss the Sino-Japanese relations from 1922-1937.

3.4.15. Reference Books:

1. Allen George, **A Short Economic History of Japan**
2. Beckmann, George M., **Modernization of China and Japan**
3. Fairbank, John, et al ., **East Asia: Modern Transformation**
4. Myers, Ramon Hand, **The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895- 1945**
5. Pepper, Nathaniel, **The Far East : A Modern History**

Unit-III

Lesson : 3.5.

Spanish Civil War

Objective of the Lesson:

The causes which led to the Spanish Civil War and its results are the major objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

3.5.1 Introduction

3.5.2. Causes for the Civil War

3.5.3. Course of the Civil War

3.5.4. Causes for the victory of General Franco

3.5.5. Conclusion

3.5.6. Self Assessment Questions

3.5.7. Reference Books

3.5.1. Introduction:

Spain is one of the few countries in Europe which remained neutral during the two World Wars. That is partly due to her geography as Spain is walled off from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees and is cut off by mountain ranges into different provinces.

Alfonso XIII, the King of Spain, came to the throne at his birth in 1886. When he was still a minor, Spain had to fight against the United States and she lost not only Cuba, but all other remnants of the once vast Spanish colonial empire. This saved the country from the colonial embarrassments and wars. Some material progress was made but that was not much. The King was an autocrat and he believed in the divine right of kings to rule. The nobility was very strong in the country and the army was under his control because most of the military officers came from the nobility. Spain had a Cortes or Parliament, but the people were illiterate and

could not make much use of it. They were intolent. Their agriculture was backward. Industry and trade were practically stagnant. There was a exploitation everywhere in the government. The Roman Catholic Church exercised great influence throughout the country. The Jesuits owned vast trading concerns and estates. In this situation, the Communists, Anarchists, Socialists and Fascists made their appearance.

3.5.2. Causes for the Civil War:

In 1923, General Primo de Rivera asked King Alfonso to dismiss his ministers and appoint him as a dictator. The King was that he could not resist the demand and the result was that for seven years, General Primo de Rivera was the real ruler of Spain. The rule of the General was unpopular. Many plots were hatched against him and ultimately he resigned in 1930. The discontentment prevailing in the country did not end with the resignation of the General but the same was now directed against the King who had resumed full authority in the state.

When General Elections were held in April 1931, the popular slogan was, "Your vote must be an arrow into the heart of Monarchy." The Republicans won the elections and King Alfonso abdicated and ran away to Paris. The Parliament met in July 1931 and the new Constitution declared Spain a Democratic Republic of Workers of all Classes. A large number of reforms were carried out by the Republican Government and those created a lot of trouble. The situation in the country became unstable. The vested interests which were attacked by the Republican regime became its enemies. While the friends of the new regime had not learnt the necessity of loyalty to it, its enemies gained in strength. In the new elections held in November 1933, the landlords and the clericals scored a victory. The new Government tried to nullify most of the legislations which had been enacted previously. The priests were reinstated as instructors in state schools and private institutions. The Army officers who had been dismissed were reinstated. Catalonia began to be afraid of her autonomy. There was a lot of unrest in the country. There were conflicts between the Clericals and anti-Clericals, the peasants and the landlords and the Socialist and Conservative Republicans.

When such was the condition in the country, General Franco revolted on 17 July 1936 and crossed into Spain from Morocco. The military garrisons in Spain also

revolted. In order to paralyse the rebellion, the Leftist forces staged a general strike throughout the area occupied by Rightists. Although, President Azana was not an effective war leader, he improvised armies out of labourers, untrained in military tactics. He was short of officers and half of the fleet went over to the side of Franco. In spite of that, the Republican Government held Madrid, Barcelona and other big cities. The Republican Government had a definite superiority in planes and tanks. When the struggle between General Franco and his followers on the one hand and the Republican Government on the other started, the latter seemed to be in a stronger position. In spite of that, General Franco came out successful in the Civil War which lasted for three years. The war is often called the "dress rehearsal" for World War II

3.5.3. Course of the Civil War:

The Civil War ran its full course and entailed intervention on both sides. The people of Spain were in a real sense the first victims of the World War II. What prolonged the struggle was the remarkably even balance of resources between the two sides. The Navy was divided and the lack of naval supremacy told against the rebel forces, which, to begin with, operated from Morocco. Of the two battleships of the Navy, one was seized by each side and the other vessels were almost equally shared. If the officers were nationalists, the sailors were Republicans. On the Republican side, there were a few army officers such as General Miaja and General Rojo, a mass of workers and peasants trained in military service, large sections of urban workers and most of the Basques and Catalans. They also held important economic resources in the industrial areas of Madrid, Barcelona and Asturias. By the end of 1936, the Nationalists under General Franco held rather more than half of Spain mostly in the south, west and north-west and the Balearic Islands. General Franco installed himself at Burgos as "Chief of the Spanish State". 30 Junker transport planes provided by Germany were ferrying troops to Spain from Morocco. The Republican Government was led by Largo Caballero and it held all eastern and south-eastern Spain, Madrid and most of the northern coast-line belt.

The Republican forces recovered from the first shock and were able to organise resistance. The war was ferocious because the extremists on both sides indulged in great barbarities. In November 1936, Germany and Italy officially

recognised the Government of Franco. In 1937, General Miaja organised the defence of Madrid and among the strong reinforcements sent to him was the first International Brigade which was recruited from the Left – Wing opponents of Fascism in several European countries, including France and Great Britain. The Soviet Union also sent fighter planes to the Republican Government of Spain. In March 1937 came the first trial of strength between the major international contingents. The Italian troops launched an attack on Guadalajara with a view to capture Madrid. The attack was met and repulsed by the International Brigade. Franco attacked the northern zone of the Basque Provinces and Asturias and captured the key port of Bilbao. The Republican forces launched attacks from Madrid and Aragon. In May 1937, Largo Caballero was replaced by Don Juan Negrin who by the end of the year commanded an army of about 800,000 men. In October 1937, the Republican Government moved to Barcelona and in December 1937, it defeated the Nationalists at Terrell. By the end of 1937, there was a stalemate in the country and each side had consolidated its defensive positions.

Salazar, the new dictator of Portugal, showed all sympathy for Franco and gave him all possible help. The sympathies of Leon Blum of France were with the Republican Government of Spain, but he had to show moderation on account of the internal politics of his country where he did not want to annoy the Rightist elements in the country. In Britain, the Labour Oppositions sympathised with the Spanish Government but the Conservative Government of Britain under Baldwin was not prepared to annoy General Franco who was expected to come out successful. The British Government also did not want to annoy Italy whom it wanted to keep apart from Germany. It was under these circumstances that the British Government welcomed and backed the proposal of Blum to establish a Non-Intervention Committee whose purpose was to prevent other powers from becoming involved in the Civil War in Spain and to withhold military aid from both sides. Such a Committee was actually set up in September 1936. In spite of that, Franco got his supplies from Portugal and the Republican Government from France. In December 1936, the Council of the League resolved that all other states were under an obligation not to intervene. President Roosevelt got the neutrality laws of his country amended to prevent the sale of American arms to either side. In spite of all these measures, volunteers came to join the sides. General Franco got both troops and equipment

from Italy and Germany. A critical examination of the circumstance shows that the working of the Non-Intervention Committee was in favour of General Franco and against the Republican Government of Spain. That was due to the fact that General Franco continued to get illegal help from Portugal, Germany and Italy, while the sources of the Republican Government in Spain dried up. All attempts by the Non - intervention Committee to check the flow of supplies by naval blockade and frontier supervision broke down.

In the spring of 1938, General Franco, who was backed by 100,000 Italian troops and efficient German equipment, was strong enough to renew his advance. The Government forces were torn by internal dissensions. In February 1938, the rebels retook Terrell and they were also able to cut the Government territory in half. There was stubborn fighting to occupy more and more territories. General Franco resorted to indiscriminate bombing of civilian population. But in spite of that Barcelona and Madrid held out until early in 1939. Barcelona fell at the end of January 1939 and Madrid at the end of March 1939. Thousands of Spaniards fled to France to escape reprisals at the hands of General Franco. The Non-Intervention Committee was dissolved. The Italian and German Legions were withdrawn. The Civil War probably cost Spain a million in dead or exile. Many cities were destroyed. The countryside was laid waste. General Franco set up a Fascist state in Spain. Communism, Anarchism, Socialism and Liberalism were either destroyed or driven underground. However, the chief beneficiary of the war was not Mussolini, but Hitler. While Mussolini was busy in Spain, Hitler extended his influence in the Balkans at the expense of Italy. Italy had been used as Germany's cat's paw.

3.5.4. Causes for the victory of General Franco:

The victory of General Franco was due to many causes. He got a lot of help both from Italy and Germany. A week after the opening of the struggle, Italian planes were flown to Spanish Morocco at the request of General Franco. In September 1936, hundreds of German planes bombarded Republican cities. From December 1936 to April 1937, more than one lac of Italians was sent to Spain. About 40,000 more Italians were sent later on. The Italian planes raided the Republican cities and dropped thousands of tons of explosives. Italian warships managed to send to Franco large quantities of tanks, trucks, automobiles, cannon and ammunition. The

Republican coast was blockaded by Italian ships. Thousands of Italians were killed and wounded. Three days after the breakout of the civil war, Marshal Goering of Germany started recruiting an air force to help General Franco. On 31 July 1936, 85 aviators disguised as tourists sailed from Hamburg. Before the ending of the Civil War, the Condor Legion consisting of more than 15,000 aviators and ground crewmen had fought practically on all the fronts. They also set up air training schools and worked in different capacities. The German navy played an important part in blockading the Spanish coast. More than one thousand Germans lost their lives in the civil war in Spain.

Another cause of the victory of General Franco was the working of the Non – intervention Committee. This Committee was not able to stop the flow of help to General Franco from Italy, and Germany but put a great strain on the Republican regime in Spain. She could not get her requirements from anywhere. It is true that the Soviet Union gave some help to the Republican Government, but that was not enough. Under these circumstances, the success of General Franco was merely a matter of time.

It cannot be denied that the Civil War in Spain solidified and strengthened the position of the Fascists in Europe and weakened that of the democratic states of Great Britain and France. Their successful intervention in Spain convinced them that the democracies were so much scared of Communism that they would not take any action against them. Under these circumstances, the system of Collective Security completely collapsed.

As regards the attitude of the various powers towards the civil war in Spain, the French Government was headed by Blum and Daladier and the British Government by Baldwin and Chamberlain. Both the Governments were determined to avoid war at any cost. They wanted the war to be localised and not to spread to the whole of Europe. That is why they stood for a policy of non – intervention. Great Britain was very much interested in the defence of Gibraltar and consequently she wanted to be on friendly terms with General Franco who was expected to win. The English men were so much afraid of the bogey of Communism that they would like to help the dictators to become stronger so that they could become an effective bulwark against Communism. That is why they allowed Franco to strangle the Republican regime in

Spain without any help from any quarter. France was merely following the lead given by Great Britain. She was also following the policy of winning over Italy against Germany. As Italy was helping General Franco, France had to follow a policy of Non – intervention. Mussolini intervened in Spain as he thought that by doing so he would be able to eliminate completely the British and French control from Western Mediterranean. Franco also promised to give Mussolini bases in Africa, Spain and the Canary Islands. It was the lust for gains that made Italy energetic in her help of General Franco. Germany helped Franco as his regime in Spain was bound to help Germany against France. Moreover, Hitler wanted to test his new weapons and military tactics in Spain. The Soviet Union made a serious effort to help the Republican Government in Spain but stopped doing so after some time. She also became a member of the Non-intervention Committee. The United States also followed a policy of non-intervention. It is stated that when four members of the House of Representatives requested the Secretary of State on 2 June 1937 to apply the Neutrality Act to Germany and Italy, he is stated to have given the following reply : “This is not our war. We must be cautious, we must be quiet”.

3.5.5. Summary:

After his victory in the Civil War, General Franco ruled Spain from 1939 to 1976. Spain under him remained neutral during the World War II like in the World War I. It is true his autocratic regime was criticised from many quarters but the circumstances forced the United States to come to an understanding with him. Spain became a member of the NATO.

3.5.6. Self Assessment Question:

1. What are the causes and consequences of Spanish Civil War?
2. Narrate the role of the imperialist powers in the Spanish Civil War.

3.5.7. References Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**

4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
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10. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-IV

Lesson: 4.1.

Second World War

4.1.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the Causes, Course and results of the World War II are the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

- 4.1.1. Introduction**
- 4.1.2. Origin of the World War II**
- 4.1.3. Germany's resentment**
- 4.1.4. Allied countries discriminative Treaties**
- 4.1.5. Germany's revoke of Treaty of Versailles**
- 4.1.6. Ideological Blocks**
- 4.1.7. Dictatorial Leadership of European Countries**
- 4.1.8. Imperialistic attitude of Nations**
- 4.1.9. Weakness of League of Nations**
- 4.1.10. Germany invasion of Poland**
- 4.1.11. Course of the War**
- 4.1.12. After the fall of Dunkirk**
- 4.1.13. Germany Surrender**
- 4.1.14. Japan's Defeat and end of the War**
- 4.1.15. Peace Settlement**
- 4.1.16. Summary**

4.1.17. Self Assessment Questions

4.1.18. Reference Books

4.1.1. Introduction:

After 20 years of the end of the First World War, the world had to see another global war, in which practically whole of Europe got involved. This war proved to be more destructive and devastating than the First World War. The war renewed the wounds of the First World War which had hardly started healing. It also had its impact on social, economic and political life of the world.

4.1.2. Origin of the World War II:

The seeds of Second World War had been sown during the Paris Peace Conference. Germany had been much humiliated and it was impossible for self-respecting German people to tolerate humiliation. Germany accepted the Peace Treaty as long as she was weak. But as soon as she managed to raise her armies, she decided to recoil. On January 30, 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and sometime later he was accepted by the people of his country as President. He set up Nazism in the country and monopolised all powers. He undertook the task of rebuilding the nation. He refused to accept the Treaty of Versailles. He became so powerful that European nations now thought in terms of their security. They signed pacts with each other.

4.1.3. Germany's resentment:

Since Germany had been insulted at Paris and she was now prepared to take revenge that proved one important cause responsible for the outbreak of World War II. In his book entitled "The Second World War", Cyril Falls says the World War II was essentially a war revenge initiated by Germany. German National Socialism stood first and foremost for revenge. The other aims, the „living room" to be obtained by the subjugation of neighbouring states, the absorption of all Teutonic or so-called Teutonic population, the colonisation of agricultural districts like the Ukraine, the control of all major industries in Europe, were either the means of consolidating the revenge once achieved, or the expression of purely predatory instinct such as had

always flourished in Prussia and were later on diffused all over Germany. Hitler stood for rearmament and revenge and then for loot and German domination.

4.1.4. Allied countries discriminative Treaties:

Then another cause was that the victors at Paris to distributed the territories that the people belonging to a race and culture were placed under the charge of a nation which possessed entirely different culture. Thus cultural development came to a standstill. These people were clamouring for coming together.

4.1.5. Germany's revoke of Treaty of Versailles:

Then another cause was that Germany's revoke of Treaty of Versailles and decided not to pay money to European nations which she was required to pay as war reparations. This gave great set back to their economic programme and activities. These nations were in no mood to forgive Germany for this offence.

When Germany decided that in violation of all treaties she will re-arm Germany, this alarmed all European nations. Heavy amounts began to be spent on defence. In addition, in every country factories began to produce war material. Strength of armed forces tremendously increased and every nation began to build forts. In France a chain of forts called Maginot Line was built. This was countered by Germany, who built his own chain of forts called Siegfried Line. When both Germany and France built chain line of forts all other nations got worried and these too started building forts and thus accelerated their war preparations.

Saar was an industrially advanced area and a vital part of German's economic development. Without this Germany's economy was practically bound to collapse. After World War I, this had been taken away from Germany and placed under the League of Nation for 15 years. Thus whereas on the one hand Germany was required to pay heavy amounts as war losses to European nations on the one hand, on the other her wealth producing Saar had been taken away from her. She was now keen to get back Saar, so that her economy was put on sound footings. She made her nation for other war.

4.1.6. Ideological Blocs:

When Germany began to rearm herself each European nation got alarmed and preparations began to be made both for individual security, as well as collective security of Europe. Each European nation began to align herself with the other nations. Two powerful blocks thus emerged. One such block was headed by France and claimed itself as the defender of democracy and other was led by Germany and Italy which believed in Nazism and Fascism. Thus block and group formation divided whole of Europe and each nation was keen to join either one group or the other to save her future.

4.1.7. Dictatorial Leadership of European Countries:

After the First World War was over, feelings of nationalism developed in every nation. New ideas like Fascism, Nazism and Communism engulfed the whole world. The people were now attracted by these ideas. The old philosophy that the democracy is the best form of government did not attract the people. Rise of Hitler in Germany and that of Mussolini in Italy, with immense powers in their hands on the one hand and their touching speeches and policies about nationalism, nation's self-respect etc., very much created war atmosphere.

4.1.8. Imperialistic attitude of Nations:

Paris Peace Conference had fixed armed strength of each nation. The idea was that with reduced armies, the world will be safe from wars. But that did not happen. Germany, as she grew strong, decided to withdraw from the League of Nations. She also decided not to abide by the provisions of the Treaty. She captured Austria and Czechoslovakia. European nations instead of checking Germany tried to expand their areas of influence; these were divided nations and could not take any united action against Germany. Suit was followed by Italy and Japan and these nations also captured territories. Thus race for capturing territories started and Versailles treaty became meaningless for all practical purpose.

4.1.9. Weakness of League of Nations:

League of Nations had been founded in the hope that it will provide a forum where the nations of the world will sit together to solve their differences. It will also help in checking aggressive designs of a nation, if any. But in actual practice it

miserably failed. It found itself helpless in checking Japan's occupation of Manchuria, Italy's riding rough shod over Abyssinia and Germany's occupying Czechoslovakia and Austria. During 1929 – 1930, the whole world saw economic depression which caused economic miseries for the whole world. Germany was the worst sufferer but in the country the feelings were that this could be avoided had European nations behaved properly with Germany. But that could not be happened and League was also not initiated for it.

4.1.10. Germany invasion of Poland:

At the Paris Peace Conference Poland had been treated as an independent nation. In order to connect Poland with sea a way was made through Germany which ran into the port of Danzing. Since Danzing had German population therefore, Hitler demanded that Poland should have no passage through Germany, but for this Poland was not ready. Though some efforts were made to solve the problem by peaceful means, but these failed and on September 1, 1939, German forces attacked Poland and this was the beginning of the World War II. Thereafter all the European nations joined the war and it became global in nature.

4.1.11. Course of the War:

The World War I was in a sense the last major traditional war. It was fundamentally fought by foot soldiers and with guns. Tanks and air crafts were ancillary to the fighting which was essentially static. After weeks of battle, the front would have advanced or receded only a few kilometres. The majority of the civilians were still outside the battle area. The World War II was utterly a new kind of war. It was a mobile war fought by men enclosed in armoured cars, tanks and aircrafts in which the battle line might move 50 or 100 kilometres in a day. Millions of civilians were involved as tanks crashed through their towns and dive – bombers dropped bombs containing from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 tonnes of TNT equivalent on them. Only six European countries remained neutral viz., Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. Britain escaped invasion in 1940 by a hair's breadth. Every other European country with the partial exception of Russia was either occupied or controlled by the Germans and most of them experienced bitter fighting on their soil.

The refusal of Poland to surrender resulted in the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. In spite of stiff resistance put up by the Poles, they were completely defeated. When the Germans were smashing the Polish resistance, the Russians also invaded Poland from the East. The result was that after its conquest, Poland was divided between Germany and Russia. In the autumn of 1939, Russia attacked Finland. She demanded a part of Finnish territory on the ground that its possession was necessary for the safety of Leningrad. Russia had no faith in German professions of peace and friendship and consequently was trying to take all the necessary precautions. It was feared that Germany might conquer Finland and thereby endanger the safety of Russia. The Russians conquered the regions they wanted and ultimately made peace with Finland. Russia also annexed the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. In April 1940, German troops occupied Denmark. Norway was also occupied after some resistance. In May 1940, Holland and Belgium were attacked and conquered. France was attacked by Germany from the side of Belgium and when Great Britain feared that her army might be entrapped, she evacuated her troops. After the evacuation of the British troops from Dunkirk, France could not stand against the might of Germany and she surrendered in June 1940. After the collapse of France, Italy also joined the War. Mussolini demanded Nice, Savoy and Corsica. After the entry of Italy into the war, the conflict started between Italy and British forces in North Africa. Mussolini attacked Greece, but the attack was a failure. When the Germans joined the Italians, Greece was conquered. Yugoslavia and Crete were occupied by the Germans.

4.1.12. After the fall of Dunkirk:

Great Britain was left all alone in Europe. Her Air Force was the finest in Europe in quality, but not in quantity. Hitler could have attacked England in June 1940 when she was still weak but he missed that opportunity. Under the dynamic leadership of Churchill, Great Britain was able to pull herself up. Churchill promised nothing to his countrymen, but "blood and toil and tears and sweat". In this historic speech, he made the following declaration, "We shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight on the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall

never surrender." The people of England responded to the call of their leader. The slogans of "Who wins if England loses," and "We are not interested in the possibility of defeat; it does not exist" were raised. The Germans started their attack of Great Britain in earnest in the autumn of 1940. The technique they intended to adopt was first to destroy the Royal Air Force and then invade the country. A large number of aircrafts were sent to England for that purpose, but the Royal Air Force was not beaten. The Battle of Britain proved to be the determining point of the war. A large number of enemy aircrafts were destroyed and ultimately, the German attack began to slow down. Churchill could rightly boast that "Never in the history of mankind did so many owe so much to so few." The Germans started the bombardment at night of London and other great cities. A lot of property was destroyed and many Englishmen lost their lives. However, after some time, the Britishers learned the technique of protecting themselves from air raids and after the construction of air-raid shelters, and widespread use of anti-aircraft guns, the losses became less and less. The Royal Air Force also started attacking the ships and docks in the Channel ports of France and Belgium, Holland and Norway, so that the German preparations for the invasion of England might be frustrated.

To begin with, the American view was that the fall of Great Britain was merely a question of time and hence they did not bother themselves about the same. However, in June 1940, a large number of French ships at Oran were destroyed by the British fleet with a view to avoid their being captured by Germany. The result was that the Vichy Government of France cut off all diplomatic relations with Great Britain, but the battle of Oran impressed the Americans and they began to feel that the boast of Churchill that he wanted to fight the war to the bitter end was not an empty one. Moreover, it began to be realised that it was not wise to ignore the fate of Great Britain as after her conquest the turn of United States was bound to come. President Roosevelt was moving cautiously on account of the public opinion in the United States, but when he found a change in that attitude in favour of Great Britain, he transferred 50 Destroyers from the American Navy to the British Navy in lieu of the lease of naval and air bases. In March 1941, the American Congress passed the Lease -Lend Act by which the United States undertook to help those countries which were fighting against Axis Powers. In August 1941, President Roosevelt and Premier

Churchill met on board a British battleship in the Atlantic and drafted a document known as the Atlantic Charter in which the war aims were enunciated.

When Russia was attacked by Germany in June 1941, the mission of Cripps to Russia became successful and an agreement was signed between the two countries in July 1941. The United States sent all the necessary war materials to Great Britain and the Soviet Union to fight against Hitler.

In December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and that brought the United States into the war. General Mac Arthur was made the Supreme Commander in the Pacific and Lord Mountbatten was given the command of South-East Asia with his headquarters at Delhi. Lord Mountbatten drove out the Japanese from Burma and the Philippines were captured by General Mac Arthur. There was a lot of fighting in Africa between 1941 and 1943. Abyssinia was conquered by the United Nations. The Italian Somaliland was also conquered. The British forces advanced into Libya up to Benghazi, but were forced to withdraw. In November 1942, the "Desert Rats" of General Montgomery turned out the Germans and Italians from Libya. Montgomery also conquered Tripoli and advanced into Tunisia. An Italian squadron was defeated by a British fleet in the battle of Cape Mattapan near the Greek coast. Many a time, the Island of Malta was attacked by the Italians but it managed to hold its own against the enemy to the end and never surrendered. In November 1942, American and British troops occupied the French colony of Algeria. North Africa was cleared of Italian and German troops in 1943. In the summer of 1943, the Island of Sicily was captured by English and American troops. The mainland of Italy was attacked. There was a revolt in Italy and Mussolini was arrested, but he managed to escape. In September 1943, Italy surrendered unconditionally. Mussolini was captured in 1945 and was shot by the Italians themselves.

In the winter of 1943-44, preparations were made in England under General Eisenhower for the invasion of the continent. He was assisted by General Montgomery and Air Chief Marshal Tedder. A large number of artificial harbours known as "Mulberry" were constructed to be towed across the English Channel to the coast of France. For the supply of petrol to the invading armies, the Pluto or "Pipe Line Under the Ocean" was constructed. By this time, the Royal Air Force had become very strong. It had thousands of well-trained pilots. Both the British and

American pilots attacked day and night the war targets in Germany and succeeded in paralysing completely the war industries of Germany. The bombing of military targets of Germany struck terror in the hearts of the people and everything was dislocated in Germany.

4.1.13. Germany Surrender:

The Germans expected an invasion of the continent. But could not make out as to where the invasion was to come. Consequently, they tried to protect the whole of the coast – line facing Great Britain. In June 1944, Normandy was attacked. In spite of hard fighting, the troops of the United Nations were able to make a landing on the mainland. After getting reinforcements, the United Nations were able to capture Paris and also succeeded in driving out the Germans from the French soil. After completing the conquest of Italy, the army of General Alexander invaded France from the South-East and then the South of France was also cleared of the enemy. The army of General Alexander joined that of Eisenhower on the Rhine. There was a German counter – attack in December 1944 under Rundstedt, but after some success, the same was repulsed. When the armies under General Eisenhower crossed the Rhine and moved towards the Elbe, the Russians also invaded Germany from the East. The Germans could not fight on two fronts and Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler committed suicide and their successors surrendered unconditionally on 7 May 1945.

4.1.14. Japan's Defeat and end of the War:

After the fall of Germany, the United States and Great Britain concentrated their forces against Japan. On 6 August 1945, an atom bomb was thrown on the city of Hiroshima and it is estimated that more than one lac of persons were destroyed by one single bomb was thrown on 9 August on the city of Nagasaki. On 14 August, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally.

The World War II was over. It had brought about the death of over 50 million people, including 15 million Russians, 6 million Jews, 3,700,000 Germans, 2 million non – Jewish Poles, 1,600,000 Yugoslavs, 1,200,000 Japanese, nearly one million Italians, 600,000 British, 500,000 Rumanians, 300,000 Frenchmen, 292,000 Americans and 22 million Chinese. At the end of the War, some 13million

Europeans had been killed in battle and 17 million civilians had died as a result of the fighting. Houses, factories and communications had been shattered on a large scale. Nearly all the major German cities were in ruins and 25 million Russians were rendered homeless. Agriculture was disrupted. Food rationing was everywhere. The Allied troops in Germany were forbidden to give away their rations. In the Don region of Russia, people were eating cats, dogs and grass. Fuel was scarce and millions spent the first two post-war winters in un-heated homes.

4.1.15. Peace Settlement:

It is not possible to appreciate the post-war peace treaties without a reference to the conferences, declarations and decisions arrived at by the statesmen of the United Nations during and after the World War II. It was in August 1941 that Roosevelt and Churchill met and issued what is known as the Atlantic Charter. They pledged themselves to seek no aggrandizement from the war, to respect the rights of all peoples to self-determinations, to promote the enjoyment by all of free access to markets and raw materials of the world, to persist in the destruction of Nazi tyranny and seek universal disarmament and peace. On 1 January 1942 was issued the United Nations declaration by which the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia and China pledged themselves to employ all their resources for the destruction of the Axis Powers and their satellites. In January 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and their military staffs met at Casablanca. In October, 1943 was held a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia. In November 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek met at Cairo to plan the defeat of Japan. The Teheran Conference was attended by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. It was there that the final plans for victory over Germany were prepared by them along with their Chiefs of Military Staffs and a communiqué was issued on 1 December 1943. In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta in Crimea and they made decisions regarding Germany, Poland and Japan. After the fall of Germany, the Berlin or Potsdam Conference was held from 17 July to 2 August 1945. It was attended by Stalin, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee. It was decided to set up a Council of Foreign Ministers to do the preparatory work for the Peace Settlement. The Council was to draw up treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Finland. After about 1 months of preparatory work the peace treaties

were given a final shape by the 21 participating countries and they were signed on 10 February, 1947, in Paris by the representatives of the five enemy states and the Allied Powers.

4.1.16. Summary:

The World War II was more deadly than the World War I. The use of nuclear weapons for the first time by the United States of America changed the very nature of war. The War ended in the overthrow of German, Italian and Japanese dictatorships and imperialism. About 50 million of people were killed and the same number was wounded. The world was confronted with the dangers of a nuclear war. The U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. emerged as great powers in the world. The war caused unimaginable hardships to the people of the world. The world economy was in doldrums. From the ashes of the war, the United Nations Organisation (UNO) was born which gave a fresh hope.

4.1.17. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Describe the events which led to the outbreak of World War II.
2. Examine the causes for the outbreak of World War II.
3. Briefly describe the Causes and course of the Second World War.

4.1.18. Reference Books:

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7. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**

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9. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr. , **The 20th Century World, a reading guide.**
10. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-IV

Lesson: 4.2.

Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan and Early Phase of Cold War

4.2.0. Objective of the Lesson:

Describing how the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan caused the beginning of the Cold War, is the main objective of the Lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

4.2.1. Introduction

4.2.2. Truman Doctrine

4.2.3. Truman Doctrine is Impact in Greece and Turkey

4.2.4. Marshall Plan

4.2.5. Marshall Plan and Cold War Blues

4.2.6. Point Four Programme

4.2.7. Rio Pact of 1947 and early Period of Cold War

4.2.8. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) of 1949

4.2.9. Soviet Response against Marshall Plan and NATO

4.2.10. Brussels Treaty

4.2.11. Western European Union

4.2.12. ANZUS Pact of 1951

4.2.13. SEATO or Manila Pact of 1954

4.2.14. The Baghdad Pact or CENTO (1955)

4.2.15. The Warsaw Pact (1955)

4.2.16. Summary

4.2.17. Self Assessment Questions

4.2.18. Reference Books

4.2.1. Introduction:

It is true that Great Britain and the United States cooperated with the Soviet Union during the World War II for the overthrow of Hitler, but as soon as the War was over, the former allies began to drift in opposite directions. There steadily developed a state of tension among them which came to be known by the name of the Cold War. The Anglo – American bloc was not prepared to allow the Soviet Union to extend her sphere of influence beyond what she had already achieved up to the beginning of 1947. The United States started with the Truman Doctrine and followed it up with the Marshall Plan, NATO, SEATO, Baghdad Pact, etc.

4.2.2. Truman Doctrine:

The Truman Doctrine came to be enunciated under the following circumstances. After the cessation of hostilities in 1945, the Communists selected Italy, France, Greece and Turkey as their main targets. They strengthened their position in France and Italy by taking advantage of the chaotic conditions prevailing in those countries after the War. They resorted to acts of sabotage and made the working of administration practically impossible. However, the situation in Greece and Turkey was more critical. The Greeks were in danger of even losing their independence. The danger came from 13,000 Communist led guerrillas who received equipment, arms and refuge from Greece's Northern Communist neighbours viz., Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. Most of the guerrillas were Greeks, but they could not keep a civil war going for two years without active and substantial help from outside. In December 1946, Greece complained to the Security Council against the violation of her territorial integrity by her neighbours. A Commission was sent by the Security Council to make a report. In January 1947, the United States sent an Economic Mission to Greece to find out what could be done for that country to save her from collapse. It was at that time that the British Government decided to withdraw her troops from Greece. The United Nations Relief Agency was also due to wind up its business on 31 March 1947.

The situation in Turkey was also alarming. In 1945, the Soviet Union refused to renew the old treaty of friendship with Turkey. It also demanded that Turkey must share with the Soviet Union her control and defence of the Dardanelles. An old claim to the two large

provinces of Eastern Turkey was also revived by the Soviet Union and a propaganda campaign was started against the Turkish Government which was described as Fascist and reactionary. The people of Turkey were urged to revolt against their Government. It was under these circumstances that the Turkish Government asked the United States to help her against the Soviet threat.

On 12 March 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of the American Congress and accounted what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine. To quote Truman, "the very existence of the Greek State is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men led by Communists who defy the Government's authority... Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernisation necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential for the preservation of order in the Middle East. We shall not realise our objectives unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples by direct or indirect aggressions of international peace and hence the security of the United States. The United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria.... I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. We must take immediate and resolute action. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedom. If we falter in our leadership we may endanger the peace of the world, and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation." President Truman asked the Congress to sanction 400 million dollars by June 1948 to help Greece and Turkey.

4.2.3. Truman Doctrine's Impact in Greece and Turkey:

The Truman Doctrine was a proposal to send military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. In May 1947, the American Congress authorised aid to Greece and Turkey. By 1950, it was found that the American policy had completely changed the state of affairs in Greece and Turkey. The guerrillas were completely eliminated from the Greek scene. Peace was restored in the country. Railways began to operate normally. Traffic on roads became safe. Bridges were restored. Thousands of new houses were built. Agricultural production surpassed the pre-War level. There was more land under cultivation than ever before. The

same was the case in Turkey. Peace was restored in that country. Fresh elections were held. The one party government in Turkey disappeared after 27 years.

4.2.4. Marshall Plan:

On 5 June 1947, Secretary of State Marshall delivered his famous speech at Harvard which initiated the European Recovery Programme. In that speech, he declared, "The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products – principally from America – are so much greater than her present ability to pay, that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social and physical deterioration of a very grave character. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." Again "Initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of an European Programme and later support of such a programme should be a joint one, agreed to by a number of, if not all, European Nations."

¹ The Marshall Plan was an extension of the principle underlined in the Truman Doctrine. The Plan dealt with Europe in general and not with any particular states, as was the case with the Truman Doctrine. It was essentially an economic plan. It represented an elaborate programme as it was to last for four years. The plan showed an anxiety on the part of the United States to avert the economic crisis which was apprehended as a result of the World War II. The plan also underlined the American anxiety and determination to fight out Communism. President Truman had already dismissed Henry Wallace in September 1946 on account of his pro-Soviet views. The situation in France and Italy was a source of great anxiety to the American administration. The Communist Parties of France and Italy were gaining in strength and it was being impressed upon the American Government that in order to put a check on the Communist influence, the United States must come to the help of France and Italy. While the political objective of the Marshall Plan cannot be denied, its humanitarian aspect cannot be ignored. The Marshall Plan strengthened the movement for European unity. As the Truman Doctrine bypassed the United Nations, the same was true of the Marshall Plan.

4.2.5. Marshall Plan and Cold War Blues:

As regards the reactions to the Marshall Plan, it was welcomed in the United States as it was directed against the Soviet Union. In Europe, "the Marshall offer was like Manna from Heaven and it did not require much imagination to grasp it with fervour." As was to be

expected the Marshall Plan was attacked by the Soviet Union which described it as an intervention in the internal affairs of other states. It was interpreted as a symbol of American imperialism and betrayal of the United Nations. The tension between the United States and the Soviet Union increased and the relations between the two countries further deteriorated. The countries of Eastern Europe, under the Soviet influence, kept away from the Marshall Plan.

On 15 December 1947, the American Congress passed the Interim Foreign Aid Bill authorising \$522 million as interim aid to meet the crisis in France, Italy and Austria until March 1948. This amount was increased to \$577 million in March 1948. On 19 December 1947, Truman sent the European Recovery Programme Bill to the Congress in which he asked for a sum of \$17,000 million over a period of four years. The Foreign Assistance Act was passed by the American Congress and it received the assent of the President on 3 April 1948. Bilateral agreements were signed between the United States and Great Britain, Italy, France etc. The Economic Cooperation Administration was established to give help to Europe.

In spite of opposition from the Soviet Union, the Marshall Plan achieved a great measure of success. During the years of its operation (1947 to 1951), the United States gave \$11 billion in aid and thereby helped to protect Europe from economic collapse and Communist domination.

4.2.6. Point Four Programme:

On 20 January 1949, President Truman enunciated what is known as the Point Four Programme. The four points emphasised by the American President were unfaltering support to the United Nations, continuation of their programmes for forward economic recovery, strengthening of freedom loving nations against the dangers of aggression and a bold programme of technical assistance to the under-developed areas. The American Congress passed the necessary legislation and provided funds to implement the Point Four Programme.

4.2.7. Rio Pact of 1947 and early Period of Cold War:

¹ The Rio Treaty or Pact or the Inter – American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947 at the Inter – American Conference for the maintenance of continental peace and security. Its Preamble states that the Treaty has been concluded in order to assure peace through adequate means to provide for reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American State and to deal with threats of aggression against

any of them. The Treaty has 26 clauses. The parties to the Treaty condemn war and undertake not to resort to the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. They also undertake to submit any controversy which may arise between them to methods of peaceful settlement and to settle any such controversy by means of the procedure in force in the Inter-American system before referring the matter to the United Nations. It is agreed that an armed attack by any state against an American state is to be considered as an attack against all the American States and consequently, every party to the Treaty undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of the individual or collective self-defence recognised by the Charter. Measures of self-defence are to be taken until the Security Council takes measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. If the integrity of the territory or sovereignty or political independence of any American state is affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack, or by an extra - continental or intra - continental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that may endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation has meet immediately in order to agree on the measures to be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of aggression or the measures to be taken for common defence and maintain Inter-American peace and security and the solution of the conflict by peaceful means. The measures on which the Organ of Consultation may agree consist one or more of the following: recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions, breaking of diplomatic relations, partial or complete interruption of economic relations, or of rail, sea, postal, telegraphic, and telephonic and radio - telephonic or radio - telegraphic communications and use of armed force. The Treaty was made for an indefinite period, but any state can leave it by a notification in writing to the Pan-American Union.

The view of Secretary of State Dulles was that the Rio Pact was a significant development in American foreign policy. It was based on the principle of one for all and all for one. The Pact set a precedent from which the United States went on to develop the even more significant North Atlantic Pact. The Monroe Doctrine was "continentalised" by the Rio Treaty.

4.2.8. North – Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) of 1949

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on 4 April 1949 by the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Greece and Turkey became its members in February 1952. The Federal Republic of Germany joined the NATO in May 1955.

4.2.9. Soviet Response against Marshall Plan and NATO:

¹ As regards the circumstances leading to the establishment of the NATO, it was due to the war – like policy followed by the Soviet Union in the post-war period. She put pressure on Iran for the maintenance of Soviet forces in the North of Iran. She made territorial demands on Turkey including claims to the bases in the Straits. She helped guerrilla warfare in Greece and also the Communists who stirred up a civil war. She captured control of Eastern Europe, culminating in the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia in 1948. She rejected the Marshall Plan and left no stone unturned to cripple the economic recovery of the West. She reorganised the Cominform. She violated the terms of the Potsdam agreement of 1946. She resorted to the Berlin blockade in 1948 and continued the same for more than ten months. She refused to ratify the peace treaties with the former enemy countries. She abused the Veto power in the United Nations. She counted upon its chances of setting up Communist regimes in countries where there was economic distress as a result of World War II. She also encouraged subversion, sabotage and unrest in all those countries.

4.2.10. Brussels Treaty:

¹ Many efforts were made to persuade the Soviet Union to agree to a peaceful settlement of the differences and to cooperate in a universal approach to peace, security and progress under the United Nations. However, all those efforts were futile. It appeared that the Soviet Union was determined to exploit any situation that might help her to realise her goal of a world empire. Under these circumstances, the United States could not keep quiet. She gave military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. The Marshall Plan helped the nations of Western Europe to rebuild their shattered economies. However, it was felt that all that was not enough. In 1948, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom signed the Brussels Treaty under which each pledged herself to assist the others in case of a military attack. The American Government welcomed the Treaty. Shortly thereafter, Senator Vandenberg proposed a resolution which called for "the association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security." The resolution was adopted by the Senate in June 1948. After that the American President began negotiations with other countries in the North Atlantic area. Those led to the development of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The North Atlantic Treaty has a Preamble and 14 Articles. The Preamble states that the parties to the Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They are

resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and the preservation of peace and security in the North Atlantic area.

¹ The NATO was intended to strengthen the moral of Western Europe. The association of the United States with the other NATO powers was bound to halt the Soviet expansion westwards. Since the stand taken by the United States, was definite and clear, the Soviet leaders were not expected to take any risk in Western Europe. The advocates of the NATO point out to a large number of its achievements during the period of its existence. It is emphasized that there has been no war in Western Europe since the NATO came into existence. This fact alone testifies to the effectiveness of the NATO as an instrument of peace. The Communists made no territorial gains anywhere in Europe or in the Atlantic area since 1949. The NATO forces are always ready to meet any challenge. The NATO air power has increased tremendously and the same is true of its naval force. There has been a vast improvement in the effectiveness of ground, air and naval forces since 1949. This has been accomplished through better training and equipment. NATO forces are equipped with the most modern weapons. Organisational arrangements have been developed to assure effective coordination in the use of forces and other military resources. Indirectly the NATO has contributed to the development of closer practical unity among European Nations and lessen their rivalries and antagonisms. The Paris agreements of October 1954 restored to West Germany its sovereignty created a Western European Union and tied Germany to the west through her membership of the NATO and the Western European Union.

The critics of the NATO point out that as a result of the NATO, the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union increased and international tension became more and more acute. There was always the possibility of a war as the NATO powers were determined to stop Soviet expansion at all places in the Atlantic area. In spite of the criticism, the NATO is very strong even today; its members feel that their security is linked up with that of the United States. They feel that they cannot do end themselves alone against the Soviet Union and her satellites. They are alarmed by the spectacular expansion of the Soviet navy in the Baltic and the Mediterranean and the increasing evidence of its activity in the Atlantic, the Caribbean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Europeans are convinced that the American nuclear deterrent will be used as their shield only so long as American troops are stationed in Europe. That is the reason why the European members have accepted the American demand that the burden of the alliance should be shared more equally. President Nixon once declared that American forces in Europe would be reduced in size in 1971 and the fear of American withdrawal brought home to the European members the situation in which they will be placed when that happened. No wonder, they are willing to cooperate with the United States in her efforts to put a check to Soviet expansion. If the

United States requires the help of the NATO partners, the latter also require her help. It is in the mutual interests of all concerned that the NATO remains strong in spite of the lapse of more than a quarter of a century.

4.2.11. Western European Union:

On 27 May 1952, a treaty was signed at Paris to establish the European Defence Community. It contained provisions for common political institutions, armed forces, budget and arms programme. The single integrated army was given the name of European Defence Forces and plans were prepared for political institutions to supervise the European Defence Forces and act as the governing body of the Community. The Assembly of the Coal and Steel Community was to act for the European Defence Community. The Netherlands and West Germany were the first to ratify the treaty but France refused to do so. Consequently, a conference was held in London from 28 September to 3 October 1954 with a view to work out a compromise. The Conference devised a system which provided for Western Unity within the framework of the Brussels Treaty of 1948. The newly formed Western European Union had the same members as the European Defence Community except the addition of the United Kingdom. The Council of the Western European Union was given broad authority with the power to act in a number of important measures by majority vote thereby replacing national with international control. It was also decided that Western Germany was to be restored her sovereignty. The Allied High Commissioners gave up the exercise of most of their occupation rights. Provision was made for Western Germany to join the NATO and make her contribution to the defence of the West.

4.2.12. ANZUS Pact of 1951:

A treaty was entered into between the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United States in 1951 for the purpose of coordinating their efforts for collective defence and preservation of peace in the Pacific area. Article 1 of the Pact provides that the parties undertook to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered. They also undertook to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent for the purposes of the United Nations. Article 2 provides that in order to achieve more effectively the obligations of this treaty, the parties separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack. Article 3 provides that the parties shall consult one another whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened in the Pacific. Article 4

provides that each party recognises that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties will be dangerous to its own peace and safety. Each party declares that it will meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Any armed attack will be immediately reported to the Security Council for necessary action. Article 5 provides that an armed attack is deemed to include an attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the parties or the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific. Article 6 provides that this treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the parties under the charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 7 provides that the parties shall establish a council consisting of their Foreign Ministers or their deputies to consider the methods concerning the implementation of this treaty. The council is to be organised as to be able to meet at any time. According to Article 10, this treaty is to remain in force for an indefinite period but any country can leave after giving a notice of one year. However, none has done so far.

4.2.13. SEATO or Manila Pact of 1954:

Plans for the defence of South-East Asia had been canvassed ever since the emergence of Communist China as a major factor in Asian and world politics after 1949. Countries like the Philippines, Siam and South Korea which considered themselves to be menaced by the Communists made suggestions from time to time for the setting up of a defensive organisation. However, nothing substantial came out of those suggestions. In 1951, a Conference was held between the Far East Military Commands of Great Britain, the United States and France. On that Occasion, it was contended by France that her struggle in Indo-China was really a fight for the preservation of South East Asia from Communism and it was the duty of other states to help her. The outbreak of the Korean War and the help given to North Korea by Communist China and the Soviet Union frightened the ANZUS powers. The Chinese Government helped Dr. Ho Chi Minh. The possibility of a Chinese thrust to the Pacific was feared. The talks which started in Singapore were continued in Washington in 1952 and Canada, New Zealand and Australia joined the deliberations. However, no definite action was taken. In 1953, Prime Minister Churchill proposed to the American government that the principles of the NATO should be extended to South-East Asia but he did not get any favourable reply. It was in April 1954 that Secretary of State Dulles flew to London and asked the British Government to examine the possibility of establishing a collective defence system for South-East Asia and the neighbouring Pacific regions. Mr. Dulles wanted to set up the defensive organisation without the Colombo powers but Sir

Anthony Eden insisted on including them because "without their understanding and support no permanent South-East Asia Defence Organisation would be fully effective." The American Government wanted the British government to sign the military pact at once and discuss its details later on. The object of the American Government was to strengthen her hands before going to the Geneva Conference of 1954, but the British Government did not agree. However, within a few weeks of Geneva agreement, an Indo-China Conference was summoned to meet in the Philippines on 6 September 1954. Invitations were sent to the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines. It was left to Sir Anthony Eden to approach the Colombo powers. Invitations were sent to all of them, but with the exception of Pakistan all others declined to participate. As India refused the invitation, Pakistan accepted it.

¹ On 8 September 1954, the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines signed a treaty known as the SEATO or treaty of collective Defence of South-East Asia at Manila. The Contracting parties recognised the sovereign equality of all its members. They reiterated their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all the Governments. They reaffirmed the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. They declared that they would earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure independence of all countries. They declared publicly their sense of unity so that any potential aggressor would appreciate that the parties stood together in the area. It was declared that the contracting parties desired to coordinate their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security.

Under the Treaty, the contracting parties undertook to settle any international disputes in which they might be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice were not in danger. They undertook to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. It was agreed that the parties separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid would maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack, and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability. The parties undertook to strengthen their free institutions and cooperate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of the Governments towards those aims. Each party recognised that aggression by means of an armed attack in the "treaty area" against any of the parties, or against any state or territory, which the parties by unanimous agreement

might designate, would endanger its own peace and safety. Each party agreed that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. The measures taken were to be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. If in the opinion of any of the parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any party in the "treaty area," or any other state or territory, was threatened in any way other than armed attack, or was affected or threatened by any act or circumstances, which might threaten the peace of any area, the parties were to consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for common defence. No action on the territory of any state was to be taken except on the invitation or with the consent of the Government concerned.

Provision was made for the establishment of a council on which each of the contracting parties was to be represented. The council was to consider matters concerning the implementation of the treaty. It was also provide for consultation with regard to military or any other planning as the situation obtaining in the "treaty area" might from time to time require. The council was of be organised as to be able to meet at any time. It declared that the treaty did not affect in any way the rights and obligations of any of the parties under the charter of the United Nations, or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. The "treaty area" mentioned in the treaty was the general area of South-East Asia, including the entire territories of the Asian parties and the general area of the South-west pacific, not including the pacific area north of 21 degrees North Latitude. The parties were given the authority to include any other area in the treaty area. The treaty was to remain in force of an indefinite period. However, any party could cease to be a member after giving notice of one year.

While signing the Treaty, it was made clear on behalf of the American delegation that its main object was to stop Communist aggression. The effectiveness of this Treaty was tested during the Vietnam War. Although there were members of the SEATO, the main burden of fighting the Vietnam War fell on the United States. After a protracted war, North Vietnam won a victory over South Vietnam in 1975. The prestige of the United States fell and the Treaty was dissolved in the same year.

4.2.14. The Baghdad Pact or CENTO (1955):

The Baghdad Pact consists of a preamble and eight articles. The preamble states that the friendly and brotherly relations existing between Iraq and Turkey are in constant progress and it is desirable to implement the contents of the Treaty of friendship and good-neighbourliness concluded between Iraq and Turkey on 29 March 1946, which recognised

the fact that peace and security between two countries was an integral part of the peace and security of all the nations of the world in particular the nations of the Middle East and was the basis of their foreign policies. Both Iraq and Turkey realised the great responsibilities borne by them and their capacity as members of the United Nations concerned with the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region. Both the countries were completely convinced of the necessity of concluding a pact fulfilling those aims. It was under the above mentioned circumstances that the Baghdad Pact was signed in 1955.

Article 1 of the Pact provides that the contracting parties will co-operate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agreed to take to give effect to this co-operation may from the subject of special agreements with each other. Article 2 provides that in order to ensure co-operation, the competent authorities of the contracting parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the pact comes into force. Those measures will become operative as soon as they are approved of by the parties. According to the Article 3, the parties undertook to refrain from any reference whatsoever in the internal affairs of each other and settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful manner in accordance with the United Nations charter. Article 4 provides that the parties declared that the provisions of the present Pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third state or states. They do not derogate from and cannot be interpreted as derogating from the said international obligations incompatible with the present pact. Article 5 provides that this pact shall be open for accession to any particular state of the Arab League or any other state actively concerned with the security and peace in this region and which is fully recognised by both the parties. Accession shall come into effect from the date when the instrument of accession is deposited with the ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq. Any acceding state may conclude special agreements with one or many states parties to the present pact. The competent authority of any acceding state may determine measures in accordance with Article 2. Article 6 provides a permanent council at ministerial level will be set up to function within the framework of the purposes of this pact when at least four powers party become parties to the Pact. The council will adopt its own for a period of five years, renewable for other five-year periods. Any contracting party may withdraw from the pact by notifying to the other parties in writing its desire to do so.

The Baghdad Pact was declared to be open for accession to any member state of the Arab League or any other state which is actively concerned with the peace and security of this region; it was under this clause that Britain joined the Baghdad Pact in April 1955. A special agreement was concluded between Britain and Iraq by which Britain became a member of the Baghdad Pact and also undertook to co-operate in the sphere of planning

and combined training of Iraq's armed forces for the defence of Iraq. Britain pledged herself to help Iraq in creating and maintaining an effective Iraqi Air Force, efficient air fields and an efficient system of warning air attacks. Provision was made for British technical personnel to be made available to Iraq. It was also provided that "in the event of an armed attack against Iraq or threat of an armed attack, which in the opinion of the two contracting governments endangers the security of Iraq, the Government of the United Kingdom, at the request of the Government of Iraq, shall make available assistance including, if necessary, armed forces, to help the defence of Iraq." In July 1955, Pakistan acceded to the Baghdad Pact. In November 1955, Iran joined the pact. In the same month, the United States guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Baghdad Pact countries. The United States joined the Baghdad Pact in its economic sphere in May 1956 and joined the same in military sphere in 1958 to combat international Communism. Iraq announced her withdrawal from the Baghdad pact in March 1959 and the Pact was renamed as Central Treaty Organisation.

The Baghdad Pact was directed not only against the Soviet Union, but also against the non-aligned Arab states. In order to strengthen its position on the Kashmir issue, Pakistan exploited the Pact against India. The Baghdad Pact divided the Arab world. Through its membership of that Pact, Pakistan was responsible for contributing to that division. By destroying the Arab unity, the Baghdad Pact also increased instability in the region. In the war between the Pakistan and India, Iran and Turkey supplied arms to Pakistan, though Britain and the United States were neutral. In February 1968, President Nasser condemned the Baghdad Pact as representing foreign domination in the region. The Baghdad Pact did not add to the security or confidence of the people in the Middle East. It created panic and fear. It encouraged a race for armaments which were not conducive to peace it is doubtful if the possessed objectives of the Baghdad Pact have actually realised. There is no unity of objectives of the members of the Pact. The main aim of the western powers was to secure control over the oil-rich Middle East and to secure bases in the name of fighting international Communism. At the Ankara meeting held in January 1958, the Prime Minister of Pakistan frankly admitted that Communism posed no real threat to his country and the real threat was from the neutralists. The Iraqi delegate told the council that Communism was no problem in the Middle East and the real problem was that of the Israel. Although the professed object of the western sponsors of the Baghdad Pact is to combat international Communism, the Asian partners have been using that alliance only to strengthen their position. The Pact has failed to achieve the unity of Arab powers. If the objective of the Pact was to keep off the Soviet Union from the Middle East, it has been a total failure.

4.2.15. The Warsaw Pact (1955):

If the Western powers were able to set up military alliances against the Soviet Union and her camp followers, the latter could not be expected to lag behind. In December 1954 a conference of eight European States viz., Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, with an observer from Communist China, was held to consider their attitude towards the Paris Peace Treaties. The conference opposed the ratification of the treaties and declared that in the event of their ratification, the participating countries would adopt joint measures of defence. It was further declared that they would meet again to consider concrete measures for a joint defence command. As the Paris Treaties were ratified in spite of the above declaration, the eight countries mentioned above met in Warsaw for four days from 11 May to 14 May 1955. After long discussions, they concluded the Treaty of Cooperation and Mutual Assistance known as the Warsaw Pact.

Under this Pact, it was decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the signatory states with its headquarters in Moscow. The unified command was to be headed by Konier, Marshal of the Soviet Union. The Defence Ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries were appointed Deputy Commander-in-Chief and given command of the armed forces assigned to the unified armed forces by each respective signatory country. The contracting parties confirmed their striving for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European states in respect of their social or state structure which would make it possible to unite their efforts in the interests of ensuring peace in Europe. They also took into consideration the situation which had arisen in Europe as a result of the ratification of the Paris Agreements envisaging the formation of a new military alignment in the form of West European Union with the participation of West Germany. That created a threat to the national security of the peace-loving states and it was necessary for them to take measures necessary to safeguard their security. It was declared that the contracting parties were guided by the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Treaty provided that the contracting parties undertook to abstain in their international relations from threats of violence or its use and settle international disputes by peaceful means. They declared their readiness to cooperate in all international actions for the purpose of assuring international peace and security. They were to strive to reach agreement with the states desiring to cooperate in that cause and take measures to reduce armaments, and the ban of atomic, hydrogen and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. The contracting parties were to consult each other on all important international

problems affecting their common interests. They were to consult each other immediately in the event of a threat of armed attack against one or other states, signatories to the Pact, in the interests of their ensuring mutual defence and maintaining peace and security. In case of an armed aggression in Europe against one or several states parties to the treaty by a state or group of states, each state member of the treaty in order to put into practice the right to individual or collective self-defence was to afford to the state or the states which was the object of such an aggression, immediate assistance, individually and in agreement with other states, who were parties to the treaty, with all means which appear necessary including the use of armed forces. The parties were required to take immediate joint measures necessary to establish and preserve international peace and security. The measures taken by the states were to be stopped as soon as the Security Council took steps to establishing and preserving international peace and security.

The parties agreed to set up a joint command of their armed forces to be allotted by agreement between the parties, at the disposal of this command and used on the basis of jointly established principles. They were also required to take other agreed measures necessary to strengthen their defences in order to protect the peaceful toil of their people guaranteeing the integrity of their frontiers and territories and ensure their defence against possible aggression. With the object of carrying out consultations provided by the present Treaty among the states participating in the Treaty and for the examination of questions arising in connection with the fulfilment of the Treaty, a Political Consultative Committee was to be set up in each state participating in the Treaty. The Committee was authorised to set up any auxiliary organs it considered to be necessary. The contracting parties undertook not to enter into any coalition or union and not to enter into any agreements whose aims were contrary to the terms of the Treaty. They declared that they would act in a spirit of friendship and cooperation in order further to develop economic and cultural ties between them and would be guided by the principles of mutual respect and would not interfere in the internal affairs of one another. The Treaty was to remain in force for twenty years. Those states which did not give notice of abrogation one year before the Treaty expired were to remain bound by it for a further period of ten years. In the event of a system of collective security, being set up in Europe and a Pact to that effect being signed, the present Treaty was to lapse from the date on which a collective security treaty came into force.

4.16. Summary:

The Warsaw Pact, in its essentials, is a carbon copy of the NATO. However, there are certain differences between the two. The Warsaw Pact is open to any state whereas unanimity is required to extend the membership of the NATO. The Warsaw Pact is

provisional in the sense that it is to remain in force only until a European collective security system comes into existence. This is in keep in with the expressed objective of the Pact which is to preserve world peace threatened by the admission of Germany to the NATO. It is true that all the members of the Warsaw Pact are equal in theory but actually that is not so. The freedom enjoyed by the member states varies. In spite of the dominant position of the United States in the NATO, she does not over-balance the other so over-whelming as is the case of the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact. Very little, if anything of importance, is added by the Warsaw Pact that is not included in the bilateral treaties between the Soviet Union and five of its members. Even in the absence of the Warsaw Pact, the relations between the Soviet Union and the other member states would not have differed in the early phase of Cold War. Anyhow, it is one kind pacifying thing among the European Nations after the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan to dispel differences.

4.2.17. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Briefly explain how the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan led to the Cold War.
2. Elaborate the significance of Cold war Blues up to Warsaw Pact.
3. Is Warsaw Pact a compromising Pact between Western and Eastern Europe?

4.2.18. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
5. Langsam, W.C., **The World Since 1919**
6. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
7. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**
8. Rao, B.V., **World History**
9. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr. , **The 20th Century World, a reading guide.**
10. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit: 4-3

The Non-Aligned Movement

4.3.0. Objective of the Lesson:

The Growth of Non-Aligned Movement and role Played by it in international affairs, is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

4.3.1. Introduction

4.3.2. The Asian Relations Conference

4.3.3. Bandung Conference

4.3.4. Belgrade Conference

4.3.5. Declaration on the Establishment of a New

International Economic Order

4.3.6. Basic Objectives

4.3.7. Summary

4.3.8. Self Assessment Questions

4.3.9. Reference Books

4.3.1. Introduction:

4 The Non-Aligned movement was never established as a formal organization, but became the name to refer to the participants of the *Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries* first held in 1961. The term "non-alignment" itself was coined by V. K. Krishna Menon in 1953 remarks at the United Nations. Jawaharlal Nehru used the phrase in a 1954 speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In this speech, Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian

relations, which were first put forth by Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. Called *Panchsheel* (five restraints), these principles would later serve as the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement. The five principles were:

- a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- b) Mutual non-aggression
- c) Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs
- d) Equality and mutual benefit, and
- e) Peaceful co-existence

The Non-Aligned Movement arose at a time when many countries, particularly of Asia and Africa, had first emerged as independent states. They were deeply interested in preserving their own independence and playing an independent role in shaping the world and in speeding up the process of destruction of colonialism. The world had already been engulfed in the Cold War, with military alliances and race for weapons of mass destruction, which posed a threat to their independence as well as the survival of humanity. The world economic order in which they found themselves was based on gross inequalities and exploitation and the requirements of their development made fundamental charges in the world economic order a necessity. It was in these conditions that the Non-Aligned Movement emerged and shaped itself.

4.3.2. The Asian Relations Conference:

While the Non-Aligned Movement was formally set up in 1961 when the first conference of Non-Aligned countries was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, its antecedents can be traced back to the early post-war years. The leaders of the Indian freedom movement convened the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947 in Delhi. At this conference, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was to become the first Prime Minister of Independent India in a few months' time, declared :

"Far too long have we of Asia been petitioned in Western courts and chancellors? That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own legs and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We

do not intended to be the playthings of others.... The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others: they are bound to have their own policies in world-affairs."

He warned of the new dangers that threatened the world and said:

The West has-driven us into wars and conflicts number and even now, the day after a terrible war, there is talk of further wars in the atomic age that is upon us. In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace.

4.3.3. Bandung Conference:

By the end of the 1940s, the Western countries' military alliance, NATO, had been set up, and in the early 1950s, military alliances had begun to be formed in Asia. The Cold War was being extended throughout the world leading to tensions and conflicts. In this context India, along with China, enunciated the *Panchsheel* or the five principles of peaceful coexistence. These principles were incorporated in the preamble to an agreement which India and China signed in 1954. They became integral to the Non-Aligned Movement.

Many outstanding leaders had emerged in Asia in the early 1950s who wanted to build the unity of Asian and African countries to bring about the end of colonialism and imperialism and to keep themselves aloof from Cold War confrontations. In 1955 Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia hosted a Conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung from 17 to 24 April. The Conference was attended by 29 Asian and African countries. Among the outstanding leaders who participated in this Conference were Jawaharlal Nehru, China's Prime Minister, Chou En Lai, and Gamal Abdel Nasser, then Prime Minister, and later President of Egypt. Although the Conference was attended by many countries including Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, the Philippines, Turkey, Thailand, who were members of the US-sponsored military alliances, the communiqué unanimously adopted at this Conference clearly stated ideas which expressed some of the fundamental principles of non-alignment. The Bandung Conference was a major milestone in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It was also the biggest Conference of the countries of Asia and Africa representing half of the population of the world.

4.3.4. Belgrade Conference:

From the mid – 1950s, leaders of some non-aligned countries had started holding meetings. Gradually, the idea grew that a conference of all non-aligned countries should be held. The 1960 session of the UN General Assembly was a historic one. Seventeen newly independent countries of Africa were admitted to the United Nations that year. The growing members of new nations, recently become free, brought about significant changes in the United Nations which became a truly international organisation at which, in course of time, almost every country in the world was represented. At this time, when the process of ending colonialism had been accelerated, the United Nations started playing a crucial role in furthering that process. On 14 December 1960, the United Nations adopted the historic "Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples." This historic session of the United Nations was attended by leaders of five leading non – aligned nations – Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Nasser of Egypt, Tito of Yugoslavia and Nkrumah of Ghana,. They took the historic decision of convening a conference of all non-aligned countries in the following year.

4.3.5. DECLARATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The new international economic order should be founded on full respect for the following principles:

- (1) Sovereign equality of States, self-determination of all peoples, inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.
- (2) The broadest cooperation of all the States members of the international community, based on equity, whereby the prevailing disparities in the world may be banished and prosperity secured for all.
- (3) Full and effective participation on the basis of equality of all countries in the solving of world economic problems in the common interest of all countries, bearing in mind the necessity to ensure the accelerated development of all the developing countries, while devoting particular attention to the adoption of

special measures in favour of the least developed, land-locked and island developing countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural calamities without losing sight of the interests of other developing countries.

- (4) The right of every country to adopt the economic and social system that it deems the most appropriate for its own development and not to be subjected to discrimination of any kind as a result.
- (5) Full permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources and all economic activities. In order to safeguard these resources, each State is entitled to exercise effective control over them and their exploitation with means suitable to its own situation, including the right to nationalization or transfer of ownership to its nationals, this right being an expression of the full permanent sovereignty of the State. No State may be subjected to economic, political or any other type of coercion to prevent the free and full exercise of this inalienable right.
- (6) The right of all States, territories and peoples under foreign occupation, alien and colonial domination or apartheid to restitution and full compensation for the exploitation of, and damages to, the natural resources and all other resources of those States, territories and peoples....

(Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 1 May 1974)

The first conference of heads of state or governments of non-aligned countries was held at Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from 1 to 6 September 1961. It was attended by 25 countries as full members. These member countries were Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma (now Myanmar), Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Republic of Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic (then comprising Egypt and Syria), Yemen and Yugoslavia. Algeria had not yet become independent but the provisional government set up by the FLN was admitted a full member, as later SWAPO and PLO were admitted as full members. The conference adopted a declaration which stated that "the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to the Cold War and "to a possible general catastrophe" and that lasting peace would be achieved only in "a world where the domination of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations is

radically eliminated.”” The conference also addressed letters to Nikita Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and John F. Kennedy, the President of the United States, and urged them to resume negotiations aimed at reducing the risk of war and at ensuring peace.

4.3.6. Basic Objectives:

The basic objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement were laid down at the first conference itself. Some of these objectives were later elaborated and made more specific. The most important objectives included ending of imperialism and colonialism, promotion of international peace and security and disarmament, creation of a New International Economic Order, ending of racism and racial discrimination, and ending of information imperialism.

During the past forty – seven years, the membership of the Non-Aligned Movement has increased to 118. South Africa had become the 109th member in 1994. Almost all of them are members of the United Nations and thus constitute about sixty per cent of the total membership of the United Nations. All countries of Africa are members of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity has one of its principles “Affirmations of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs”. Fourteen summit conferences of the Non-Aligned Movement have been held: Belgrade (1961), Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973), Colombo (1976), Havana (1979), Delhi (1983), Harare (1986), Belgrade (1989), and Jakarta (1992). Cartagena de India’s--Columbia (1995), Durban (1998), Kuala Lumpur (2003) and Havana (2006). At the Fourth Summit conference held at Algiers, it was decided to establish a Coordinating Bureau which was later charged with the task coordinating their joint activities aimed at the implementation of the programme adopted at the summit conference, at ministerial conferences, at meetings of groups of non-aligned countries in the United Nations and at other meetings of the non-aligned countries.

There were doubts about the relevance and future of the Non-aligned Movement after the end of the Cold War. These doubts were set at rest at the Tenth Summit held at Jakarta in 1992. This was the first summit which was held in the new world situation. The Tenth Summit, as the Jakarta Message adopted by the heads of state or governments of the Non-Aligned Movement

stated, was held at "a time of profound change and rapid transition, a time of great promise as well as gave challenge, a time of opportunity amidst pervasive uncertainty". It stressed that the improvements in the international political climate had vindicated the validity and relevance of non-alignment. Pointing out that the world was "still far from being a peaceful, just and secure place", it stated:

" Simmering disputes, violent conflicts, aggression and foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of States, policies of hegemony and domination, ethnic strife, religious intolerance, new forms of racism and narrowly conceived nationalism are major and dangerous obstacles to harmonious coexistence among States and peoples and have even led to the disintegration of States and societies".

The message reiterated the commitment of the Non-Aligned Movement "to the shaping of a new international order, free from war, poverty, intolerance and injustice, a world based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and genuine interdependence, a world which takes into account the diversity of social systems and cultures.

The period after the Jakarta summit was one of far reaching changes in the world situation which gave rise to questions regarding the relevance of the movement. There was acceleration in the process of globalisation and the spread of free market economies that accompanied it. The problem of terrorism was also becoming an important issue in many regions. There was also the manifestation of the consequences of the world which was believed to have become „unipolar“, such as „unilateralism“ and the proclamation of the right by the sole superpower and its allies to interfere in the affairs of other countries and the effect „regime change“. The Kuala Lumpur Summit (2003) laid emphasis on the revitalisation of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Havana Summit (2006) in its declaration reaffirmed it "commitments to the ideas, principles and purposes upon which the movement was founded." "On a political level," it said, "there is a need to promote the good of creating a multipolar world order, based on respect for the application of the principles of International Law and the UN Charter and the reinforcement of multilateralism."" It further stated, "Now more than ever it is essential that our nations remain united and steadfast and are increasingly active in order to

successfully confront unilateralism and interventionism." The Declaration asserted the principles by which the nations associated the movement will be guided some of these principles were:

1. "No State or group of States has the right to intervene either directly or indirectly, whenever the motives, in the internal affairs of any other State."

2. "Rejection of attempts of regime change."

3. "Rejection and opposition to terrorism in all its forms and manifestation, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. In this context, terrorism should not be equated with the legitimate struggle of people under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation."

4.3.7. Summary:

The membership of the Non-Aligned Movement comprises almost all the developing countries of the world and notwithstanding differences on some specific issues, there are many issues, including the fulfilment of the right to development that bind them together and make for the continuing relevance of the movement.

4.3.8. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Write a brief note on the significance of self-respect and mutual understanding among the Non-Aligned countries and fight for equality against the super powers.
2. Analyse the contribution of Tito, Nehru and Nasser to Non-Alignment Movement.

4.3.9. Reference Books:

1. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
2. Davies, **World History**
3. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
4. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**

5. Langsam, W.C., **The World Since 1919**
6. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
7. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**
8. Rao, B.V., **World History**
9. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr. , **The 20th Century World, a reading guide.**
10. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit-V

Lesson:5.1.

The United Nations Organization

5.1.0. Objective of the lesson:

The formation of United Nations Organization and its challenges are the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

5.1.1. Introduction:

5.1.2. Teheran and Yalta Conferences:

5.1.3. San Francisco Conference and U.N.O.

5.1.4. The General Assembly:

5.1.5. The Security Council:

5.1.6. Trusteeship Council:

5.1.7. The Economic and Social Council:

5.1.8. International Court of Justice:

5.1.9. The Secretariat:

5.1.10. Specialised Agencies:

5.1.11. The Achievements of the UNO

5.1.12. Self Assessment Questions

5.1.13. Reference Books

5.1.1. Introduction:

"That men do not learn very much from the lessons of History is the most important of all the lessons that history has to teach", Aldous Huxley made the above

stamen particularly after the world was afflicted by the world wars during this century. Even before the war ended, the Allies (the USA and Brittan) pledged to maintain peace on the basis of the Atlantic Charter (August, 1941). They promised freedom to the enslaved people and decided to give them the right of Self- determinism. Furthermore they decided to work for "freedom from fear and want". They agreed to bring about the disarmament and establish a new international order to maintain peace.

5.1.2. Teheran and Yalta Conferences:

The great leaders also attended the Teheran and Yalta Conferences in 1943 and 1945 respectively. It included men like Winston Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. The Second Conference was held particularly to plan for the division of Germany, and of her capital soon after the latter's defeat. It was decided that the entire area of Berlin should be divided into four zones. The Potsdam Conference was held to deal with problems concerned with the defeat of Germany and Japan. Other agreements followed such as to provide relief to the war ravaged countries under the auspices of UNRRA.

5.1.3. San Francisco Conference and U.N.O.

But far more important than all the above was the San Franciso Conference which was held during the spring of 1945. This Conference worked on completing the draft of the U.N. Charter. It was ratified by fifty member countries. Thus the United Nations Organisation took its birth on 24th October 1945.

The headquarters of the U.N.O. was originally located in Paris but later on it shifted to New York. The six principle organs of the UNO are the General Assembly, The Security Council, The Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council, the World Court and the Secretariat. Working through these six principal organs and certain specialised agencies, the UNO aims to achieve international peace, security and cooperation. It is also pledged "to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." It should be noted that at present there are 149 countries which are represented in the UNO.

5.1.4. The General Assembly:

The General Assembly consists of 149 member countries, each having one vote. It meets once in a year, particularly during the month of September. The Assembly elects six non-permanent members to the Security Council. It also elects members for the other allied agencies. It appoints World Court judges. The General Assembly also appoints the Secretary General and prepares the budget for the year. The Assembly discusses and recommends measures to be adopted for bringing about solutions to certain problems - even if these issues are prevented in the Security Council by the exercise of a veto (it happened in the Suez crisis).

5.1.5. The Security Council:

The Security Council of the UNO is the most important organ and it is always in session. It may be described as the executive wing of the UNO. It consists of eleven members - five permanent members (the UK, the USA, the USSR, France and the Peoples Republic of China) and six non-permanent members. The six non-permanent members are chosen by the General Assembly for term of two years. The Security Council meets often to perform two important functions: (1) to take steps to prevent aggression or a threat of war and (2) to settle the disputes among the nations by means of negotiations. It may take decisions to settle the quarrels among member - nations in the form of resolutions which are binding on the concerned parties. It must be noted that all the resolutions passed in the Security Council should have the concurrences of all the five permanent members. The permanent members of the Security Council have the power to exercise the veto. So a resolution in the Security Council can be blocked by any permanent member by casting his veto. The Security Council may also decide to use Force to bring about a solution to the problem.

5.1.6. Trusteeship Council:

The Trusteeship Council of the UNO does the work of supervising the progress of the territories held by the big powers. A number of colonies have been assigned to the care of some European powers for bringing about their rapid progress. The administering powers submit an annual report making a reference to the progress achieved by them in their Trust territories.

5.1.7. The Economic and Social Council:

This body consists of representatives of 18-member countries. They are entrusted with the task of improving the standard of living of the people of the world at large. It promotes educational, cultural and recreational opportunities for the people of member-countries. The Economic and Social Council brings about the co-ordination of the work achieved by the other specialised agencies such as the WHO, FAO, IBRD, ILO and UNESCO. It may be remembered that the UNO spends more than 80 per cent of its funds to help the poor countries to improve their standard of living. So, the Economic and Social Council is doing a splendid job of eliminating poverty, hunger, ignorance, and prejudices and disease.

5.1.8. International Court of Justice:

The International Court of Justice is located at The Hague, and it consists of 15 judges who are drawn from the member-countries. It hears appeals from the member-nations regarding their disputes with others. They are mostly related to either territorial disputes or questions regarding the international law. The Court's decision is binding upon all the concerned parties of the dispute. The Security Council may compel the concerned member-countries to carry out the court decisions if they have failed to do so.

5.1.9. The Secretariat:

The Secretariat happens to be the backbone of the UNO. The Offices of the UNO are located in the body. The office of the Secretary General is the most important one. The Secretary General, who is elected by the general assembly, is busy throughout the year. He conducts the meetings of all the UNO bodies, maintains records in his office, publishes reports of the various bodies. Besides, his other important duty includes the convening of the Security Council meetings to deal with very urgent problems affecting world peace and security. The entire expense of running the UNO is shared by the member-countries as per the scale fixed by the Secretary-General. The biggest donors are the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the other big powers.

5.1.10. Specialised Agencies:

The UNO achieves some of its objectives through specialised agencies. They include organisations like the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now called the World Bank), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Universal Postal Union (UPU), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO). These specialised agencies carry out a specific work for the parent body, which is the UNO.

5.1.11. The Achievements of the UNO:

Ever since its inception (1945), the UNO has been performing the most strenuous task of maintaining peace and security in the world. Year after year she is called upon to manage crisis which otherwise would threaten world peace and security. The first problem which was brought to its attention was that of Iran. She complained of non-withdrawal of the Red Army from her soil. The Red Army had set up a puppet communist regime in the north. The Security Council took up the case and appealed to the Russia to withdraw her forces from Iran.

The next issue which came up before the UNO was the Greek complaint. The Security Council of the UNO received a complaint from Greece that the communist guerrillas were operating in her states with the aid of some neighbouring communist countries. She was afraid that conditions may worsen and a civil war on her soil may break out. The U.N. General Assembly passed the resolution condemning the subversive activities of the communist countries in the neighbourhood of Greece. The U.S.A. rendered help to Greece under the Truman Doctrine and prevented the menace of the communist guerrillas on the Greek soil.

Soon after World War II, the Japanese vacated their occupation of the East Indies held by the Dutch. The natives of the Dutch Indies declared their independence and established a republic under the president ship of Sukarno. But the Dutch wanted to recover their colonies and a war broke out. The dispute between Indonesia and the Dutch was referred to the Security Council by India and

Australia. The UNO intervened in this dispute and brought about a compromise which included the recognition of the independence of Indonesia on certain conditions by the Dutch government in 1949.

The Balfour declaration of 1917 envisaged the creation of a separate state for the Jews called Israel. Unfortunately, the state of Israel was located in the midst of all the Arab countries. The setting up of Israel resulted in the expulsion of the Palestinians from their place of residence. To fight for the sake of Palestinian (Arab) cause the Arab League was formed. It was founded by Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq. They invaded Israel and fought for the Palestinian cause. The UNO intervened and arranged for a cease-fire. The Arab states which were defeated by Israel not only demanded from the UNO their territories back but also insisted on the resettlement of 600,000 Arab-Palestinian refugees who fled their homeland during the war.

The British had given option to all the 562 princely states in India to join either India or Pakistan. Before India's independence, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was able to persuade all but three states to join India. One of the three states which hesitated to join India was the state of Kashmir. Kashmir was ruled by a Hindu ruler (Hari Singh) which had a majority of Muslim population. Meanwhile Pakistan – supported by tribal invaded Kashmir. Fearing a large scale invasion, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir signed the instrument of accession with India and sought India's help to expel the intruders. The Pakistani Army was actively involved in its assistance to the tribals with the hope of the final military takeover of Kashmir by herself. The conflict between India and Pakistan was referred to the UNO by India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The UNO brought about a ceasefire which resulted in the retention of a part of Kashmir by Pakistan. A solutions to the Kashmir problem now depended upon the attitude of Pakistan towards India. The Kashmir problem has embittered the relations between India and Pakistan for the last 50 years. The Shimla agreement signed between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the late Pakistan Premier Bhutto may provide for better understanding between the two parties.

After the World War II Japanese forces vacated the Korean peninsula. Unfortunately, this country was divided into two parts – North Korea and South

Korea. North Korea came under communist control. The invasion of North Korea troops on the South created a serious problem. South Korea complained to the UNO about North Korea's invasion. The UNO passed resolution to the effect that South Korea should be saved from North Korea's aggression. A number of nations led by the U.S.A. sent troops to help South Korea to expel the North Korean communists. The Korean War continued for about two years. After that there was the ceasefire and mutual exchange of prisoner of war. Despite heavy losses, South Korea was saved from North Korea's aggression.

When President Nasser of Egypt nationalised the British – French owned Suez Canal Company which was in control of the international waterway, Israel encouraged by France and Britain attacked Egypt. It was followed by the Anglo – French invasion of Egypt in 1956. Both these powers would have won the war but for the restraint exercised by the U.S.A. the U.S.A was not prepared to back Britain and France in this misadventure. If the war had continued, there was a likelihood that it would have turned into another world war. The UNO played its role in bringing about a settlement of this dispute.

The British continued to rule Cyprus, an island in the Mediterranean even after the Second World War despite the opposition of the Greeks there. There is Turkish minority on that island. The Greeks on the mainland eagerly waited to annex that island but it could not be since the Turkish minority opposed it. But the Enosis (Union with Greece) movement on that island became strong under the leadership of Archbishop Makarovsky. The armed struggle against the British continued with full vigour and the British forced the Greek leader on that island to go into exile. When the Greek majority and the Turkish minority leaders agreed on the new constitutional set up for that island, the British granted independence to the natives of Cyprus in 1960. But in practice the agreement between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots did not work out smoothly and there was an armed conflict. The UN peacekeeping force was sent there to maintain the ceasefire. Relations between the two communities have since then embittered, however, the actual partition of the country has not taken place.

When the Arab states closed the Gulf of Aqaba for Israeli ships, Israel fought the Arabs in what is known as the „six days war.“ She seized the Gaza strip. But the

UNO intervened during the war and brought about a ceasefire. The UNO also sent its peace – keeping force to prevent a conflict arising out of the abrupt departure of the Belgians from Congo. But the civil war continued and the UN peace – keeping mission could not work satisfactorily.

The UNO had been the venue of many disarmament talks. The purpose of these meetings was to make world safer by urging ³³the big powers to reduce the size of their armed forces and expenditure on armaments. A new round of talks which began after 1955 with Russia's cooperation gave new hopes to mankind.

5.1.12. Summary:

The specialised agencies of the UNO have rendered yeoman's service to mankind in many fields. To name a few, the F.A.O. has been keeping watch on the food production in the world and its distribution to the rising population in the world. The W.H.O. has eradicated smallpox totally from the world. It has been waging war on malaria which has reappeared. The UNESCO has been doing remarkable work in bringing about the understanding and cooperation of many members – nations in the promotion of science and culture. The IMF has given soft loans to many developing countries and the World Bank has been doing splendid work in giving large amount of economic aid to a number of underdeveloped and developing countries. In the years to come, the UNO may also bring about a better understanding among nations and thus prevent another catastrophe.

5.1.13. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Trace the events leading to the birth of the U.N.O. and explain its aims.
2. Describe the achievement of U.N.O.
3. Explain the aims and organizational structure of U.N.O.

5.1.14. Reference Books:

1. Ankie Hoogvelt, **Globalization and the Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Development**,
2. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**

3. Davies, **World History**
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6. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
7. Kagarlisky, Boris (Translated by Renfrey Clerke),
The Twilight of Globalization: Property, State and Capitalism,
8. Langsam, W.C., **The World Since 1919**
9. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
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13. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr., **The 20th Century World, a Reading Guide**
14. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

The role of UNO in solving international Disputes

Objective of the Lesson:

Describing the U.N role in solving or handling of some international disputes is the main objective of the lesson.

Structure of the Lesson:

5.2.1. Introduction

5.2.2. Dispute settlement System:

5.2.3. Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Varying Patterns

5.2.4. U.N. Peace Keeping Force

5.2.5. The UN Role : An Evaluation

5.2.6. Summary

5.2.7. Self Assessment Questions

5.2.8. Reference Books

5.2.1. Introduction:

The United Nations Organisation has done a lot of useful work in the political field. But it is true the UN has failed in tackling successfully the problems of collective security in the world, but that is a problem which is difficult to tackle by any international organization. Every state, whether big or small, seems to be determined to do all that it can to promote its own interests, regardless of the interests of other states or mankind as a whole. In an atmosphere where there is violence all over the world and each state is spending recklessly to add to its armaments, regardless of its costs and repercussions on its own economy or that of the world, peace in the world is a dream which no international organisation can achieve. All that can be done is to lessen the prevailing tensions in the world and undoubtedly the UN has played its part.

The international norm of peaceful settlement of disputes is set forth in Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the UN Charter which states: "All members shall their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that peace and security, and justice are not endangered."

Most of the common procedures for peaceful settlement of international disputes are catalogued in Article 33, Paragraph 1, of the Charter:

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

All of these techniques of dispute resolution were embodied in international law and practice well before the advent of the United Nations. The Charter merely recognises their existence and encourages their use. The procedure of "good office" is another time-honoured approach to dispute settlement. Unlike the procedures listed in Article 33, which parties to a dispute are urged to use, "good offices" depends entirely on the initiative of third parties.

5.2.2. Dispute settlement System:

Except for negotiations, each of the procedures requires the assistance of third parties, that is, representatives of states or organisations not directly involved in the dispute. Most are also political rather than judicial modes of settlement, in the sense that parties are left free to accept or reject proposed settlements, as their interests dictate and their capacities permit. Third-party assistance is concerned primarily with finding some common ground where agreement can be reached. Arbitration and judicial Settlement, however, are in the judicial mode because (1) the basis of decision is supposed to be international law rather than national interest and power, and (2) the decisions are legally binding on the parties that accept these Settlement procedures in a particular case.

Negotiation among parties to a dispute is as old as the state system and is the most common method of settlement. It involves direct discussion by diplomatic representatives of the states concerned, for the purpose of reaching agreement on matters at concerned.

Good offices (not mentioned in Article 33) is the name given to friendly assistance rendered by a third party for the purpose of bringing disputants together so that they may seek to reach a settlement. Good offices may be tendered by a state, a group of states, or even by an individual of international standing such as the UN Security – General.

Mediation occurs when the third party actively participates in the discussion of substantive issues and offers proposals for settlement. If the disputants are not on speaking terms the mediator may also tender his good offices as a prelude to mediation. A mediator may meet with the parties either separately or jointly and is expected to maintain an attitude of impartiality throughout.

Enquiry, or inquiry, may be used when the disputing parties are unable or unwilling to agree on points of fact relating to a controversy but are willing to let an impartial commission investigate and report on the facts.

Conciliation is a procedure for settling a dispute by referring it to a commission, or, occasionally, a single conciliator, charged to examine the facts and recommend a solution that the parties are free to accept or reject. Conciliation is more formal and less flexible than mediation. Whereas mediation is a continuing process of assisting negotiations among parties to a dispute, conciliation involves formal submission of the dispute to a conciliation body in anticipation of a final report containing the conciliator's findings and recommendations for settlement

Arbitration is a procedure by which disputants agree to submit a controversy to judges of their own choosing, who render a legally binding decision based on principles of international law. Commonly each side names one or two arbitrators, and those two or four designate one additional arbitrator to complete the panel. The essential characteristics of arbitration are: (1) free choice of judges (arbitrators), (2) respect for international law, and (3) obligation to comply with the award.

Judicial settlement or adjudication, like arbitration, produces legally binding awards or judgements based on rules of international law. Unlike arbitration, however, the judges are not chosen by the parties for their particular case but are members of a pre-constituted International Court and is based on voluntary acceptance by the parties, either through advance agreement to accept the jurisdiction of the court in special types of cases or through agreement at the time the dispute is submitted. The same is generally true of arbitration. The International Court of Justice and its predecessor from the League of Nations days, the Permanent Court of International Justice, provide the principal examples of judicial settlement at the global level.

Although there may be differences of opinion about the UN's impact on particular disputes, knowledgeable observers agree that the world body has contributed to the settlement of a good number of disputes considered by it from time to time. Of the 123 disputes referred to the UN for settlement during the period 1945 to 1981, it helped settle 28, most of them before 1970. In nine of the disputes, the organisation's contribution to settlement was judged substantial. In the other 19, it was significant though modest in relation to other influences working towards a settlement. An additional 35 disputes, out of a total of 63 were ameliorated in some degree because of UN efforts at conflict management. Conflict management in this context includes not only dispute settlement but also reducing its intensity, isolating the conflict, inhibiting third parties from intervening diplomatically or militarily in support of the disputants, and stopping armed hostilities. If the concept of pacific settlement is expanded to include this definition of conflict management, the UN success level rises to 51 per cent, including cases in which the organisation made only a limited contribution.

This record is not necessarily depressing. The United Nations would have definitely done better if it had the legal right and the potentiality of enforcement. In this respect it reflects the limitations of the larger international system, which lacks a sufficient sense of community to support international coercive institutions.

The Charter framers at San Francisco never hoped that the United Nations would abolish differences of interest among states. They did believe that international conflicts should be kept within peaceful bounds and that the United Nations had

been a helpful adjunct to other settlement techniques. No war of global extent, no conflict severe enough to threaten the system of independent states has emerged since the United Nations was established. To this conflict containment, the UN has made a significant contribution.

5.2.3. Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Varying Patterns:

Chapter VI of the Charter is devoted to the "peaceful settlement of disputes" and the role of the Security Council. Article 33 provides that the parties to a dispute shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice". When the Security Council deems it necessary, it may call on the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Moreover, at any stage of a dispute "likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and security," the Security Council may "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment." The Security Council further has the right by Article 37 (1) to take charge of a dispute dangerous to peace if the parties fail to settle it by peaceful means, and by Article 38, may make recommendations with a view to the peaceful settlement of a dispute if the parties request it to do so. In addition, Article 99 gives the Secretary General the power to use his initiative in settling disputes by bringing them before the Security Council or by using his good offices or those of his representatives in helping to settle disputes or those of his representatives in helping to settle disputes either at the request of UN organs or the parties concerned or on his own initiative.

When, in January 1946, Iran complained that the presence of Soviet troops on its soil was causing a situation which threatened peace, the Council, after discussion, took note of the readiness of the parties to negotiate and asked them to report on the result of their negotiations, in May, Iran reported to the Council withdrawal of the Soviet troops. Thereupon the Council adjourned its discussion of the case.

In 1947, the United Kingdom brought to the Council its dispute with Albania over the damage to British warships and injuries to naval personnel caused by mines in the Corfu Channel during October 1946. The United Kingdom held Albania responsible. Albania denied the claim and accused the United Kingdom of violating

its territorial waters. Upon the recommendation of the Council, the parties took the case to the International Court of Justice. A similar recommendation was issued by the Council in 1976 with regard to a complaint by Greece against Turkey concerning rights in the Aegean Sea continental shelf.

The Council has continued to recommend that parties to disputes and other situations which might lead international friction pursue a peaceful settlement of their conflicts. Such recommendations or appeals, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, were issued in connection with the situation in the Middle East when, in 1967, the Council adopted a framework for a settlement (resolution 242(1967)) and requested the Secretary General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned. The aim of this request was to promote agreement and assist in efforts to achieve a peaceful and acceptable settlement on the basis of the principles outlined in the resolution. In 1973, also in connection with the situation in the Middle East, the Council issued a specific call to the parties concerned to start comprehensive negotiations aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the region (resolution 338(1973)). Similarly, the Council has urged the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in the Republic of Cyprus to seek a solution to their differences through negotiations, with the help of the Secretary-General's good offices. (since 1964 the Council has adopted a resolution amplifying this provision from July 1974.)

In a number of cases the Council requested the Secretary-General to make his good offices available in the search for peaceful solutions: of the question relating to the frontier between Yemen and the Federation of South Arabia (1966); of the situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent (1971); of a complaint by Iraq concerning incidents on its frontier with Iran (1974); of the situation in Cyprus (1975 and thereafter); of the situation of American hostages in Iran (1979); and of the case of the Falkland Islands (1982).

In the case of the situation between Iraq, the Council expressed support for the Secretary-General's offer of good offices (made first in 1980 and reiterated in subsequent years). It also called on Iran and Iraq to cooperate with him in efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement, acceptable to both sides,

of all outstanding issues, in accordance with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

On some occasions, the Council authorised the Secretary-General to name Special Representatives in connection with efforts to promote the resolution of conflict situation in, for example, the Middle East, as indicated above (1967 and 1968); the India-Pakistan subcontinent (1971); Timor (1975, 1976); Southern Rhodesia (1977); Namibia (1972-1978); and Western Sahara (1988).

The Security Council has also requested the Secretary-General to undertake mission or become involved in international crises, with a view to seeking peaceful solution. Such assignments were made in connection with the situation in Namibia (1972); the complaint by Iraq concerning incidents on its frontier with Iran (1974); the situation concerning Western Sahara (1975); the situation in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) (1982); and complaints by Lesotho (1982) and Botswana (1985) against South Africa.

Under Article 34 of the Charter, the Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute. The Council has employed this instrument of fact – finding and inquiry throughout its history. In the early years, the Council undertook investigations of a dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands by establishing a Consular Commission and then a Committee of Good Offices (1947). In the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, it established a five – member United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan for investigation and mediation (1948), and later appointed a UN Representative to help the two sides in their search for an agreement. When Lebanon complained of interference by the United Arab Republic in its internal affairs (1958), the Council dispatched an observer group to Lebanon to report on the situation. In 1959, the Council set up a sub – committee to look into allegations by Laos of North Vietnamese intervention and participation in the activities of the rebels in Laos.

In fulfilment of its obligations under Chapter VI of the Charter, the Security Council has also used other approaches, as exemplified by its approval of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, arrangements involving joint

chairmanship (USSR and United States) of the Conference, and the role of the Secretary-General in the Conference procedure (1973).

Members of the Security Council have shown increasing concern about the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa, as witnessed in the on-going process of deliberations and in the adoption of resolutions issued under various agenda items (1970, 1972, 1976, 1977, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988). The resolutions, containing increasingly explicit condemnations of racial discrimination policies, called upon the South African Government to abandon the policy of apartheid and appealed to the international community to take concrete measures in the campaign against the racist regime.

In many cases, when the Council has convened urgently to consider the outbreak of an armed conflict, it has called for an immediate cease – fire. Such calls, in a few cases directed at only one party, have been issued in connection with the situation with the situation in the Middle East (1948, 1956, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1983); the India – Pakistan subcontinent (1948, 1971); Cyprus (1964,1974); the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) 1982); and the situation between Iran and Iraq (1980, 1982, 1983, 1986, 1987). The Council also demanded the cessation of an armed attack against Guinea (1970) and an end to colonial wars against Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) by the Portuguese authorities (1972). There have been a number of other instances where the Council sought to secure a ceasefire and take other immediate measures to reduce the tension between belligerent parties. Frequently, it has had to reiterate its calls for a ceasefire and to deplore the continued fighting or the resumption of hostilities.

After nearly eight years of difficult negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General, Agreement on the Settlement of the Situation relating to Afghanistan were signed on April 14, 1988, in Geneva at the Palais des Nations. The Geneva Accords marked the first instance in which the world's two most powerful states became co-guarantors of an agreement negotiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Immediately after the Accords entered into force on May 15, 1988, the United Nations Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP), consisting of 50 military officers and a small civilian auxiliary

staff, began monitoring their implementation, including the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

In an effort to resolve the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the Security Council, acting under Article 39 and 40 of the Charter, unanimously adopted resolution 598 (1987) of July 20, 1987. Resolution 598 demanded that, as a first step towards a negotiated settlement, Iran and Iraq observe an immediate ceasefire and withdraw their forces to internationally recognised boundaries. Later in 1988 the United Nations Iran – Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIMOG) was sent to the Iran – Iraq borders to supervise the ceasefire.

5.2.4. U.N. Peace Keeping Force:

Since 1956, the United Nations has also dispatched observer missions and peace – keeping forces drawn from the armed forces of member – states to maintain peaceful conditions along armistice lines or international frontiers. These forces, armed with light defensive weapons, serve to guarantee internal law and order and administer buffer zones and territories after hostilities cease.

United Nations peace-keeping operations have proved successful in maintaining the peace after armed confrontation between and within countries. The success of this type of UN involvement has been confirmed by frequent proposals for the dispatch of observers and peace-keeping forces in a wide variety of conflict situations, the most recent example being that of Namibia. Some of the peace – keeping operations authorised by the Security Council are ONUC (1960), UNFICYP (1964), UNEF II (1973), UNFIL (1978), AND UNTAG.

5.2.5. The UN Role : An Evaluation:

The question of how effective UN intervention has been in the actual resolution of international disputes, is far more complex and likely to be even more subjective than the question of the degree or extent of UN's participation in the handling of international disputes. The balance sheet of the UN's effectiveness in resolving international disputes presents a mixed picture of positive achievement, of deadlock, and of outright failure.

In several cases, definite and permanent settlements were reached. For example, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Iran in 1946 and later again (by UN negotiated Geneva accords) from Afghanistan in 1988. The Indonesian crisis was ultimately resolved with the establishment of an independent state of Indonesia in 1950 and similarly the Namibian dispute was finally resolved by the establishment of an independent Namibian state in 1990. British and French troops were withdrawn from Syria. Lebanon and in the Suez Crisis was solved largely due to UN intervention. The 1948, Berlin crisis was finally resolved by direct negotiations outside the United Nations but its mediation paved the way for agreement. Similar was the case in the Balkan conflict between Greece and its neighbours. Some disputes were brought before the international Court of Justice largely due to Security Council efforts as the Corfu Channel dispute in 1946.

In such cases as Palestine and Kashmir, hostilities were brought to a stop and the basis laid for negotiations to settle the outstanding issues but the UN's efforts have been short of final settlement. In some cases, the United Nations has been frustrated and deadlocked. The Union of South Africa had turned down or ignored the various proposals of the General Assembly and has largely resisted all moves to abolish its apartheid policies.

In several cases, the United Nations has, in effect, defaulted. Major failures of the UN's action were in Korea in 1950 and the Gulf War in 1991. Whatever the outcome of the UN action, its efforts were completely ineffective even in regard to establishing a line of contact between the opposing sides before the UN operations were undertaken. No real process of peaceful settlement was established in the case of both these conflicts after the termination of the collective security operations. Instead, the UN's action resulted in its virtual identification with one of the parties to the dispute.

There are several factors that have influenced the United Nations effectiveness as a dispute-setting agency. In the first place, the promptness with the UN has acted has had a lot to do with its success, where the UN reached vigorously and quickly, its mediation commanded respect.

Secondly, the responsibilities and nature of personnel chosen for mediation have profoundly affected the results of UN actions. The Kashmir, Korea, Palestine, and

Balkan commissions were slow, ponderous, indecisive, and sometimes inept. The skill and experience of personal chosen by the Secretariat to service the commissions and mediators is of basic importance to the success of the UN's efforts to resolve disputes. Personal should be chosen on the basis of their unquestioned integrity, impartiality and discretion in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Thirdly, the "internationalisation" of disputes through the UN has had the effect of continuously bringing to the attention of the States conflicts agitating the international system. Public debates in the UN's various forums can be substantially influential in moulding world public opinion and this should have a wholesome effect on the rational handling of sources of international friction.

Fourthly, an outstanding characteristic of the UN's contribution to the resolution of international disputes has been its pragmatic approach. Various techniques have been employed. Each situation has been handled with a view to discovering a basis upon which the disputing parties would be willing to negotiate with regard to the issues in dispute. If initial recommendations were disregarded by one or more of the parties, UN organs willingly reconsidered the problem and sought to devise another and more acceptable. For example an appeal for direct negotiations was sufficient in the Iranian and Syrian-Lebanese cases but it had no effect in the Suez crisis or at one stage of the Kashmir dispute. UN fact-finding contributed to the settlement of the Indonesian crisis, but had little appreciable effect in the Balkans.

Fifthly, in the resolution of international disputes, the effectiveness of the Security Council has been more than that of the General Assembly, thus, confirming the original expectations of the Charter. Most of the cases ultimately settled were handled by the Council and many of the "deadlocked" cases were handled exclusively by the General Assembly or by both the Assembly and the Council. The processes of conciliation have not suffered badly because of the veto in the Security Council. As a matter of fact, the veto has rarely kept the Council away from some kind of action under its peaceful settlement responsibilities; its effect has been to block a particular course of action and force the Council to look for a more generally acceptable approach.

However circumspect in maintaining its impartiality and however skilful in organising and conducting its mediation the UN evidently depends for its

effectiveness in resolving international disputes on the measure of support it receives from the Great Powers. It has not been, nor will it ever be, in a position to force an unacceptable solution on a great power.

5.2.6. Summary:

We may therefore conclude that the UN's record both in resolving disputes by agreement and in helping them become dormant, has been by no means unimpressive. Many disputes are referred to the UN simply because at a particular point of time there is no other way in which they can be resolved. The mere ventilation of a dispute before UN organs provides an opportunity for exploring all possible means for resolving it.

5.2.7. Self Assessment Question:

1. Briefly describe the UN's role in solving international disputes.
2. How far is U.N. successful in settling international disputes?

5.2.8. Reference Books:

1. Ankie Hoogvelt, **Globalization and the Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Development**,
2. Cipolla, C.M., **Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol.III**
3. Davies, **World History**
4. David, M.D. **Landmarks in World History**
5. Fisher, H.A.L., **A History of Europe**
6. Hunter, W.W., **The Indian Empire**
7. Kagarlisky, Boris (Translated by Renfrey Clerke),
The Twilight of Globalization: Property, State and Capitalism,
8. Langsam, W.C., **The World Since 1919**
9. Lyall, A.C., **The Rise of the British Dominion in India**
10. Raj, Hans, **History of Modern World: An Overview**

11. Rao, B.V., **World History**
12. Richard Langhorne, **The Coming of Globalization: Its Evolution and Contemporary Consequences**
13. Scott, F.D. & Rockefeller Jr., **The 20th Century World, a Reading Guide**
14. Wells, H.G., **An Outline History of the World**

Unit- V.

Lesson: 5.3.

**GLOBALIZATION AND THE THIRD
WORLD COUNTRIES**

5.3.0. Objective of the Lesson:

The main objective of the lesson is to describe the ongoing discussion on the effects of globalization of political economy on Third World countries.

Structure of the Lesson:

- 5.3.1. Introduction**
- 5.3.2. Concept of Globalization**
- 5.3.3. Britton Woods Institutions and U.S.:**
- 5.3.4. Early Phase of Globalization:**
- 5.3.5. Polarized Zones and Third World Countries**
- 5.3.6. U.N's Bargain Policy:**
- 5.3.7. Political Economy in Post-Cold War**
- 5.3.8. Summary:**
- 5.3.9. Self Assessment Questions**
- 5.3.10. Reference Books**

5.3.1. Introduction:

Globalization is not a new phenomenon to the human world. Globalization starts with the modernization or industrial revolution. People have exchanged cultures, commodities and services across the frontiers from the centuries. Modern state system owes its development in part to the establishment of firms, that grabbed territorial and human conquest, settlement, infrastructure – building and development of financial services, communication and transportation links. What is different is pace and density of contemporary globalization and the changing awareness of the stakes involved in this scenario.

5.3.2. Concept of Globalization:

In the late 20th century, due to end of the Cold War, the new phase of globalization speed up the investments, ideas, commodities, services, and people cross borders dramatically accelerated. It reduced the trans-national barriers. Thereof, the role of the state became weak. Of course, it is the success of laissez-faire. Apparently trillions of dollars in the means of trade and commerce take place every day instantaneously, via "real-time" electronic transfers of funds. Today, the annual earning of the Multinational companies dwarf the gross domestic product of many less-developed countries. Large companies now lead development and sometimes pose as caring, but there are totally unaccountable. While the state no longer tries to control big business, multinational capital exercise enormous control over the lives of people and the state itself. Ideas about who benefits and loses in the process of interaction among the states and firms have also begun to change, as income gaps between nations and among people within them increasing. Globalization is not an economic issue. To look at it from that concept only will be an over simplification. It is a tangled process that affects peace, stability, and human development, especially in the third world states. Globalization is the latest ground in a long accumulation of technological advance which has given human beings the ability to conduct their affairs across the world without reference to nationality, government authority, time of day or physical environment.

5.3.3. Britton Woods Institutions and U.S.:

The Second World War has changed the global pattern tremendously, particularly in the power shifting point of view i.e. from Britain to the United States. It also shored away some winners and losers. There were some winners lost everything except victory, and there were some losers who everything gained, all, except, the victory. But there was only one country which came out victorious in every point, and that country was the U.S. Prior to U.S. help to her allies in the world War II she claimed a price. That was a new international free economic order under the U.S. leadership and of liberal democracy line. In the early years of the war, the American Council for Foreign Relations had drawn up a Memorandum to this effect. The Memorandum explained the policy needs of the U.S in "a world, in which it posses to hold unquestionable power." It highlighted the component parts of

an integrated system to achieve military, and economic dominance for the U.S within the non-German world was to be called the „Grand Area“²⁰. Decolonization and the guaranteeing of markets and access to raw materials was an essential turnpike around which the designed. Before the garbage had been cleaned on the Second World War, much of the „Grand Area“ plan had been finalized. The dying days of the war saw the coming together of all victorious nations in a remarkably swift agreement on the need to manage the world economy through effective international institutions, and guide lines under the acknowledge leadership of the US. For instance, the Britton Woods Institutions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, 1944, and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT), 1947. Under the GATT, the participating countries have laying down the rules and guidelines for conducting international commercial relations through liberal democracy. Significant provisions of the GATT were limiting the reliance on tariff and non-tariff barriers in trade.

5.3.4. Early Phase of Globalization:

Prior to the World War II, the globalization of trade liquidated into many Asian and African countries under the yoke of colonizers. That was widely called as imperial colonial phase which was held in between 1860 – 1914. During this stage, the colonial nations simply transformed as raw material producing countries and as market for the industrial states. In this phase of economic side of globalization was fixed with free flow of trade, investment, and Ibaour. P.T Moon in his book, *Imperialism and World Politics* described that imperialistic trade following a set order. First the Western missionary went in search of ground for souls. He was followed by a European merchant who went in search of trade. He was followed by solider who conquer the land and established a colony. Thus three Gs, namely, Gospel, Gold and Gun helped initially in establishing European colonies and trade in Asia and Africa. For every European nation, it became a status symbol to possess colonies and to have trade. This system completely changed the status of colonies that as upside down. For instance, by exporting cheap home manufacturers on a massive level, the British has succeeded indeed crippling the Indian text tile industry . This frail situation was beautifully shown by Karl Marx in 1853;

"English interference having placed the spinner in Lancashire the weaver in Bengal, or sweeping away both Hindu spinner and weaver, dissolved these small semi-barbarian, semi – civilized communities, by blowing up their economical basis."

Hence we found the tragic result of the „dialectics of the world history“: the country which had been the main producer and exporter of manufactured textiles a few centuries ago, had become perhaps the main victim, first of British mercantilism, and then of British free trade. Preventing the industrial development of colonies became a general pattern; in the Netherlands policies towards the Dutch Indies were basically no different. The usual colonial pattern consisted of carrying off cheap raw materials from a country where labour was abundant, and inexpensive, transforming them in one's own country into industrial products and selling the finished products on a massive scale in captive colonial markets. Profit making point of view this was far more attractive than promoting industrial development in the colonial country – or the semi colonial one that was nominally independent-especially if overseas transport in both directions could be effectuated by the industrial country's shipping companies. The price of this trend was, drain of wealth from the colonies, and low income nations to the western world. Owing to this reason the world income distribution became vastly uneven. In this turbulent era divergence dominates, long time. This was the period, when the industrial revolutions altered the quality of life of the European and North American States and often they called the colonized world to the status of developing countries, and often describing during the cold-war as the „Third World“. The new phase of globalization represents; flows of trades investment, service, culture and intellectual property rights, but less so of labor.

9

5.3.5. Polarized Zones and Third World Countries:

Aftermath of the World War II many Asian and African Nations obtained independence from the imperialists i.e. in between 1940's and 1960's. Indeed, the new states born in Cold - War regime were in fragile state. At the same time hardly a couple of years later the war, tight political and military

clouds were woven around the "Free World" economy (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). While the Cold-War with the one group of nations (i.e. Eastern European bloc) not prepared to play ball within the "Grand Area" became the legitimizing force behind the Truman Doctrine (1947), in which the US formally announced its desires to act as „Global Policeman“ defending free people anywhere in the world who were threatened by armed minorities or by outside pressures. The Bretton Woods institutions, together within the Truman Doctrine constituted the system of informal imperialism under the „Pax Americana“ which was the hallmark of the neo-colonial period, and which continued until 1970. The leading branches of industry in the developed countries had shifted from the production of consumer goods to the production of producer goods. No longer did it make sense to see the colonial areas primarily as market outlets for consumer goods such as textiles, cigarettes and matches. Instead they now needed to become upgraded to being market outlets for spinning and weaving tools, matchmaking machines and cigarettes production lines. The raising up of many small independent national units holding a „development and modernization ideology“ feverishly wishing to catch up with the West and seeking Western patent solutions to fundamental human needs, all dovetailed neatly with the level of industrialization achieved by then in the developed countries. And thus, colonial profits continued to be making in the resources sector, a form of surplus extraction entered in the neo-colonial period and eventually became the dominant form, namely technological rents. These are the super profits that monopolist sellers of machines and equipment goods and of „patented“ technology can harvest in the absence of competitive markets for their products. The technological weakness of the modernizing states created this monopoly. They had to invite foreign direct investors, multinational companies to help them produce locally what have been earlier been imported. But it was very informality and indirection of the system that gave it an aura of invisibility and that made it so difficult for people to see through.

Contrary to the above situation in economic or technological advance point of view the entire world further shifted into two major groups viz, rich (North) and poor (South). Among these states had no competition to dominate

each other in the area of political sphere. Nonetheless, the newly independent states were feared with existing global political order and economic ideology of bipolar system/or super power rivalry and they did not dare to enter any power mongering and imperialistic blocks (even through they put many conjectural schemes to uplift from poverty and political instability, and to guide good governance). In fact many the Third World Countries strong commitment for decades, not to anchor any ideological bloc or a economic system on the either of them viz, capitalistic or socialistic (Communist) pattern of economy. They simply devised their own ideology both at political and economic level (for example, India introduced mixed economic policy). Having ignored world income distribution for decades during the ideological war international economics has lately seen a burst of divergent interest.

5.3.6. U.N's Bargain Policy:

Even the newly independent countries position was like the above, the U.N. and the Bretton Woods Institutions as well as United Nations Economic and Social Council are (states only membership organizations) continuously approach the Third World nations to accept its economic principles. As already, under the bargaining factors, the metropolitan countries compromised to lay down their national sovereignty, nominally under the GATT principles. The first sing of „groupism" on economic basis started crystalized from the very inception of the UN, when about half of its members were from developing countries, mainly from South America. It was largely at Latin American insistence that at San Francisco, Economic and Social Council was given an equal vote with the (Security and Trusteeship Council) among the Principal organs of the UN. It was in response to their demands that in 1948, the Technical Assistance Programmes was initiated. One of the first strategies adopted (since votes were difficult to muster) was the periodic mobilization of reports and resolutions. In 1950, an Economic and Social Council report on "National and International Measures for Full Employment" proposed an expansion of the activities of the World Bank and better commodity schemes. In 1951, another Economic and Social Council report on "Measures for the Economic Development of under developed countries"

proposed the establishment of "an international" development authority to assist under developed countries in preparing, coordinating and implementing their programmes for economic development and to distribution to underdeveloped countries, grants-in-aid for specific purposes. In 1952 Economic and Social Council was authorized, to prepare a detailed plan for setting up a special fund for grant -in-aid and for low interest, long term loans to under developed countries. In 1953, a Committee of Nine produced a further report recommending the establishment of Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). But SUNFED could not be materialized. The developed countries reacted with their blatant proposals. In 1953, the US proposed that development fund should be linked to disarmament, that the savings received from a scheme of internationally supervised disarmament could be converted a fund for assistance to developing countries. The US clearly expressed that large-scale assistance was to developing countries was not to be put available without arms control. The West from the beginning itself showed strong unwillingness to prepare a particular framework for allocation of funds from the rich to poor, saying they wanted to keep all their options open. And when Economic and Social Council finally voted in favor of fund with only three (including the U.S. and U.K voting against it), the developed states made it clear that they were not yet ready to contribute to it. Third World that on economic issues, it was better to negotiate for agreed solutions, however, modest, than to force through proposals to which the developed world is hostile. Without the voluntary cooperation of the rich, the poor are not likely to go very far in implementing proposals where the former are the major contributors. Therefore, when United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was set up in 1964, negotiations and consensus were stressed for achieving progress in North – South dialogues. Several conciliation procedures have been used by UNCTAD to reach compromises on vexed economic negotiations. Informal meetings on the developed and the developing countries usually succeeded in achieving agreement on a text where necessary. On issues where the North shows great reluctance to agree with the South, voting was delayed till an agreement was hammered out. After prolonged negotiations in 1976, UNCTAD IV at Manila reached on a system for generalized preferences for

developing countries and some movement towards acceptance of the common fund idea was finalized. It was recommended that with a view to contain fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities exported by developing countries, a common fund of 6000 Billion U.S. Dollars should be created. It was argued that only such an integrated plan would stabilize export earning of developing countries and help improve their economies. The fund was proposed to be utilized for providing finance for creation and maintenance of buffer stocks of primary products of generally exported by developing states. It was proposed that both the producing countries and consuming countries should subscribe.

Of course, when indirect tactics of ²⁰ „informal“ imperialism failed, the U.S. on many occasions restored to direct and military intervention to secure a stable investment climate and keep the lifelines of resources and markets open to the „free world.“ Between 1945 and 1970, the US in fact intervened militarily in Greece, Korea, Lebanon, Dominican Republic, Grenada, and of course, in Vietnam up to 1975. If ¹⁴ was further involved in the destabilization of regimes in Turkey, Iran, Guatemala, Cambodia, South Korea, Lebanon, Laos, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Chile, Ghana, Zaire and Mali.

Even at ¹⁴ the allocation of aid to the Third World Countries from the Special Fund, there also discrimination was upheld. For instance, in 1970's American Satellite Countries of South Korea and Taiwan received huge fund (under the guise of opening of market economy and liberal democracy) than the other developing countries in the world. The aid extended to the other third world countries under capitalistic norms has acquired a new dimension for the past three decades with the onset of the debt crisis. Many third world countries took on sizable loans in the early 1970's against low interest rates. When world interest rates soared up in late 1970's (i.e. when world oil prices rose) Third world nations which had incurred heavy debts were no longer able to keep up their annual repayments, some times not even the interest. Then followed spiral of new loans on harsher measures until the commercial banks ⁹ withdraw. Third World governments were forced to apply to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for assistance, submitted to onerous conditions such as cutting subsidies for essential consumer goods, making the establishment of healthy economic development in these countries

impossible. In mid-1980s when Soviet Union and the other communist countries opened their nations for political and economic reforms, the bipolar system was started to weak. And Third World Countries gradually lost the moral support from the socialist bloc, when problems arise economically with the developed countries at the highest offices of the world. With this changing pattern of the world order put no alternative to the Third World countries, except to open their flood gates to the developed countries for free trade.

5.3.7. Political Economy in Post-Cold War:

As the world entered the last decade of 20th century, the post-World War economic order was changed considerably. In its place a new world economic order has emerged, dominated by the three trading blocs (NAFTA, EU, and ASEAN), which are dominated by the leading industrial powers, through GATT (from 1995 WTO) and IMF and Multi National Corporations. If the trend towards a tri-polar system continues, the developing countries of South, which represent 75 per cent of the peoples of the world are bound to fall further down in the process of development and the gap between the world's have and have-nots will be widen. These trends in turn have deeper causes. Technological change and financial liberalization result in a disproportionately fast increase in the number of households at the extreme rich end, without shrinking the distribution at the poor end. Population growths, meanwhile adds disproportionately to numbers at the poor end.

These deep reasons yield an important intermediate cause that makes things worse: the prices of industrial goods and services exported from high income countries are increasing faster than the prices of goods and services exported by developing countries, and much faster than the prices of goods and services manufactured in low-income countries that can explore less international trade. The failure of exports to grow rapidly caused frequent balance of payments crises, leading to recourse to borrowing from IMF and the World Bank and foster of deflationary fiscal and monetary policies that further disturbed the growth process. These policies not only wasted the human and material resources but also financial resources. Conflicting of these policies always dragged the Third world nations into poverty and

inequality. The tendency means that the large numbers of the people of poor countries are able to buy fewer and fewer of the goods and services that lead to the consumption pattern of affluent countries populations.

The poor countries and the poorer two thirds of the global populations therefore, suffer a double marginalization: once through low incomes and again through high prices. Due to this reason the gap between the richest 10 per cent of the world's population and the median is increasing, and the gap between the median and poorest 10 percent is also widening. Due to these reasons, still many millions of the people of South still are living in underprivileged conditions. These serious consequences also pose a threats to the multilateral trading system to the WTO negotiating frame work and partly explains why the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade negotiations which began in 1986, were at an impasse for a longtime (up to 1993). Even the website of the „International Forum on Globalization" confidently accepted that Globalization policies have contributed to increase poverty, increased inequality between and within nations. If it is valid generalization, or even valid characterization for any specific group of countries is another thing.

Besides the media hype the peak period of integration of real economics as measured, for instance, by the amount of goods and services that cross borders as a percentage of all goods and services that produced world-wide, was the year 1913, when that percentage of (the export ratio of production) rose to 33 percent, whereas today it is about 31 per cent. As per the equation of the globalization with growing dominance of MNCs in world production and trade, here too the overall picture that emerges is one of the remarkable constancy, and not of dramatic change in the long historical observation. In relation to total world output, the percentage share of world production subject to MNC,s control was remained relatively stable. According to Hist and Thompson the majority of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) economies are concentrated international businesses are still largely confined to their home territory, in terms of their overall business activity, that is in terms of location of sales affiliates, declared profits and research and finance. This entire scenario depicts us that the developed world has no trust and sympathy over the developing countries in the process of development, except to gain profits.

That means the promises held out by the „Western Path“ have proven to be illusory as well. This western path has led to the dependency and underdevelopment which in their colonial time gave birth to the numerous revolutionary regimes in the third world.

Obviously, the UN as honest broker, on the whole, played a role of considerable significance, in long-term activities. It is of course true, that it has not yet been able to stimulate a massive increase in aid programme for the underdeveloped world, of presided over a wholesale transfer of existing modifying programmes, from bilateral to multilateral bases. Nevertheless, these long-term U.N. activities are certainly more impressive, than the past multilateral efforts, and it is now increasingly accepted, that the totality of U.N. programmes directed toward promotion of national development, efforts generate effects that are, more far reaching than their financial dimensions, would suggest. Specific new programmes, such as: UNCTAD, UNDP and UNIDO are indicative of the strength of this link between changes in the overall international system, and the evolving pattern, in the distribution of UN resources.

There are virtually no general conclusions to be drawn from this discussion of the current flux both in international system, and in the UN, except to stress the absence of clarity. It is evident that, much of the current confusion surrounded by the third world countries from the rapidly changing quality of the new globalism.

5.3.8. Summary:

The indeterminate nature of current trends in world politics, makes it, extraordinarily difficult to project a propable evolutionary course for the future. The clearly defined contours of the bipolar international system under which the UN Charter system worked out most orderly due to the irreconcilable ideological antagonism, and super power rivalry has virtually disappeared today. One of the superpowers, the Soviet Union, was disintegrated. The emergence of the US as the only super power has given rise to speculation about the possible emergences of a unipolar world. However, a widely shared view is that the emerging world order is multipolar. Many scholars believe that the U.S. is a declining economic power. New power centers

like Germany, Japan, Europe are emerging, and all of them are economic titans. The shift in international politics is from military power rivalry to economic confrontation. Apart from the declining military rivalry and ascending economic cooperation, the new world order is also witnessing a rise in ethnic violence and resurgent nationalism of the Pre-1914 type.

Already, Japan and Germany have boasting themselves as leaders in supplying economic assistance to back up market and democratic reforms in the former communist countries of Eastern Europe. While US participation in the Security Council is significant to the launching of all UN peace keeping missions, the U.S. has been noticeably absent in the new economic diplomatic momentum. Through its inertia, the U.S. ceded leadership to Germany in the collective efforts to aid newly liberated countries adjustment to market principles and to democracy. There are two probable explanations. The US so long used to controlling the events of the previous geopolitical world order, is at to learn how to share leadership with the like-minded contenders, such as Japan and Germany. This was very evident in US uncertainty regarding its response to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and Iraq.

The post-Cold War international order will be underlined partially on economic cooperation spurred by the relatives of increased economic interdependence and partially on shared leadership among the three powerful countries, the US, Japan and Germany. Their ability to define effective collective mechanisms for conflicting resolutions will provide a way out of current conflicts all over ¹⁶ Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and the third world.

The twenty first century is appearing to be Asia politically and economically centered. Asia is reemerging after the more than two centuries of control, suppression and repression by the Western powers. This also evident if one looks at conditions going back to 1990"s and before. In this process India at the threshold of a new balance of power system. The US, Russia, Europe, Japan, china and perhaps India would constitute this new power configuration.

5.3.9. Self Assessment Questions:

1. Explain the conditions in the Third World Countries, after the Second World War?
2. Briefly explain the conditions of Third World countries under the Globalization.
3. Has globalization brought for the „Asia Centric" focus?

5.3.10. Reference Books:

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