

# **SRIRAM'S IAS**



## **GENERAL STUDIES**

## **WORLD HISTORY**

(INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, WORLD WARS,  
SOCIALIST AND LABOUR MOVEMENTS)

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**11A/22; 1<sup>st</sup> Floor; Old Rajender Nagar; New Delhi -60**

**Ph. 011-25825591; 42437002; 9958671553**

**73-75; 1<sup>st</sup> Floor; Ring Road ;Beside GTB Metro Station**

**Kingsway Camp; New Delhi.**

**Ph. 08447273027**



## *Industrial Revolution*

The term "Industrial Revolution" was coined by Auguste Blanqui, a French economist, in 1837 to denote the economic and social changes arising out of the native industries with simple instruments, to industries in factories with power-ridden machinery. But it gained currency and recognition when Arnold Toynbee, a great historian, used it in 1882.

Historians, however, question the appropriateness of the term on the ground that the Industrial Revolution covers a period far too long to justify a single label. The period is from 1740 to about 1850 in Britain and from 1815 to the end of the 19th century in Europe. Moreover, the term "Revolution" is misleading for describing a complicated series of forces, processes and discoveries which worked very slowly but gradually and created a new economic organisation. It is suggested that it is *better to call it evolution and not revolution*. It is also suggested that instead of calling it the Industrial Revolution, it should be called, *"The Transition of Industrialism"*. Despite of these objections the term Industrial Revolution is preferred and it is in common usage.

The Industrial Revolution was not a revolution in the normal sense of the word. Revolutions are generally spontaneous, violent and bloodthirsty. The Industrial Revolution was free from all these characteristics. It was a long, slow and evolutionary process of change.

Before going to discuss the forces and factors that paved the way for the industrial or technological revolution, let us note in brief its antecedents in the late medieval and early eighteenth century. During this period European society was mainly agricultural. Whatever industries there existed, were confined to the "domestic" sector. There was no machinery, or water-power or steam to work those industries. Manual labour was the chief source of power. Each village was practically self-sufficient. Roads were in a battered state and travelling was risky and troublesome. There was no large scale corporate activity. The individual worker worked as a single unit.

Industrial revolution had taken place in England in the 18th and 19th centuries. But before these great changes in the techniques of production could come, certain important things had happened earlier. Without these earlier happenings Industrial Revolution would not have been possible. These pre-requisites for the promotion of the later day Industrial Revolution were as follows.

### **Desire for material advancement**

Without the desire for the material advancement progress is simply not possible. This desire had grown in Europe in the early part of the modern period, mainly under the influence of *Renaissance*. The early part of the modern period is also known as the *Age of Reason*. In this age philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau, etc; *formulated certain basic laws of mankind*. One of these laws was that *man should lead a happy life*. The second was that *man had certain natural rights of which rights of life, liberty and property were the most fundamental ones*. The third law was that *in order to enjoy a good life man had to possess wealth which he could accumulate and use*.

A desire for material improvement was emerged not only from such reasoning but also from the fact that the only way a commoner could rise in a society dominated by nobility was by acquiring wealth.

In those days of desire for material advancement *raising loans for productive purposes* was also considered right. Under the *Protestant ethic* giving money in the form of loan and charging interest on it was also not considered wrong.

This overall attitudinal change in regard to bettering one's own life was the major prerequisite for the Industrial Revolution.

### **Supply of rawmaterials**

The next important prerequisite of the Industrial Revolution was the supply of rawmaterials. In this respect also Europe had an advantage because, due to, the Geographical explorations and discoveries and the resultant Commercial Revolution, Europe could get rawmaterials such as cotton, sugarcane, indigo, etc; both from the Orient and the new world.

### **Markets**

The other prerequisite for the Industrial Revolution was the availability of markets for the distribution of the finished goods. Under the impact of the Geographical discoveries and the consequent Commercial Revolution the European markets had grown internally and externally. The growth of markets widened the chance to realise adequate profit and also a chance to produce more for the market. This widening of the market was also an important condition for the progress in the industrial front.

### **The need of labour force**

Besides the rawmaterials and the market the Industrial Revolution required labour force which offered itself for wages. The labour force which was needed now was to be a mobile one and also skilled. The growth of population in Europe greatly facilitated the labour supply. Moreover, the advancements in the agricultural production released labour from rural areas. Thus the labour supply for industrial work had gone up in Europe.

### **Transportational facilities**

The mere availability of labour, raw-materials and the growth in the size of markets were of no use if there were no proper transportational facilities. The Hollanders came out with a new kind of ocean going vessel during this time. The principle of steam lining was made use of in devising this new ship known as FLUTE. By this the cost of ship building had come down by one-third. In regard to internal commerce England witnessed a veritable mania of canal and road making.

### **Developments in the agriculture sector**

Another major aspect of economy that witnessed much progress before the Industrial Revolution could take place was in the field of agriculture. No doubt that many of the agricultural advancements had taken place along with the changes in the industrial techniques. But some of the agricultural changes had preceded Industrial Revolution. Thus the growth in the agricultural productivity generated enough surplus to support the Industrial Revolution and also the rising urban population.

It may be stated here that Britain was the first country in the world to experience the Industrial Revolution and several factors paved the way for the same.

### **Factors responsible for the Industrial Revolution in Britain**

- i. The main advantage that England had was that it was here that Agricultural Revolution had first taken place. It helped Britain in many a way.

Firstly it generated agricultural surplus which in its turn provided the required capital for the industrial progress.

Secondly, it provided raw-materials.

Thirdly, it released the labour force from the rural areas and also created a demand for industrial goods.

- ii. England had an empire where Sun never sets. Thus the colonies not only supplied the raw-materials to the industries but also served the purpose of markets.
- iii. In England coal was found in abundance. Not only coal was available in abundance, but it was also found in juxtaposition with iron. This fact greatly facilitated the advent of Industrial Revolution in England.
- iv. Britain enjoyed a *labour force that was mobile and skilled*. The British labour structure was such that *six out of ten* were employed in agriculture and the other four were already in the handicraft industry, whereas, in the rest of *Europe ten out of nine were in agriculture*. The British advantage was that it was easier to teach technical skills to those who were already employed in the handicrafts. Likewise the *Scottish Primary System* which was much in vogue in England *created a literate labour force* and hence it became easier to teach industrial skills to literate labourers than to illiterate labourers.
- v. England also developed by this time adequate transportational facilities. *England witnessed a veritable mania of canal and road making*. England was criss-crossed with canals that could be used for transportation. During this period *England experienced a new system of road making*. This new method consisted in creating a firm foundation by dumping fairly large stones in the road bed and then covering these with smaller stones and finally covering the whole with gravel and clay. Such road could withstand heavy loads and much traffic. Thus transportational facilities were also paved the way for industrial revolution in England.
- vi. England also *enjoyed relative peace* when compared to the other continental countries. The English Channel prevented, to a very great extent, the involvement of English in the continental wars. This greatly helped England, because her resources were not misspent on unproductive wars.
- vii. Another important fact was that *the English church got itself separated from the Roman Catholic church*. In England the church lands were confiscated and thus one-fourth of the national resources were brought into productive use.
- viii. Moreover, in England special recognition was given to the material advancement. The English did not look down up on the NEW RICH. In fact the rising middle classes were absorbed in the higher social classes. Thus the reward for material advancement was greater in England than elsewhere.
- ix. The agricultural surplus and the surplus wealth of England were *not in the possession of the feudal lords*, who normally spend it for conspicuous consumption, but in the hands of those *who were interested in investing it for further productive exercises*.
- x. The Bank of England and the National Debt were the two institutions which provided ready money for economic and industrial developments at a nominal rate of interest.

Thus no other country in Europe, except England, had so many potentialities for industrial development. Forces were favourable for a change in England. The Industrial

Revolution provided England with money for her wars against the Revolutionary France and Napoleon. As a matter of fact these wars gave a further fillip to the English Industrial Revolution and encouraged greater production. Thus it is said :

"Napoleon's career enabled the Industrial Revolution to go forward in England and the Industrial Revolution enabled England to overthrow Napoleon".

## Technological developments

In the early phase of Industrial Revolution the most far reaching inventions were made in the *textile*, *ferrous metal* and *power machines industries*. Some of the first important changes that occurred in the industrial techniques in the 18th century had taken place in the textile industry.

## Textile industry

Changes at first occurred in the textile industry, because in the first place the textile techniques were already at such point of development that only a few minor alterations had to be effected to render both spinning and weaving semi-mechanised and semi-automatic. However, the textile industry had enjoyed certain advantages at this time.

Firstly, it was relatively free to use techniques to reduce the cost of production, for the cotton textile trade was not subjected to guild regulations.

Secondly, the monopolistic guilds never existed in cotton because it was a new industry.

## Weaving field

The first major improvement in textile manufacturing came in the *field of weaving*. In 1733 John Kay invented what was known as "*The Flying Shuttle*". This doubled the speed of weaving and saved labour considerably. This invention enabled the weavers to turn out greater output. It also made possible the weaving of broad cloth by one man.

With the use of Flying Shuttle the normal rotation of four spinners to one weaver was completely upset. Obviously, the supply of spinners had to be increased for *new techniques of spinning had to be developed* if full advantage was to be taken of the Flying Shuttle.

## Spinning sector

In 1765, James Hargreaves invented a machine known as "*The Spinning Jenny*". This new machine had eight spindles and consequently *one spinner was able to do the work of eight spinners*. The Spinning Jenny was a simple wooden frame on which eight spindles moved by the turning of a wheel. Thus spinning became mechanised and consequently spinning became faster and easier to do so.

## Mechanical power

The Flying Shuttle and Spinning Jenny were a success. Yet, it was soon evident that both devices could be more automatic and that mechanical power could be used to draw the machines and thus relieve the physical burdens placed up on the operator.

In 1769, Richard Arkwright invented "*Water-frame*". This machine consisted of a series of rollers and was run by water-power or horse-power. It helped the manufacture of hard and firm yarn suitable for weaving. The rollers could not work in small places and *consequently the Water-frame of Arkwright ushered in the factory system*. That is why he has been called as the "*Parent of the factory system*".

In 1779 Samuel Crompton invented a machine known as "*The Mule*". This new machine combined the advantages of the Spinning Jenny and Water-frame. It made the production of fine muslin possible.

In 1785 Edmund Cartwright invented the "*Power Loom*". In the application of mechanical power to weaving the crucial invention was the Power Loom. *It paved the way for speedy weaving.*

All these inventions not only increased the production of cotton goods but also the demand for the raw cotton grew by leaps and bounds. Here, however, a real bottleneck existed, for picking seeds from raw cotton, was a slow and laborious task. A successful solution to the problem was found by the American Whitney. His "*Cotton Gin*" mechanised the removal of seeds from the raw cotton and greatly facilitated this task.

The use of machines in the cotton textile trade was soon picked up by the other industries. The advantages of the division of labour and mechanisation were very quickly realised and put to use.

The *woolen industry* and the *silk industry* also employed many of the devices invented in the cotton textile industry.

*Sewing* was also mechanised with the invention of the Sewing machine.

### **Machine building industry**

When machines were introduced in so many industries to such an extent, the need for machine building industry received considerable impetus. Moreover, the machines were now being worked constantly and with great speed. They now needed a machine building material that could withstand this kind of stress.

The iron was no longer capable of meeting the demands of the industry. Thus there was a need for a new and harder machine building material. It is in this context that the developments were made in the *ferrous metallurgy*. *Steel making was perfected now*. The credit for steel making goes to Bessemer. However, the Bessemer method of making steel could not make use of the Phosphorous iron ore which was available in England and France. So the second method of making steel was invented by Sir William Siemens and Martin. This came to be known as Siemens-Martin Process. With that the Phosphorous iron ores could be used for steel making. Moreover, Manganese was added to steel to give it greater ductability, Tungsten to give it hardness and Chromium to prevent from oxidising.

In the melting of iron, coal could not be used earlier. In the 18th century Darby first reduced coal to coke and then used it to melt iron. With this iron melting became easier and more efficient. This is the time when the *galvanising process* was also invented so that iron could be free from rusting.

### **Mechanical power**

Once the machines were being used and machine building material was made more efficient, there was a great need for running the machines with the help of the *mechanical power*.

The *Wind Mill* and the *Water Wheels* were cumbersome affairs. So there was a great need to have *better inorganic power sources*. It is in this context that we have to see the *development of Steam Engine* by James Watt. Once the steam engine was invented, it was put to various uses. Stevenson invented the *Locomotive* and Robert Fulton used steam to run a ship.

The next important industry in which improvements were made was the *Chemical industry*. By now the progress in Chemistry had gone on to such an extent that pure science was in a position to contribute to industry. It was the time when Henry Cavendish discovered the *chemical composition of water*. At the same time *Sulfuric acid*, and *Soda* were discovered. Thus the *industrial Chemistry* gained momentum.

Thus, all though, the finding of ways for making cloth by machines, the development of cheaper methods of making iron and steel, and the invention of the steam engine were the most crucial inventions in

bringing about the mechanisation of industry on a large scale which contributed to the technological revolution. In all phases of production, efforts were made to find ways for improving output while diminishing human effort.

## Impact of the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution brought a series of changes in the method of manufacture, production and distribution and drastically affected the economic, social and political life of the people. It transformed an overwhelmingly agricultural society into an industrial society.

### Economic impact

- i. The Industrial Revolution paved the way for *factory system*. A variety of articles and goods began to be manufactured in large quantities in big factories.

The machines were made in various trades by the end of the 19th century. The machines were heavy enough to be housed in well-constructed and sometimes specially built establishments, which meant that they were actually concentrated in buildings that came to be known as *factories*. This concentration was made by the fact that *mechanised power* at first *water* and then *steam* could not be provided economically unless it worked many machines at once. And the use of power and the large supplies of raw-materials coming from overseas meant that the location of the plant had to be in hills where there was water, power or at places where the raw-materials could be brought by water and where coal could be delivered at low cost. Power driven machinery was most economical when machines were banked side by side and supervised by only few workers. This technical revolution in industry led to factory system.

- ii. The major economic impact was *the quantity of goods produced had gone up enormously*. With the application of division of labour, use of machines and the factory system man was able to produce goods on such a scale never even imagined before. This gave *tremendous acceleration for the development of internal and international trade*.
- iii. Another important impact is that concentration of machinery in large factories meant that investors who could mobilise large amounts of money for equipment came to own the means of production. This is one of the hall marks of the *capital system*. *Infact with Industrial Revolution industrial capitalism or what is known as mature capitalism was born*.
- iv. The Industrial Revolution produced capitalist class and working class. The developments that occurred in the internal and international trade enabled the capitalist class to amass abnormal profits. The wages earned by the working class were not in tune with the profits secured by the capitalist class. Thus *Industrial Revolution paved the way for the unequal distribution of wealth*.
- v. The third quarter of the 19th century witnessed certain changes. Firstly, U.S.A. Russia, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Japan were industrialised. Secondly, substantial advancements were made in the scientific and technological sectors. Thirdly, productive capacity of the industries was increased by leaps and bounds. Thus the industrial revolution reached its dazzling pinnacle. The resultant effect of it was that there occurred ruinous competition between the industrialised countries for raw-materials and markets.



They tried to establish colonies, protectorates and spheres of influences. This *economic imperialism* not only created bad blood in between the industrialised countries but also paved the way for the outbreak of the First World War.

- vi. Industrial Revolution led to *international economic dependence*. The textile industries of Britain depended up on the steady supply of raw cotton from the U.S.A. and India. A urbanisation progressed in Britain and Europe. Less food was grown in these countries which became heavy importers of wheat, meat and tropical food products from Asia, South-East-Asia, etc. Europe exported manufactured goods in exchange for food.
- vii. The Industrial Revolution had its *impact on agriculture* also as some of the inventions included agricultural machines, mechanical ploughs, cultivators, drill, thresher, etc; reduced the labour and time of the farmers and performed their work better.
- viii. Along with industry, *baking, insurance, stock-exchange markets and joint stock companies* had grown up and the monetisation of economy was complete.

### **Political impact**

- i. In the political field, the industrial capitalist class did not tolerate much of the state's interference in economic affair. They supported the policy *Laissaz faire*. It implies two things; i.e, unfettered relations between the seller and the buyer and between employer and employee.

The industrial capitalists formed the very core of the middle class of Britain. They also championed the cause of the *BILL OF RIGHTS* with the *right to property and liberty* being given the highest importance. Though the capitalist needed central government, to see the business agreements are honoured, they tried to limit the powers of the state. *The growth of democratic government in the west European countries and particularly in England can be seen in this light.*

- ii. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, *the military superiority of a country became dependent upon the extent of the industrialisation in that country*. Industrialised countries could alone produce modern military weapon. For example the Northern states succeeded in the American Civil War (1861 - 65) because they were more industrialised than the Southern states.

### **Impact on society**

- i. Industrial Revolution also brought changes in society. The feudal social relationship gave way to new social relationships under industrial capitalism. *Nobility lost its importance.*
- ii. The Industrial Revolution witnessed the birth of *industrial capitalist class and the working class*. On the other hand the vast majority of the people became wage earners and had to be on the move in search of work. They also had to live in the city lumps. Some of the people who could not adjust to the change and could not learn the new trades became distitutes.

*In general the communality of the villages was broken and men became rootless.* Moreover, inspite of the reduction in working hours man was now subject to the rigorous discipline of factory or office. Thus a price had to be paid for the progress in material advancement under industrialisation. However, many of these drawbacks have been

overcome in *the western societies with the growth of trade unionism and welfare statism*. States passed laws regulating the work in the industries and in general regulating the labour relations.

- iii. Industrial Revolution also *encouraged scientific investigation*. The necessity of experts was felt as manufacturing techniques became more and more complex. *The profession of engineers became an integral part of the industrial society*.
- iv. Nonetheless one aspect of the industrialisation that the world had not yet been overcome is *the pollution problem and the rapid depletion of non-renewable environmental resources*. This is the major problem that the world is facing today.

Thus the industrial or technological revolution leading to factory system brought in its train both good and ill effects. The Socialist Movement was an attempt to remove the ill effects of the concentration of wealth while retaining the benefits of industrialisation. Thus efforts are still being made to remove the ill effects of the Industrial Revolution. The *concept of mixed economy* and the *democratic socialism* are efforts in that direction.



## *First World War* (1914 - 1919)

The greatest event that witnessed the first quarter of the 20th century was the First World War. In nature and character it sharply deviates from the previous wars.

Firstly, it was a *complete war*. It was fought on the land, in the air and over the seas.

Secondly, it was *fought in different countries* distributed throughout the length and breadth of the world.

Thirdly, *almost all the countries of the world*, either directly or indirectly experienced vibrations of the war.

### **Bismarck and the secret diplomatic military alliances**

The *Prussia - Danish war*, the *Austro-Prussian war*, the *Franco-Prussian war* and the *Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871* saw the unification of Germany and the emergence of the German empire. Bismarck followed generous policy towards Austria after the Austro-Prussian war. But his attitude towards France was rather stiff. After the French defeat at Sedan in 1870, Bismarck refused to give easy terms to France and after a long siege of Paris, he imposed a very humiliating treaty on France. The terms of the treaty are as follows.

- i. France was asked to pay a very heavy war indemnity of five million francs.
- ii. France was asked to give up her right over Alsace and part of Lorraine. Lorraine was French in blood, speech and sentiment. The German annexation of these territories was described as snatching away of children from the breast of the mother. Thus *the people of France stood for the war of revenge*.

Bismarck knew fully well the sentiments of the French men and therefore to safeguard Germany he decided to quarantine France or to put her in cold storage. The main object of the foreign policy of Bismarck was to isolate France diplomatically so that she may not be able to get an ally with whose help she may try to get back Alsace and Lorraine. To realise this object he maintained friendly relations with Russia, Austria, Italy and England.

In 1873 Bismarck set up the "*Three Emperor's League*". By means of this he was able to bring together Austria, Russia and Germany. It was not a treaty of alliance but it indicated cordial relations between these powers. *It emphasised the common interests of the three emperors*. It also implied that Austria had forgotten her humiliation in the battle of Sadowa, and was prepared to accept expulsion from the German territories. However, Bismarck's ultimate aim was to secure a military alliance with Austria

and Russia to weaken France. But his hopes were dashed to the ground. During the war scare of 1875, Russia informed Germany frankly she would not depend upon her neutrality in the event of a German attack on France. This showed that Bismarck could not depend upon Russia and ultimately he decided to cultivate intimate relations with Austria. The *Three Emperor's League* completely broken up in 1878. In the *Congress of Berlin of 1878* Bismarck gave an opportunity for Austria to dominate some provinces in the Balkan peninsula and the same was denied to Russia. Thus Germany finally concluded a diplomatic military alliance with Austria and this was called as the *Austro-German Alliance* or the *Dual Alliance*.

In 1882 Bismarck entered into *Triple Alliance* with Italy and Austria. It is pointed out that Bismarck encouraged France to capture Tunis which was desired by Italy. The object was to create one more enemy to France and also win over that enemy (Italy) to his side. When France established her protectorate over Tunis in 1881, Italy decided to join the Austro-German Alliance. Thus the *Triple Alliance* was the work of Bismarck to weaken France.

As long as Bismarck was in power France and Russia had not been able to come together. However, after the dismissal of Bismarck in 1890, Germany did not care for Russia and consequently Russia leaned towards France. In 1894, *Franco-Russian Alliance* was concluded and it was purely a military alliance. This state of affairs continued for some time.

England had followed the policy of splendid isolation in the 19th century. Now she thought of her position very keenly. She began to fear the consequences of being alone in the world. In the first instance she tried to enter into an alliance with Germany. But failed. Then she entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902 - *Anglo - Japanese Alliance*. England did this with the intention of safeguarding her position in the Far East.

In 1904 England and France entered into a treaty known as *Entente Cordiale*. This alliance gave England a free hand in Egypt. *friendly understanding (Lecture 81)*

In 1907 England signed *Anglo-Russian Convention* with Russia, there came into existence what is known as the *Triple Entente*. (*Entente Cordiale*)

Germany in the meanwhile won over to her side Turkey, an important country located in the eastern part of Europe.

Thus the Europe was divided into two war camps. In one camp were England, France, Russia and Japan. In the other camp were Germany, Austria, Turkey and Italy. There was not only jealousy but also enmity between these war camps. (It was the mutual hatred created by the system of secret diplomatic military alliances which ultimately brought out the war of 1914.)

## Economic imperialism

England, France and Holland first experienced industrialisation. By the end of the 19th century Germany and Italy emerged as independent nations and immediately started competing with the other industrialised countries. This period also witnessed substantial developments in the scientific and technological sectors. The production was accelerated by leaps and bounds. Thus these industrialised countries tried to possess colonies for the supply of raw materials and to serve the purpose of markets in every nook and corner of the world. That led to bitterness and rivalries. The efforts to establish colonies, Protectorates and spheres of influences in various parts of the world also resulted in bad blood among nations. When Germany tried to capture markets which were already under the control of Britain, that led to bitterness between the two countries. Britain was not prepared to give up her colonies, protectorates, sphere of influences and markets to satisfy the economic hunger of Germany.

Another important factor that fanned the flames of rivalry and enmity was *tariff restrictions*. Every country preferred exports but not imports. Thus there were *tariff wars* between the various countries. It resulted in the worsening of the relations between the nations.

## **Militarism**

In the later part of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century most of the powerful countries in Europe started building up powerful standing armies, elaborate espionage system, strong navies and a powerful class of military and naval officers headed by General Staff. Much of the national wealth was spent to increase the strength and power.

These powerful armaments were alleged to be for defence and in the interest of peace. They actually created a *sense of universal fear, suspicion, mistrust and hatred in between the nations*. This is amply attested by the naval competition between England and Germany. For every ship built by Germany, two ships were built by England. Such a race in building powerful and dangerous weapons could end only in a war. Moreover, militarism put too much of power in the hands of the General Staff. *Under these circumstances preserving peace was a precarious proposition.*

## **Lack of machinery to control international relations**

There was confusion and *anarchy* in the international relations of the nations. Everything was kept as secret and nothing was known about them to the people. It was found that the secrets of diplomacy were not even known to all the members of the same ministry. Even the legislatures were kept completely in the dark with regard to international commitments. For example 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 people. Hysteria took the place of sobriety and sincerity. Forgery, theft, lying, bribery and corruption existed in every foreign office and Chancellory throughout Europe.

Although there was a "*code of international law and morality*" there was no power to enforce the same. Many resolutions were passed in the international conferences. The *states followed these resolutions more in breaching rather than in honouring*. Every state considered it to be sovereign and did not regard itself to be bound by its international commitments. Although Italy was as member of *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. *Thus the lack of international machinery and the refusal to accord recognition to the international law and morality created tensions and bitter feelings amongst nations.*

## **Excessive or narrow nationalism**

The excessive or narrow nationalism and competitive patriotism fanned the flames of hatred, enmity and bitterness amongst nations. *The love of one's country demanded the hatred of another.* Love of Germany demanded the hatred of France and vice versa.

Italy and Germany after unification started the policy of expansion at the expense of the national sentiments of others.

It was the *intense nationalism in Serbia* which created bitterness between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. This was also responsible for the murder of Arch Duke Francis Ferdinand in 1914. Thus the intense or excessive nationalism roused ill feelings between the countries of Europe which in its turn paved the way for the outbreak of the First World War.

### Alsace-Lorraine question

The Franco-Prussian war and the treaty of Frankfurt enabled Germany to occupy Alsace and a part of Lorraine. The government of the Third Republic in France left no stone unturned to keep alive the spirit of revenge and the hope of recovery of Alsace and Lorraine.

There was also *economic motive* for getting back the Alsace and Lorraine. The iron deposits are found in abundance in these regions. The iron and steel magnates of France felt that their industries were paralysed on account of the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. There was also a feeling among the French that the industrial prosperity of Germany was due to the iron mines of Lorraine. The Frenchmen must have burnt their blood when they found that 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 alternative material compensation for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine and forgotten their revenge against Germany. *But the German interference in the affairs of Morocco added to the bitterness between the two countries.* It appeared more or less like adding fuel to the fire.

### Pan-Germanism

Germans believed that *"He who succeeds is never in the wrong"*. In other words the end justifies the means. Victory was identified with morality. The Prussians were taught that the war was the most logical thing in the world. According to Mirabeau, *"War is the national industry of Prussia"*.

— Germans believed in *Pan-Germanism*. They think that the Germans' were born to rule but not to be ruled over by others. Thus the younger generation of Germany was indoctrinated with such practical philosophy. The eminent German historians like Droyden, Sybel and others devoted their energy in spreading the gospel of pan-Germanism.

The character of William II, the German emperor, further fanned the Prussian spirit. *He was very arrogant and haughty.* He wanted to make Germany as the strongest power in the world. He believed in the policy of *"World power or down fall"*. He was not prepared for any compromise in the international affairs. Further, he had formed a poor opinion of the English character. 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.

### Near Eastern problem and the Bosnian crisis

The Balkan problem provided the required situation for the outbreak of the war. Many factors complicated the situation in the Balkans. The tyrannical and the despotic rule of the Turkish sultan resulted in discontentment. Second, there was a rivalry between the Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria for the control of Macedonia. Third, Russia was trying her best to establish her sphere of influence in the Balkan peninsula. Finally, Austria, like Russia, showed very keen interest in the Balkan politics.

The *Congress of Berlin of 1878* empowered Austria to occupy and to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. Though Austria was not permitted to annex these provinces, she annexed the provinces in 1908 by her unilateral action. A strong agitation was started in Serbia to separate these provinces from Austria and unite them with Serbia. *It should be noted here that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were more anxious for their independence from Austria than for their union with Serbia.* However, they were willing to accept help from Serbia in their efforts to become independent.

The rivalry between Austria and Serbia became intense in the Balkans. Many secret societies had been setup to bring about the union of all the Slaves. The *"Black Hand"* or *"Union of Death"* society was the most powerful one. The seal of the society showed, a skull and cross bones, a dagger, a bomb and a

bottle of poison. The society came to know that Arch Duke Francis Ferdinand was coming to Bosnia to act as its governor. Serbian government supplied the required arms to this society. According to the plan, the Arch Duke and his wife paid a visit to Sarajevo the capital city of Bosnia on 28th June 1914. At that time one of the members of the society of "Black Hand" fired two shots at point blank range and as a result the Arch Duke and his wife were killed.

Austria decided to take the advantage of the situation to crush Serbia. Serbia was immediately supported by Russia. At this stage Austria was supported by Germany. *Before this, Great Britain and Germany tried to localise the war, but it was soon found that matters had gone out of their hands, because France supported Russia.* When Russia ordered general mobilisation on 23rd July 1914, Germany sent an ultimatum demanding demobilisation within 12 hours. As Russia refused to accept that ultimatum Germany declared war on Russia. Thus started the First World War.

The war was fought between the Central Powers and the Allies. The Central Powers were Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria. The Allies were Russia (left the Allied camp in 1917), France, Britain, Italy (joined in 1915), Japan, Rumania and U.S.A. (1917). Ultimately the Central powers were defeated.

### **Causes for the defeat of the Central Powers**

- i. Allied sea power was decisive, enforcing the deadly blockade which caused desperate food shortage, while keeping the Allied armies fully supplied.
- ii. The German submarine campaign failed in the face of convoys protected by the British, American and Japanese destroyers. The German campaign itself was a mistake because it brought America into the war.
- iii. The entry of America into the war brought vast resources to the Allies. It literally changed the very course of war in favour of the Allies.
- iv. The Allied political leaders were more competent than the leaders of the Central Powers. Lloyd George and Clemenceau were the most outstanding Allied leaders.
- v. The continuous strain of heavy losses was telling on the Germans. They lost their best troops in the 1918 offensive and the new troops were young and inexperienced.
- vi. The Germany had to defend herself and at the same time she had to help Austrians and Bulgarians. Thus Germany was badly let down by her allies. The defeat of Bulgaria by the British and Serbia was the final straw for many German soldiers, who could see no chance of victory afterwards. When Austria was defeated by Italy and Turkey surrendered, the end of the First World War came.

### **PEACE SETTLEMENT**

The termination of the war was followed by a peace conference. It was soon obvious that a settlement would be difficult because of the different views expressed by the Allied powers regarding the treatment expected to be given to the defeated powers.

*France (represented by Clemenceau) wanted a harsh peace to ruin Germany economically and militarily so that she could never again threaten France.*

*Britain (represented by Lloyd George) was in favour of a less severe settlement enabling Germany to recover quickly so that she could resume her role as a major customer for British goods.*

*U.S.A. (represented by Woodrow Wilson) proposed the famous Fourteen points to guide the peace settlement. Some of them are as follows.*



- i. Abolition of secret diplomacy.
- ii. Free navigation at sea for all nations in times of war and peace.
- iii. Removal of economic barriers between the states.
- iv. Reduction of armaments.
- v. Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the population concerned.
- vi. Implementation of *the principle of national self-determination*.

The rest of the points deals with the territorial adjustments.

### Treaty of Versailles with Germany

The Germans submitted to the ultimate peace based on the Wilsonian Fourteen Points. But the German delegates who came to Paris to participate in the peace settlement were humiliated. They were kept in a hotel behind barbed wires. Guard of honour given to the other delegates was withdrawn to them. They 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 and rotten eggs at them and also hurled abuses on them. It was in these circumstances that the German delegates signed the treaty of Versailles on 20th June 1919.

### Provisions of the treaty

- i. Germany had given Alsace-Lorraine to France. Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium. Memel to Lithuania and a large part of Posen and western Prussia to Poland. Germany was also forced to give up her right over Upper Silesia and the southern part of east Prussia to Poland.
- ii. Danzig was taken away from Germany and setup as a free city under the League of Nations. Poland was given special rights in the city of Danzig. Thus the "Polish corridor" was created.
- iii. Germany had to give up her right over the coal mines of the Saar valley. The Saar Valley was put under the League of Nations for 15 years and then a plebiscite was held to decide as to whether the Saar valley was to remain under the League of Nations or go to Germany or France.
- iv. The Rhineland was demilitarised. Germany was forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications on either side of the Rhine river. The existing fortifications were to be destroyed.
- v. Germany was forced to give up all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions. Japan got the lease of Kia-Chow and other German concessions in the province of Shantung.  
New Zealand got the German part of the island of Samoa  
England got the German West Africa.  
England and France divided among themselves the Kameruns and Togoland.
- vi. 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.



- vii. *Germany gave up her special rights and privileges in China, Egypt, Thailand, Morocco and Liberia.* The Allies also reserved to themselves the right to retain or 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 the concessions enjoyed by Germany in Bulgaria and Turkey were forfeited.
- viii. An attempt was made to cripple once for all *the military strength* of Germany.
  - (a) The German General Staff was abolished.
  - (b) The total strength of the German army was fixed at one lakh. That army was to be used only for the maintenance of law and order and to protect her frontiers.
  - (c) The police force was to be increased only in proportion to the increase of population.
  - (d) Restrictions were placed on the manufacture of armaments, munitions and the other war materials by the Germany. Both the import and export of war materials was banned.
  - (e) The Germany navy also met with a step-motherly treatment. Germany was allowed to have 6 battle-ships, 6 light cruisors, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. No submarines were to be allowed.
  - (f) Germany was allowed neither to make nor purchase from outside tanks, armoured cars and poison gasses.
- ix. 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 (Holland) refused to handover the German emperor to the Allies. *Germany was forced to admit that she was responsible for the war.*
- x. The German rivers, *Elbe, Oder, Danube and Niemen* were internationalised. The river Rhine was put under the control of an international commission.
- xi. Germany was required to *return the trophies, works of art and flags taken from France* after the Franco-Prussian war.
- xii. Germany was to *pay reparations for the damage done to the Allies.* After much argument and haggling the amount was fixed at £ 6,600 million. The Germans protested against this huge amount, and they soon began to default on their installments. This caused resentment among the Allies who were relying on German cash to pay their own war debts to the U.S.A. Eventually the Allies admitted their own mistake and reduced the amount to £ 2,000 millions.
- xiii. *Provision was also made for the enforcement of the above terms of the treaty.* The German territory to the west of Rhine was to be occupied by the Allied troops for a period of fifteen years. If Germany carried out her obligations faithfully the Allied troops had to be evacuated after five years. If Germany misbehaved, the occupation was liable to be extended.

The end of the First World War also saw the conclusion of three more treaties and they are as follows.

### Treaty of St. Germaine (1919)

This was concluded between the Allies and the Austria-Hungary.

- i. *Hungary was cut off from Austria* and the latter was made to recognise the independence of the former.
- ii. Bohemia and Moravia were taken away from Austria and were formed the part of a new state by name *Czechoslovakia*.
- iii. Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Serbia. Montenegro was later on added to Serbia. Thus the new state of *Yugoslavia* was formed.

### Treaty of Trianon (1920)

This treaty was concluded between the Allies and Hungary.

Hungary gave up non-Magyar regions. While *Slavak provinces* were given to *Czechoslovakia*, *Transylvania* to *Rumania* and *Croatia* was given to *Yugoslavia*.

### Treaty of Neuilly (1919)

This treaty was concluded between the Allies and Bulgaria. According to this treaty Bulgaria gave up most of those territories which she had got during the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the First World War.

- i. Bulgaria gave up *Macedonia* to *Yugoslavia*.
- ii. The whole of *Dobrudja* to *Rumania*.
- iii. She gave the *Thracian coast* to the Allies and the latter gave it to *Greece*.

### Treaty of Sevres (1920)

Turkey had fought on the side of the Central powers and she too was defeated along with them. The treaty of Sevres was signed between Turkey and the Allies.

- i. The *Arab state of Hedjaz* was freed from the control of Turkey.
- ii. *Armenia* was made into a *Christian Republic* and she was put under an international guarantee.
- iii. *Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Palestine* were taken away from Turkey. Syria was given to France under the mandate of the League of Nations.

Mesopotamia, Palestine and Trans-Jordan were given to England under the Mandate system.

Provision was made for the mandate system under the League of Nations. The territories captured from the Central Powers and Turkey were not to be restored to them and were also not to be given to any victorious country for annexation. The administration of these conquered territories were entrusted to various powers under the supervision of the League of Nations.

- iv. *Galitia* was recognised as a *French sphere of influence* and *southern Anatolia* as an *Italian sphere of influence*.
- v. *Adrianopli, Gallipoli, Smyrna, Dodecabese islands etc.* were given to *Greece*.
- vi. The straits of *Dardanelles and Bosphorous* were internationalised.

## **Critical analysis of the Treaty of Versailles**

This treaty, as stated earlier, was concluded between the Allies and Germany. The Germans had expected the peace terms to be based on the Fourteen Points of Woodro Wilson. *But they were cheated.*

The peace settlement was a "Carthagian Peace". It was immeasurably harsh and humiliating. It was based on the principle: *"To the victor belong the spoils and the Allies are the victors".*

The treaty of Versailles was imposed on the people of Germany. *It was a dictated peace.* The Germans were not in a mood to accept the treaty, but it was only when they were threatened with the invasion of their country they surrendered and signed the treaty. Even then the German representatives maintained that they signed the treaty under coercion and justice was on their side. Obviously the treaty of Versailles was signed at the point of bayonet. It had absolutely no moral backing. Thus the treaty was torn to pieces by Hitler at a later time.

*The peace settlement was made in a spirit of revenge.* The peace makers ought to have remembered that kind treatment of Germany was more likely to maintain peace in Europe than the punishment of the German people.

The Allies not only scored victory over Germany but also converted it as a Republic. The victors should have treated the Germans kindly and accorded the required strength and support to the Republic. As they did not do so, the Republican forces in Germany were weakened from the very beginning. It may be stated here that the harsh treatment given to Germany by the peace settlement of Paris and the subsequent behaviour of the Allies, particularly France towards her, destroyed all chances of the Republican regime in Germany. *If the bad treatment of France by Bismarck in 1870-71 led to the war of 1914, the treaty of Versailles of 1919 was partly responsible for the war of 1939. Thus the peace settlement of 1919-20 had in itself the germs of Second World War.*

The creation of "Polish Corridor" was a great political blunder committed by the Allies. The grant of corridor to Poland through Germany divided Germany into two parts. This act created bitter resentment amongst Germans. It is this thoughtless act of the Allies which made Hitler, at a later time, to create the "the Polish Crisis" which is the sign and signal for the outbreak of the Second World War.

The peace makers also *could not realise the importance of the Italian contribution in the war.* Thus Italy was very much disappointed at the peace settlement. There are many causes for the same.

- i. Orlando, the representative of Italy, was completely ignored by Clemenceau of France and Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England.
- ii. Very big and tempting promises and assurances were given to Italy in 1915 and hence she deserted the Central Powers and joined the Allies. She had lost millions of soldiers and lost millions of dollars during the course of the war. After the end of the war Italy was given merely Trentino, southern Tyrol and a part of Dalmatia. She got very little as compared with what was secured by Great Britain, France and Japan.
- iii. The Italian patriots were upset when they *got no colonial possessions.* Further, *they were upset when they were not given the whole of Tyrol and Fiume which were inhabited by the Italian speaking people.*

## **Defects in the execution of the disarmament policy**

It is also pointed out that when Germany was disarmed, it was intended to take similar action with regard to other powers as well. However, the other powers, except England, remained armed. As they refused to limit their armaments, a feeling was created that they were preparing for another conflict in the future. This led to a competition in armaments which ultimately resulted in the war of 1939.

## **Treatment given to the allies of Germany, viz; Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey**

*Austria* was reduced to a tiny state. Her empire, dynasty and army disappeared in the whirlwind. She had lost much of her territory. Her population was reduced from 21 million to 7.5 million. Her industrial wealth lost to Czechoslovakia and Poland. Vienna, once the capital of the Hapsburg empire, was left high and dry surrounded by farming land which could hardly support her.

*Hungary* was forced to give up the non-Magyar populated regions. She had lost Slavok provinces, Transylvania and Croatia to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

*Bulgaria* was also hard pressed by the Allies. She had lost Macedonia to Yugoslavia and Dobrudja to Rumania. Her army was reduced and forced to pay huge war indemnity.

The treaty of Severs gave a death blow to the Ottoman Turkish empire. She had lost her control over Asia Minor. Most of her territories in the Balkan peninsula were offered to Greece. This was treated by the Turks as a national humiliation and ultimately paved the way for the rise of Mustafa Kamal Pashas and the emergence of modern Turkey.

The treaty of Severs and the principle of national self-determination gave impetus for the development of Arab nationalism, Jewish Zionism and British imperialism.

## **Principle of National self-determination**

It has been advocated that the principle of national self-determination received due recognition in the peace settlement. More people were placed under governments of their own nationality than ever before in Europe. Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were created on the basis of this principle. In this connection we have to consider certain anomalies and some of them are as follows.

- i. *Three million Germans were placed in Czechoslovakia (in the Sudetenland) and a million in Poland.* It was done with the view that these new states needed them to be economically viable. It was unfortunate that both these instances gave Hitler an excuse to begin territorial demands on these countries.
- ii. *According to the treaty of Trianon Hungary lost Transylvania and Croatia to Rumania and Serbia. As a result six lakhs of men and women of Magyar race were put under alien domination.*
- iii. *The attempt of France to get Rhine frontier and of Italy to get Dalmatia could not be justified on the grounds of nationality.*
- iv. *The authors of the peace settlement were condemned for their attitude towards Armenian Christians. These people had suffered terribly under the Turkish yoke and there were wholesale massacres from time to time. During the war, Britain declared that the Armenians would be liberated from the Turkish domination. However, when the final settlement was made with Turkey at Lousanne the promise was not kept. The unfortunate Armenians were left at the mercy of the Turks and had to suffer immensely later on.*

In conclusion we may state that this collection of peace treaties was not a conspicuous success. It had the unfortunate effect of dividing Europe into the states. Some wanted to revise the settlement and the others desired to preserve it. Prof. Seaman points out:

*"The real weakness of the Versailles system, however, lies not in the creation of small states to the east and south of the Germans but in the absence of any effective means of maintaining and defending their existence".*

The peace conference was guided by much the same considerations as the Congress of Vienna of 1815. These considerations were the desire to safeguard the peace of Europe and the transfer of the territories to the victorious powers and their allies.

The Peace of Paris based its *guarantees for the future on the principle of nationality*, while the *Congress of Vienna had based it on the principle of balance of power*. In both the cases, the principle was carried out at the expense of the defeated nations and in favour of the victorious ones.

It should be noted here that U.S.A. failed to ratify the settlement and refused to join the League of Nations. This left France completely disenchanted with the whole thing because the Anglo-American guarantee of her frontiers could not now apply. Italy felt cheated because she had not received the full territory promised to her in 1915. Russia was ignored. All this tended to sabotage the settlement from the beginning, and it became increasingly difficult to apply the terms fully. These accumulated defects reached its cumulative point when the Second World War broke out in 1939.



## *The Second World War*

The Second World War was another catastrophic event that occurred in the 20th century. Twenty years after the treaty of Versailles the Second World War broke out. Like the First World War this also brought immeasurable loss of life, destruction and revolutionary changes in the international politics.

The German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Japanese militarism, lack of cooperation and understanding among the Allied powers, economic needs and material interests of the European powers, failure of the policy of disarmament, ideological differences between the democratic and dictatorship countries, etc; were some of the factors that were responsible for the out break of the Second World War.

### **Nazism in Germany**

#### **Circumstances that paved the way for the rise of Nazism**

—Germany witnessed in 1919 the birth of Nazism as a political movement. Its original name was "*National Socialist German Worker's Party*". In course of time it not only became popular but also came to be known as Nazi party. Several factors paved the way for the birth and rise of Nazism in Germany.

#### **1. The Treaty of Versailles**

The treaty of Versailles had in itself the germs of Nazism. Germany was very badly humiliated by the treaty. She was forced to sign the treaty at the point of bayonet and the *treaty itself was based on the spirit of revenge.*

Germany was deprived of her *colonies and concessions abroad*. She was cut into two parts by the *creation of the Polish corridor*. Her navy was completely destroyed and army was reduced to an insignificant position. She had lost her coal and steel resources. Her soil was occupied by the foreign troops to enforce the provisions of the treaty. The French occupation of the *Ruhr valley* added insult to injury. This humiliating treatment given to the Germany provided a psychological background for the birth of Nazism.

#### **2. Contribution of the Allies**

The lack of foresight on the part of the Allies provided suitable situation for the birth of German National Socialist Party (Nazi party).

The first mistake that was committed by the Allies was that the Germany was asked to "*accept the war guilt*". It was a blunder to incorporate such a clause in the treaty. *It brought no material advantage to the victors, but it created bitter resentment amongst Germans.*

Secondly, after the surrender of Germany, the Allies converted Germany as a Republic, and Ebert was made its President. This is another blunder. Firstly, *the Germany had traditions of autocracy and the Germans were not democratic at heart.* Secondly, if the Allied statesmen desired the establishment of the

democratic traditions in Germany, *they ought to have treated her leniently* in 1919. It is rightly maintained that the victorious Allies did not show much wisdom when they imposed very severe terms on the new Republican regime of Germany. The harshness of the terms of the treaty, particularly the payment of heavy reparations, the maintenance of foreign troops and the problems arose afterwards weakened the foundations of the newly born democracy in Germany.

Further, the Allies with the intention of checking the rise of Germany created new states like Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to the east and south of Germany. But the Allies did not show any interest in making these states powerful by offering financial and military assistance.

Thus all these blunders committed by the Allies not only strengthened the Nazis but also paved the way for the rise of Hitler.

### 3. The Economic depression of 1929-30

— The economic depression had its impact on Germany. International trade received a check. Industries were paralysed. Unemployment became acute. The enormous expenses of the war, the payment of reparations and the maintenance of foreign troops had a devastating effect on the Weimer Republic. Further, a large amount of paper currency, with out gold reserves, was printed and this process was continued. Germany was under the firm grip of inflation. Thus Weimer Republic was in a sea of troubles and it was too weak to solve these problems. Further, the communists and the independent Socialists were trying to overthrow the Republic. It was under these circumstances the Nazism under the leadership of Hitler started gaining ground.

Mention may be made in this connection that at this time the Germans cared more for a party which would give them security, safety and glory. They were sick of treachery and cowardice of the Republican politics who had brought the country to ruin. *The Nazi party looked like a Manna from heaven to the Germans.*

### 4. The German thinkers.

The German thinkers like Hegel, Nietzsche and Tietsche promoted the authoritarian and totalitarian traditions. Hegel held the view that the *"State was the march of God on earth"*. Thus the individual exists for the sake of the state and not vice-versa. Nietzsche advocated the concept of *"Super Man"* and said that everything within the state should be subordinated to him. The Germans were very much influenced by the theories of these German thinkers and formulated their own ideas of state.

### 5. The personality of Hitler

Another important factor for the rise of Nazism was the personality of Hitler. Further, the clever use of the mass media by the Nazis for the propaganda purposes also had its impact on the Germans.

Hitler was a great politician and orator. Gifted by demonic dynamism and possessing mesmeric powers, he swayed the millions of frustrated Germans, and gave the impression of rescuing Germany from the despair into which she had sunk after the treaty of Versailles.

### Characteristics of Nazism

- i. *Extreme nationalism* was one of the characteristics of Nazism. It may be equated with Italian Fascism and Japanese militarism.
- ii. *It was anti-democratic in nature.* The Nazi Germany suppressed all forms of democratic forms by the application of repressive measures.



- iii. *Anti-individualism* was another characteristic of Nazism. The Nazis believed that individual exists for the sake of the state and not the state exists to cater the needs of the individuals.
- iv. Nazism was also marked by *anti-communism*. The Nazis in the beginning adopted friendly posture towards the communists of Germany and the Soviet Union only with the intention of consolidating their position against the Social Democrats. In the next stage they not only persecuted the Communists in Germany but also joined *Anti-Comintern Pact* with Japan and Italy in 1936-37.
- v. Nazism was for *anti-peace*. The economic crisis of 1929-30 enabled the Nazis to capture power in Germany. The Nazis thought that they would remain in power only through perpetuating that crisis. In fact Germany, between 1933-36, recovered from the economic crisis. But it was necessary for the Nazis to create some other crisis in order to remain in power. Thus Hitler through his foreign policy created an artificial crisis not only enabled Hitler to occupy the neighbouring countries but also paved the way for the out break of the Second World War.
- vi. Nazism was *pro-capitalist* in nature.
- vii. *Anti-Semitism* was the other characteristic of Nazism. This was responsible for developing hatred towards the Jews. The Nazis believed that the economic domination of Germany by the Jews was responsible for the economic hardships faced by the Germans. Most of the Jews in Germany were the money-lenders and bankers. This anti-Semitic character of Nazism explains not only the persecution of Jews in Germany and Europe but also responsible for the development of racial superiority by the Germans.

### The rise of Hitler and his Foreign policy

Hitler and the Nazi party offered what seemed to be an attractive alternative just when the Republic was at its most incapable stage. It should be noted here that the latter day economic crisis also fostered the rise of Hitler and Nazis. Hitler offered the following to the Germans to get their support to Nazi party.

- i. He offered to the Germans, *national unity, safety, security and glory*.
- ii. Creation of *Greater Germany*. This would include bringing all Germans (in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland) back into the Reich.
- iii. Hitler and the Nazis promised to *overthrow the Versailles Settlement*, so unpopular with the most of the Germans.
- iv. The Nazi army created by Hitler attracted the young people who were out of work. They were given wages and uniform. Thus the *unemployment problems was solved to some extent*.
- v. Hitler and the Nazis attracted the *wealthy landowners and industrialists*. They encouraged the Nazis because they feared a communist revolution. The Nazis were financed by the landowners, industrialists and anti-communist forces.

The progress of the Nazis in capturing power was gradual. The Nazis secured 32 seats in 1924, 107 in 1930 and 230 in 1932. Early in 1933 Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany. On the death of Hindenburg in 1934, he got himself elected as the President of Germany and thus combined in himself the office of the chancellor and president. He abrogated the Weimer Constitution and himself became the dictator of Germany.



## Foreign policy

Hitler from 1933 until his death was supreme in Germany. The first half of this period was spent in preparation for war and the war itself occupied the second half.

### Hitler's policy towards the countries of South and East of Germany

The rise of Hitler to power shocked the people and the rulers of Europe who had not forgotten his utterances from time to time. *The real objective of his foreign policy lay in the south and east of Europe.* It was there that the German nationalism hoped to fulfil her objectives.

It was felt that *the Germany had a growing population* and it was only the south and eastern part of Europe would give her more space to accommodate her population.

It has also been maintained that region was *economically complementary to Germany*. It was rich in coal, oil and wheat which Germany required for her development. *While Austria had coal*, she did not produce grain. *Hungary had grains*, but not factories. *Rumania had ores and oil* but she had no markets. The best results could be achieved only after one political power was established in the whole region and that role was intended to be played by Germany under Hitler.

Hitler from the beginning followed the policy of caution. He declared in unequivocal terms that Germany was determined to follow a policy of peace. *He did this to avoid the unity among the Germany enemies and to consolidate his position in Germany.* In 1934 he entered into a Non-Aggression Pact with Poland for 10 years. This he did to show to the world that Germany was really interested in peace.

If Germany wanted to advance southwards, she must make peace with her eastern neighbour, Poland. Polish friendship was purchased by giving her a guarantee of peace for 10 years. Hitler thought that he could not win the Soviet Union on account of his persecution of communists and the Jews. Austria, was also hostile as she feared her own security from the Nazis. Czechoslovakia was considered to be too small to be bothered about. Hence Hitler decided to enter into a friendly pact with Poland. Poland also had her own reasons to join the pact. *The German minorities had proved too much of an headache for her.* Hence she felt that the treaty with Germany would silence the German minorities and would be safe from the perpetual nuisance. However, it was a stop-gap arrangement as far as Germany was concerned. As a matter of fact, the Second World War started on the question of Poland.

### Hitler's interest in Austria

• Hitler showed interest in the Austrian affairs. He was an Austrian by birth and that partly explains his interest in the affairs of Austria. The Austrians were also Germans. But the Allies, in the treaty of Versailles, kept it separate from Germany with the intention of weakening it. In other words a powerful Germany would be a source of menace to the peace and security of Europe. However, Germany would like to annex Austria and with that object in view, Hitler encouraged the Nazi agitators in Austria to capture the government. At this time England, France and Italy not only showed interest in Austria but also determined to maintain the independence of Austria. Hence the Nazi agitation failed in Austria. When it failed, Hitler declared that he had absolutely no hand in the whole affair.

### His attitude towards Saar Valley

After the failure in the affair of Austria, the Nazis and Hitler turned their attention towards Saar. The treaty of Versailles empowered France to occupy and exploit Saar for 15 years. However, it was provided that after the lapse of that period, a plebiscite would be held with a view to allow the people of the

Saar to decide for themselves, whether they would like to go back to Germany or not. Such a plebiscite was arranged in 1935 and in it the people expressed their will to join Germany. This recovery of the Saar valley added to the resources of Germany. It also revealed the effectiveness of the Nazi techniques of propaganda.

### **Violation of the military clauses of the treaty of Versailles**

The recovery of the Saar region made Hitler and the Nazis assertive and also aggressive. Hitler declared that Germany was not bound by the military clauses of the treaty of Versailles and as a consequence the peace strength of Germany army was increased to 5 1/2 lakhs of soldiers. The German army was increased by the *application of the policy of conscription* which was also against the provisions of the treaty of Versailles.

### **Naval Agreement with England**

In 1935 Hitler entered into a *Naval Agreement with Great Britain* by which Germany agreed to limit the size of her navy to 35% of the strength of The British navy. By this agreement, Hitler was able to remove the suspicion of England and win her to his side. However, this agreement was against the provisions of the treaty of Versailles, which required Germany to maintain much smaller force that was allowed by the *Anglo-German Naval Agreement*. This agreement was a master-stroke of Hitler's diplomacy.

### **Remilitarisation of Rhineland**

The treaty of Versailles *demilitarised the Rhineland* and it also stated that the German troops would not be stationed in that region. In 1936 Hitler violated these clauses and the German troops were marched into the Rhineland. This act of Hitler exposed both France and Belgium to the German danger and all the powers condemned Hitler's action. But no action was taken against him.

### **Hitler and the Spanish Civil War**

Hitler and Mussolini intervened in the internal politics of Spain. In 1936 a civil war broke out in Spain. The Republican government of Spain was supported by the Soviet Union and General Franco who stood for dictatorship was supported by Hitler and Mussolini. General Franco with the assistance of Germany and Italy overthrow the Republican government and captured power. At this time England and France followed the policy of neutrality and that was exploited by Hitler and Mussolini.

### **Hitler and the Anti-Commintern Pact**

In 1936, Germany entered into *anti-Commintern Pact with Japan*. In 1937, Italy also joined the Pact and thus *Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis* came into existence. Germany and Japan came together as both of them were opposed to communism. The same is the case with Mussolini. It was at this time Japan created *Manchurian crisis* and Mussolini *Abyssinian crisis*.

### **Annexation of Austria by Hitler**

It may be stated here that in 1934 Mussolini opposed Hitler on the question of Austria. After the Anti-Commintern Pact with Germany Mussolini agreed to give Hitler a free hand in Austria. Having removed the Italian hurdle, Hitler decided to annex Austria.

In 1936 Hitler entered into a pact with Austria and as a consequence cordial relations existed between these two countries. Then with the instigation of Germany, Nazis made violent demonstrations in Austria. Due to the pressure from Hitler, the Austrian Chancellor agreed to take the Nazi leaders of Austria

into his cabinet. Next it was announced that plebiscite would be held in 1938 to decide whether Austria would like to remain independent or merge herself with Germany. Arthur Seys, the Nazi minister of Interior in Austria, thought that the time was not suitable for conducting the plebiscite because the Nazis did not have sufficient time for propaganda. So he presented to the Austrian Chancellor with an ultimatum demanding either his resignation or the postponement of the plebiscite. Further, he was told that in case he failed to do so, the German troops would enter Austria. The result was that the Austrian Chancellor not only cancelled the plebiscite but also resigned. Arthur Seys became the Chancellor of Austria and in his new position, he invited Hitler to come and save Austria from internal chaos. The German army and airforce rushed to Austria and occupied it. Hitler himself went to Vienna - the capital of Austria. At this time the Western Democratic countries practically did nothing. The annexation of Austria was of great importance and help to Germany.

- i. The Austrian National Bank brought to the German treasury 20 million pounds of gold and foreign exchange.
- ii. Germany came into direct contact with Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

### **Annexation of Czechoslovakia by Hitler**

Hitler then turned his attention towards Czechoslovakia. This country was created by the Peace of Paris of 1919. Her greatest weakness was that she had many minorities in her population and the most important among them was the Sudetan Germans. Hitler had special reasons to intervene on behalf of the Sudetan Germans.

- i. The *Sudatanland had strategic importance*. If this region came under the control of Hitler, it would become easy for him to penetrate into Southern Europe.
- ii. Further, this region was *industrialised*. Its occupation was to add to the industrial output of Germany.

However, there were certain difficulties for its occupation.

- i. Czechoslovakia had a *large number of forts in the Sudatenland*. Hence it is not easy to conquer that region.
- ii. Besides, *Czechoslovakia was bound by treaties with France and Soviet Union*.

However, Hitler decided to deal with Czechoslovakia as he pleased. In this connection he exploited the passive policy followed by the western democratic powers. The Sudetan Germans were encouraged to stage demonstrations against their government. Hitler at this time demanded the *right of self-determination* for the Sudetan Germans. He declared that if the latter could not defend themselves, they would be helped by Germany.

The Soviet Union, at this time, proposed a conference with England, France and U.S.A. and expressed her willingness to take part in *any collective action* that might be taken to defend Czechoslovakia against Germany. The proposals were not accepted. The Sudetans were determined to join Germany. The western powers were in a very difficult position and they did not know what to do. If they supported Czechoslovakia, there was the certainty of a war in which every one was likely to be involved. If they did not support her, she could not be expected to resist the German pressure single-handed and *in this war of nerves Hitler won*.

Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, *decided to prevent war by following the policy of appeasement*. He met Hitler in 1938 and he was frankly told that nothing could stop the war unless the Sudetan Germans were given the right of self-determination. At last Great Britain and France asked

Czechoslovakia to agree to the immediate transfer to Germany of the areas inhabited by a population of more than 50% Germans. Czechoslovakia agreed. However, at this stage, Hitler increased his demands which were considered by Chamberlin as unreasonable and he refused to do more than refer them to the government of Czechoslovakia. It was decided that if Germany attacked Czechoslovakia the latter would be supported by Great Britain and France. War preparations were started. At this stage President Roosevelt made a "Peace Conference" proposal to Hitler to settle the matter amicably. Then Chamberlin told Hitler, "You can get the essentials with out the war and with out delay". At the same time Mussolini asked Hitler to settle the matter peacefully without going for war. Chamberlin met Hitler and after prolonged discussions concluded *Munich Pact* in 1938. The provisions of the Pact are as follows.

- i. Czechoslovakia was to evacuate all the territory occupied by the Sudaten Germans with out damaging the existing installations.
- ii. The government of Czechoslovakia was to be held responsible if any damage was done to those installations.
- iii. The territory to be evacuated by Czechoslovakia was to be occupied by the German troops.
- iv. An *International Commission* was to be set up to decide in which areas the plebiscite was to be held.
- v. The Sudaten German prisoners who were serving the terms of imprisonment for political offences should be released.

It is rightly said that the heart of the lamb of Czechoslovakia was butchered in the midnight by a knife supplied by Chamberlin. Ribbontrop, the foreign minister of Germany, said : "*The old man (Chamberlin) has signed the death warrant and now it is for us to fix the date*". The Munich Pact was the culmination of appeasement and warrant of death for the western democracies. "*It was a symbol of the collapse of collective security*".

The western powers were not prepared for war. There was a strong belief in France and Great Britain, that after having got everything in Czechoslovakia, the attention of Hitler would be diverted towards Soviet Russia, the two dictatorships would get involved in a life and death struggle and thereby exhaust themselves. The western democracies were likely to gain under these circumstances. Chamberlin also believed that the appetite of Hitler was limited. His view was that Germany and Italy had certain grievances and if those were redressed, peace would be maintained in Europe. That is the reason why Chamberlin persisted in the *policy of appeasement* inspite of warning from Winston Churchill.

• Hitler first maintained friendly relations with Poland and even concluded *Non-Agression Pact* in 1934. With the passage of time, the attitude of Hitler towards Poland began to change. It was said that the German minorities in Poland were being oppressed. Poland was asked to give back Danzig to Germany. Poland refused to accept the demand of Germany. At this time Poland was backed by England and France. Then Germany not only abrogated her *Non-Agression Pact* of 1934 but also repudiated the *Anglo-German Naval Agreement* of 1935.

Hitler, before attacking Poland, sent Ribbontrop to Soviet Union to conclude *Non-Agression Pact* between Germany and Soviet Union. This was realised in August 1939. This mastroke of diplomacy of Hitler weakened the defences of Poland, England and France.

Hitler after neutralising Germany and weakening and defences of Poland, on 1st September 1939, attacked and occupied Poland. Thus the unsatiable imperialistic hunger of Hitler and the Nazis created the "*Polish Crisis*". This became one of the potential factors for the out break of the Second World War.

## **Fascism in Italy**

### **Factors responsible for the rise of Fascism**

- i. Italy, though originally the member of the Triple Alliance, deserted it and joined the Allies in the First World War. Although Italy fought on the side of the Allies during the First World War, she was not happy at the Peace Settlement. Italy did not get what had been promised to her by the *Treaty of London of 1915*. The interests of Italy and Yugoslavia conflicted and hence the Allies favoured Yugoslavia. Italy was cheated and hence frustrated and simmering with discontentment.
- ii. The War had disastrous effect on the economy and standard of living on Italy and Italians. The government had borrowed money very heavily from the U.S.A. and these debts now had to be repaid.
- iii. The economic depression of 1929-30 added insult to injury. The trade and commerce received set back. The industries were paralysed. The unemployment problem became acute. The inflation reigned supreme. Thus the economy of Italy was in a battered state and she was on the brink of economic bankruptcy.
- iv. Besides, the liberal parliamentary system of government introduced in Italy, like the Weimer Republic of Germany, failed to solve the problems. Corrupt politics reigned supreme. The government failed to get the required support from people.
- v. The peace and tranquility became rare in Italy. A wave of strikes in 1919 and 1920 accompanied by violence, looting of shops and occupation of factories disturbed the normal life of Italians.

It was under these circumstance the Fascist Party and Mussolini came not only to lime light and successfully captured power.

### **The basic characteristics of Fascism**

- i. It stood for extreme nationalism.
- ii. It, like Nazism, advocated totalitarian or authoritarian system of government.
- iii. It aimed at establishing one party government and state, wherein individual was the subordinate of the state.
- iv. It stood for violence and war.
- v. It was anti-communist.
- vi. It laid emphasis on economic self-sufficiency and militarism.
- vii. *Italian Fascism deviates sharply from the German Nazism in one respect. Nazism laid uncommon importance on the racial superiority of the Germans. This concept is conspicuously absent in Italian Fascism.*
- viii. Fascists always advocate aggressive foreign policy.

Mussolini successfully exploited the conditions that prevailed in Italy and ultimately captured power and started ruling Italy like a double distilled dictator. He, like Hitler, followed an aggressive foreign policy to win the support of the Italians. He resolved to raise the prestige of Italy. He would like to *revive the glories of the Roman Empire*.

Further, the Italians had not forgotten the humiliation to which they were subjected after the First World War.

Another factor which prompted Mussolini to follow aggressive foreign policy was that *the need for the colonies* to provide an outlet for hundreds and thousands of people deprived of work in the fatherland and no longer emigrate abroad on account of the limitations imposed on immigration by foreign countries.

Mussolini, in the beginning, diverted his attention towards the south-eastern part of Europe. In 1920, Italy had to surrender Dodecanese islands to Greece according to the terms of the treaty of Sevres. But she got them back by the *treaty of Lausanne* in 1923. Mussolini made peace with Yugoslavia according to which Fiume was divided between Italy and Yugoslavia. In 1926, Mussolini concluded a treaty with Albania according to which *Albania became practically a dependent of Italy*.

Mussolini then turned his attention towards Abyssinia and many factors were responsible for the same.

- i. The *population of Italy* was on the increase and this became a cause of concern for Mussolini. To solve this problem he had to acquire some territory to rehabilitate the surplus population.
- ii. Italy wanted *raw materials* to feed her industries and *markets* for finished products.
- iii. It was also necessary to *divert the attention of the people* from their miserable economic conditions at home.
- iv. Abyssinia was also of *great strategic value to Italy*. It could link the Italian possessions in Somaliland. From Abyssinia, Italy also could afford to attack the British positions in the Sudan.
- v. From the *attitude of the League of Nations and the Great Powers* towards the conquest of Manchuria by Japan, Mussolini had come to the conclusion that in spite of the principle of Collective Security, no body was going to stop him from conquering Abyssinia. Resolutions might be passed condemning his action, but no solid help would be given to the ruler and the people of Abyssinia.

In 1935, Mussolini ordered the Italian troops to invade Abyssinia. The matter was taken to the League of Nations by the emperor of Abyssinia. Great Britain France and the League of Nations tried to stop the Abyssinian adventure of Mussolini. But in vain. In 1936 the Italian army conquered Abyssinia and its emperor left his country.

The conquest of Abyssinia by Mussolini was a flagrant violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the League was completely discredited. In 1936, the *Anti-Comintern Pact* was concluded between Germany and Japan. In 1937 Italy joined the Pact and thus the *Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis* came into existence. Hitler referred to this Axis as "*Great World Political Triangle*". Thus the *Abyssinian crisis* created by Mussolini became another cause for the out break of the Second World War.

### **Militarism in Japan**

Japan became one of the powerful countries in the Far East in the 20th century. The Japanese militarism also paved the way for the out break of the Second World War. Several factors were responsible for the rise and growth of militarism in Japan and some of them are as follows.

- i. Japan, like Italy, faced the *problem of over population*. This problem forced Japan to go for fresh lands.
- ii. During the Meiji Era Japan witnessed tremendous growth of industries. But the raw materials were not available in Japan. Thus the *urge for raw materials* to feed the industries stimulated militarism in Japan.



- iii. The *search for the protected markets* is said to be the other factor that was responsible for the rise and growth of imperialism and militarism in Japan.
- iv. By the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century *possession of colonies had become a symbol of status*. The more the colonies a nation possessed the greater was its strength and status. Japan, anxious to acquire world power status, developed imperialistic designs.
- v. The emergence of *Expansionist Societies*, like *Black Dragon Society*, spread expansionist doctrines. This in turn paved the way for militarism.
- vi. The *western imperialism in the neighbourhood of Japan* also influenced the Japanese leaders to pursue the path of militarism.
- vii. The *failure of responsible party government*, like in Germany and Italy, and *lack of faith in democracy* made Japan to cling tenaciously to the traditional authoritarian concepts which were based on the glorification of the emperor.
- viii. Another factor which fostered the growth of militarism in Japan was the *economic depression*. This literally paralysed the economy of Japan. The democratic government failed to solve the problems posed by the depression.

All these factors ultimately brought Japan under the control of militarists. The army and the expansionists began to propagate the idea of Japanese occupation of Manchuria and a forward policy in China could alone solve many vexed economic problems faced by Japan.

Japan, in the first instance, occupied Manchuria and thereby created the *Manchuria crisis*. When the League of Nations condemned the act of Japan, she left the League in anger.

The occupation of Manchuria did not satisfy Japan's geo-political ambition. In 1937 there started a war between China and Japan, although no formal declaration of war was made. Not only Nanking but also Peking fell flat at the feet of the Japanese troops. Further, to strengthen her position Japan entered into *Anti-Comintern Pact* with Germany. This was the beginning of the *Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Axis*. Pan-Japanese programme of conquest and expansion was bound to result in war and peace was impossible in such circumstances.

### **Ideological differences between the dictatorship and democratic countries**

There was a conflict of ideologies between the dictatorships and democracies. Germany, Japan and Italy represent dictatorship ideology whereas England, France and U.S.A. represent democratic ideology.

Mussolini described the conflict between the two ideologies thus :

"The struggle between the two worlds cannot permit no compromise. Either We or They."

Basically the distinction between the two ideologies lay in *their attitude towards the individual to the state*. In the case of democracy, the individual was regarded as *the creator* and the *beneficiary* of all the state activities. Under the totalitarian regime, the individual had to subordinate everything to the state.

The *democratic states stood for the maintenance of status quo in political, and territorial matters* and were described as "*the Haves*". They had no immediate expansionist aims because they had already acquired what they desired.

The Axis powers, on the other hand were called "*the Have-nots*". They demanded additional territories. Japan was land hungry and she was determined to establish her supremacy in the Far East.

She was not prepared for any compromise and willing to fight with any country which dared to intervene in her sphere of influence. The same was the case with Germany and Italy.

The Germans considered themselves to be a "Master Race" and were not prepared to put up with the limitations placed on them.

Under these circumstances a conflict was absolutely inevitable.

### Weakness of the democratic states and a sense of over-confidence in the strength of the Axis powers

Great Britain and France, soon after the Peace Settlement of 1919-20, began to drift apart from each other. *Great Britain began to follow the policy of isolation and aloofness from the European politics.* She was bothered more about her trade and commerce rather than European politics. She thought that she was more to gain from the economic recovery of Germany than by quarrelling over the question of war debts, reparations, etc.

The attitude of France was different. She felt that while German population was increasing, her own population was decreasing. There was also possibility of Germany having her revenge for her humiliation of 1919. France asked for guarantees from Great Britain and the United States and when she failed to get them, she entered into military alliances with countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium. Unfortunately her alliances were more of liabilities than assets and hence she did not enjoy a sense of security. Under these circumstances, she continued to oppose every effort to revise the Peace Settlement of 1919. In 1935 she entered into an alliance with Soviet Russia and made an agreement with Italy. In spite of these alliances she felt that her security was threatened.

If the democratic states had been ready for a war when the Axis powers launched upon a career of conquest and aggression, there is reason to believe that a check could have been put on them. However, that was not to be. *The weakness of their military strength and the division in the ranks of the democratic states encouraged the Axis powers.*

*The policy of appeasement* also contributed towards war. The various concessions given to Hitler and Mussolini from time to time convinced that Great Britain and France would never fight whatever be the provocation. It was this feeling which encouraged them on the war path.

### Failure of the disarmament policy

It was realised the militarism was one of the important causes for the outbreak of the First World War. The treaty of Versailles not only disarmed Germany but also expected that the other powers would follow suit so that peace could be maintained in the world. As a matter of fact, Great Britain began to disarm herself gradually and she followed that policy to a dangerous point of national security.

France was asked to do likewise but she refused to do so on the ground of national security. The same was the case with the other countries of Europe.

*Disarmament conferences* were held and earnest attempts were made to limit the armed race. But the efforts were not crowned with success. The result was that when Hitler came to power in Germany he decided to scrap those clauses of the treaty of Versailles which put limitations on the German armaments. The German air force began to grow and came to be recognised as one of the strongest air forces in Europe. In 1935, conscription was introduced in Germany. The Rhineland was remilitarised and occupied by the German troops. The same was the case in Japan and Italy. The military preparations of the Axis Powers forced the democratic states to arm themselves. Militarism and flagrant violation of the disarmament policy in both the camps were bound to result ultimately in an armed conflict.



## **The weakness of the League of Nations**

Unfortunately, when hostility was growing between the two camps there was no effective international organisation which could bring the leaders of the two camps on a common platform and bring about reconciliation between them.

*The League of Nations practically dead.* It had ceased to exist as an effective political force after her failure on the question of Manchuria and Abyssinia. Both big and small states lost their confidence in that international organisation and *the only alternative left was that the parties should have a trial of strength by an armed conflict.* It was unfortunate that the very people who could have worked for the success of the League were not honest and made sincere in their actions. They all tried to use the League to serve their personal ends.

## **Problems created by the national minorities**

During the course of the first World War and when it was about to be terminated the American President Woodrow Wilson announced his famous Fourteen Points of which *the principle of national self-determination was the most prominent one.* Its application was conditioned by such factors as *economic necessity, military defence, religious and political traditions and punishing of the defeated nations.*

In some areas of Central Europe the principle could not be applied as the *national minorities were intermixed* in such a way that the drawing of a clear-cut frontiers were not possible. The result was that the members of one nationality were included in the boundaries of the other states in which they were in minority. *It is these minority groups which became the hot-beds of discontent and dissent.*

If it is true that the First World War was fought for the self-determination of nationalism, *why was Austria forbidden to unite with Germany? Why a large part of Germany was put under foreign rule? Germany under Hitler raised the cry that the Germans were being mercilessly persecuted and she had every right to liberate them.* That served as a convenient pretext to Hitler for the annexation of Austria, the Sudetenland and subsequently Poland which led to the Second World War.

## **Course of the war**

The German invasion of Poland was the starting point of the war. When the Germans were smashing the Polish resistance, Russians also invaded Poland from the east. The result was that Poland was conquered and divided between Russia and Germany.

In 1939 Russia attacked Finland and demanded a part of Finnish territory. Russia had no faith in Germany. It was feared that Germany might conquer Finland and thereby endanger the safety of Russia.

In 1940, Germany occupied Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland. France was attacked by Germany from the side of Belgium. France could not stand the might of Germany and she surrendered in 1940.

Italy joined the war after the collapse of France. After the entry of Italy into the war, the conflict started between Italy and Great Britain in North Africa. Mussolini with the help of the Germans captured Greece, Crete and Yugoslavia.

At this time Britain was left all alone in Europe. Under the dynamic leadership of Churchill, Great Britain was able to pull herself up. In 1940 Germany attacked Britain. But the royal airforce of Britain *spoiled the German attempts in the battle of Britain.* The *battle of Britain* was the turning point in the war. President Roosevelt of U.S.A. and Churchill met on the board of a battleship and drafted a document known as the *Atlantic Charter* in which the war aims were enunciated.

In the South East Asia Japan created anxious moments to the Allies. Japan in 1941 *attacked Pearl Harbour* and this brought U.S.A. into the war. General MacArthur was made the supreme commander in the Pacific and Lord Mountbatten was given the command of South East Asia with his headquarters at Delhi.

In the African front the war was fought from 1941 to 1943. Abyssiniya, Italian Somaliland and Tripoli were captured by Montgomery. North Africa was cleared off from the German and Italian troops. Then the mainland of Italy was attacked. At this time there occurred a revolt in Italy. Mussolini was arrested and shot dead in 1945.

Britain and U.S.A. made preparations in 1943 - 44 for the invasion of the continent. The Germans were expelled from France. General Eisenhower crossed the Rhine and moved towards the river Elba, the Russians also invaded Germany from the east. The Germans could not afford fight on two fronts and Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler committed suicide and their successors surrendered unconditionally on May 7th, 1945.

After the fall of Germany and Italy, Great Britain and U.S.A. concentrated their forces against Japan. On 6th August 1945, an atom bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima and it is estimated that more than one lakh of people died. Japan even then refused to surrender. Another bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki. On 14th August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally.

## Provisions

### 1. Italy

She has to give up her right over the *Greece*, the *Rhodes* and the other *Dodecanes islands*. She renounced her right over the *African colonies* and recognised the independence of *Albania* and *Abyssinia*. She has to submit to the demilitarisation of frontiers with France and Yugoslavia. A very heavy war indemnity was levied.

### 2. Germany

Germany was divided into four zones, each of which was administered separately by the occupying powers. *Berlin came under the joint occupation* and each occupying power was assigned a sector of the city. An *Inter - Allied Body* was charged with the function of governing the city as a whole.

In 1947, Great Britain and the United States established *economic unity* of their two zones. Their invitation to join them was accepted by France and rejected by the Soviet Union.

In 1948, a new currency was put into circulation in west Germany. In 1949 a constitution was introduced and Bonn became its capital.

The Russians also framed a constitution for their own zone. *Germany was caught in a Cold War*. In June 1948, Soviet Union cut off all communications by land and water between the western zone of Germany and Berlin. The western powers resorted to what is known as the "*Berlin-Airlift*", which lasted for 10 months. Ultimately the Russians were forced to lift the blockage.

In 1952, the western states entered into an agreement with the west Germany by which the *Federal Republic of Germany* got virtually autonomy in foreign and domestic affairs. In 1955 she became the member of the NATO.

### 3. Japan

In 1951 a peace treaty was signed with Japan. By this Japan was asked to recognise the independence of Korea. Japan renounced her claims over Formosa, Korile islands and Sakalin. She gave up all special rights and interests in China. She agreed to maintain stable and friendly trading and maritime relations with all the signatories of the treaty.

#### Importance of the war

- i. *European domination of the world, already in decline in 1939, was now seen to be over.* The United States of America and the Soviet Union became the leading states, with China and Japan also playing an important role in world affairs.
- ii. Towards the end of the war the harmony that had existed between the U.S.A., Soviet Union and Great Britain began to evaporate and ~~at~~ the suspicions came to the fore again. The relations between the Soviet Russia and the west soon became so difficult that although no actual armed conflict took place directly between the two opposing camps, the decade after 1945 saw the first phase of the Cold War which continued in spite of several 'thaws' into the 1980s. This means that instead of allowing their mutual hostility to express itself in open fighting, the rival powers confined themselves to attacking each other with *propaganda and economic measures* and with a general policy of non-cooperation. Thus the Cold War was one of the results of the Second World War.
- iii. The Japanese occupation of the European controlled territories such as Malaya and Singapore. French Indo-China and Dutch Indonesia *ended the tradition of European invincibility.*
- iv. The Japanese domination of Philippines, Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia not only weakened the European domination but also intensified the independence movements in Asia and Africa.
- v. The leaders of many of these newly emerging nations in Asia and Africa met in conference at Algiers (1973) and made it clear that they regard themselves as a *Third World*. By this they meant that they wished to remain *neutral or non-aligned* in the struggle between the two worlds - *communism and capitalism*. Thus the war saw the birth of *non-aligned policy*.
- vi. The *United Nations Organisation* emerged as the successor of the League of nations to try and to maintain peace in the world. On the whole it was more successful in its achievements than its unfortunate predecessor.



SOCIALIST AND LABOUR MOVEMENT IN EUROPESOCIALIST MOVEMENT :-

The bourgeois or middle-class rule superseded the domination of the absolute monarchies and aristocracy of the old regime. When the new governments were established, legislation restricting business enterprises was abolished and little, if anything, was done to improve conditions of the workers. Socialism was, therefore, the Proletariat's (workers') answer to the restrictions imposed upon them by middle-class rule. The socialist idea of political organisation has many variations, ranging from legislative reform without disturbing the political structure of the state to a general overthrow of existing governments and the establishment of political order controlled by the workers.

I. ORIGIN OF SOCIALISM :-

The roots of Socialism can be traced to the French Revolution, when all sorts of ideas for the reconstruction of the society were born. Babeuf, the "Father of Socialism" advocated compulsory nationalisation of wealth, social equality and abolition of property. Babeuf popularised his ideas through his own newspapers and through many popular songs that he sponsored. Charged with causing an uprising, he was arrested and executed in 1797.

II. GROWTH OF SOCIALIST MOVEMENT :(1) Early or Utopian Socialism :-

A group of idealists, including Saint Simon, Owen and Fourier, sponsored what has been called "Utopian Socialism", named after Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia'. They recommended voluntary formation of social groups into large groups, family like organisations, in order that the unit could live together.

(A) Saint Simon (1760-1825) :

One of the many French men who fought in the American Revolution under Washington, spent a fortune on an unsuccessful social experiment. He advocated common ownership of all land and capital to be managed scientifically by the State. His slogan was : "From each according to his capacity and to each according to his need".

(B) Robert Owen's (1771-1858):

Experiments at New Lanark in England and at New Harmony in Indiana are good examples of their efforts to form ideal communities of workers and their families.

(C) Fourier (1772-1837) :

Another Frenchman, believed that people should be divided into industrial communities. The earnings should be divided, after each citizen was given a stated sum, giving labour five parts, capital four, and talent three parts of the remainder. Several attempts were made to carry out his plan.

The Utopian Socialists had only a small following, even among the working class. Their ideas were too theoretical and idealistic to be carried out, but they did attract the attention of reformers to the need for change, and thus indirectly accomplished a great deal. But till the middle of the 19th century (1850), the Socialist Movement had made little headway in Europe, both in England the continental countries.

(2) Marxian Socialism :-

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was the founder of Scientific Socialism or Marxian Socialism. He formulated his theory and then proceeded to sketch the kind of society that he desired. He provided the workingmen's organisation with a social philosophy and a programme for social reform. The "Communist Manifesto", one of

the most famous documents in the history of Socialism, was written by him and his co-worker, Frederick Engels (1820-1895) during the Paris Revolution of 1848. This was an impassioned appeal to the workers of Europe to unite and throw off their chains. "Das Capital" was a much more detailed and scholarly work on the Socialist theory. Modern scientific socialism is based on these two works. The two basic principles involved are the theory of value and the materialistic conception of history. The influence of Marx would be difficult to over estimate. The Russian Communist state was based upon his fundamental concepts, and since its origin it has been a great influence on the Proletariat.

### (3) Fabian Socialism :

Marxian Socialism, as has been noted, was distinctly revolutionary. It preached the inevitability of class war. Not all social-minded people were willing to go that far. An influential group, which sponsored what is called "Evolutionary Socialism", was the Fabian Society in England. It was organised in 1884 with an aim for "the reorganisation of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and vesting them in the community for the common benefit". The members were mainly journalists, artists, literary men and women, social workers and teachers. They took their name from the Roman general, Quintus Fabius, known for his delaying tactics. They spread their propaganda through the publication of pamphlets.

The Fabians, unlike Marx, do not attack capital as being stolen funds of labour, but admit that the capitalist has a useful part to play in society. The capitalists deserved a reward for the organisation of industry but ultimately they should be suspended by paid employers. The Fabians believed that there

were many values created wholly by the community, which should be used not for private profit but for the benefit of the whole community. The instruments of production should be utilised for the general welfare, instead of being exploited for the enrichment of the few.

#### (4) Syndicalism :-

Another form of social control that attracts attention is syndicalism. It is based on trade-union organisation, which is considered to be the foundation of the new society and the means whereby it can be brought into existence. It accepts the Marxian theory of an inevitable struggle between capital and labour, and proposes the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. This provides for a producer's control, giving the workers charge of the economic and political affairs of the state. Syndicalism claims to be more the product of the workers than any other form of socialism and, consequently, is much more in conformity with their needs. Its efficiency is also emphasised. If workers own and control the industry in which they work, they will have a greater personal interest in the conduct of the plant and enjoy a greater amount of freedom than that offered by the capitalistic system.

#### (5) Guild Socialism :

Guild Socialism, which is closely associated with Syndicalism, aimed at "the abolition of the wage system, and the establishment of self-government in industry by the workers, through a democratic system of national guilds, working in conjunction with other democratic functional organisations in the community". Power and responsibility in society were to be related and proportional to the importance of the work that the individuals perform. Guild socialists believed that industry should be supervised

by technical experts and not by unskilled workmen. Furthermore the interests of the consumer were to be taken into consideration. This they proposed to guarantee through consumer's councils, which, acting in cooperation with producer's guilds, would fix prices and control the distribution of goods.

#### (6) Anarchism :-

The most radical form of socialism is anarchism. Originally, the anarchists were affiliated with the communists, but they were expelled in 1869 at the fourth congress of the First International. Under the leadership of Bakunin (1814-1876) and Kropotkin (1842-1921), a separate organisation was formed. They preached the destruction of existing governments and, they stood for a theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government, and harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between various groups. The Anarchists were not definite as to how this state of society could be brought about and were not specific in the stipulation of how it could be maintained after it had been brought about. However, they were quite definite in their criticism of existing forms of government.

#### III. Problems and Prospects of the Socialist Movement:

A considerable number of people no longer accept political democracy as the last work in government. In fact, there are many who contend that democracy has failed. The rise in the power and influence of the proletariat has been accompanied with increased toleration of socialism. Democracy has been condemned as an agency of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the proletariat. Socialist theories, in spite of their growing popularity, have many fundamental weaknesses. All forms of socialism are based on the



assumption that men are willing to work for the common good of society and not for their own pecuniary profit. This assumption seems questionable. The incentive to do better financially than one's neighbour is one of the most dynamic forces to spur men to greater things.

There are, of course, ways and incentives to make man work. "To consume without producing" is regarded by the socialists as a sin and subject to punishment. How well it can be enforced remains to be seen. The question of administration of the Socialist state is a problem of great magnitude. Most Socialists believe in the necessity of a fundamental change in existing political system. What adequate substitution can be made?

Chaos has followed practically every socialist experiment. Centralisation of authority destroys the Socialist aim. Something must be found as a substitute for the state. Some Central authority to regulate economic and social activities in a harmonious group seems indispensable. Revolutionary socialists, by far the most dynamic group, insist upon the complete destruction of the capitalistic system. This would mean, not only a long period of chaos, but also the destruction of many important contributions that we owe to Capitalism. The risk of a revolution is great and the ruling class that emerges from it may not be what the idealist prefers. However, these dangers are not insurmountable obstacles.

#### LABOUR MOVEMENT IN EUROPE :

From the beginning of the 19th century the European states attempted to regulate labour in order to protect the workmen from unscrupulous employers. And though improvements in the working conditions were made, in most cases factory legislation did not go far enough to satisfy the labour groups. Labourers ultimately found, after painful experience, that by forming combinations and working together they could make their demands much more impressive.

There were many problems facing such attempts. The best type of organisation, the way to appeal to ~~the~~ workers, dissension in their own ranks, difficulty of agreement on aims, and the best manner of confronting employers were questions that brought forth many plans and a variety of opinions.

Leaders were agreed on two things :

- (a) replacement of individual bargaining, between workmen and employer, with collective bargaining for the purpose of obtaining a standard wage and standard working hours, and
- (b) a united front on the part of labour to prevent one persons from underselling labour in general. The aim was to use peaceful negotiations but, if that method failed, a strike might be used as a last resort. The labour movement in modern Europe has followed three lines of development, viz., Unionism, cooperation and politics.

#### I. Beginning of Labour Movement :

##### (1) Guild System :

Probably the first semblance of a modern trade-union can be found in the journeyman's associations in the guilds in the 17th century. The Journeyman did not carry his demands far, because of the relative certainty that he would become a master craftsman and thus be relieved of the abuses about which he complained. There was no permanency in the status of the worker, and he lived in hopes of rising above the position of mere workman.

##### (2) Industrial Revolution and Factory system :

The Industrial Revolution altered the position of the common worker. The establishment of a factory system drew the employee and the employer further and

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further sports. The factory, at the same time, gathered together in the group a large number of labourers, all of whom had common interests. These were generally opposed to the interests of the employer, and the natural tendency was for the workers to combine in order to promote their own interests.

### II. Obstacles to labour movement :

Progress in labour organisation was very slow due to several obstacles.

- (1) Labourers were ignorant and without experience;
- (2) laws in most countries made combinations illegal; and
- (3) public opinion, largely because of the Capitalistic propaganda, was hostile.

In England, for instance, the Combination Acts, passed at different times between 1700 and 1800, prevented artisans or tradesmen, either employers or employees, from combining for the purpose of changing rates of wages. The enforcement of the law seemed to be entirely in favour of the employer; In fact, there was, on the part of the upper class, a prevailing fear of democratic movements on the part of the masses. The clergy, philanthropists, and economists were suspicious of the motives and policies of labour organisations.

The movement toward trade-unionism faced what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles in the incompetency of labour leaders, in the influence of the employers in official circles, in the existence of prohibitory laws, and in the hostility of public opinion. However, one by one, these obstructions have been either removed or greatly reduced.

### III. Growth of Labour Movement between 1800 and 1914 :

#### (1) England :

- (a) The laws restricting labour combinations were not in conformity with the spirit of liberalism, which had

gained so much headway in England in the 19th century. The general abolition of various restrictions in conformity with the philosophic tendency brought about the repeal of the combination Acts (1825). Parliament, however still insisted that violence and intimidation on the part both of employer and employee was illegal. Collective bargaining was acknowledged as legal. More restrictions were removed in 1871 and in 1875, and this gave the trade union in England legal rights much the same as any other organisation. The result was the gradual disappearance of public suspicion and animosity against trade-unions,

(b) So, trade-unions grew rapidly after their legalisation. Funds were created through dues, in order to help the cause along and to aid members who were forced out of work because of illness. Unions to include workmen in different occupations were formed and annual trade union congresses were started in 1864. Regular yearly meetings have been held since 1869. English labourers send delegates to London while Parliament is in session, to try to obtain favourable legislation and the appointment of officials in the interest of trade-unions. On the whole, they have been very successful. The principles of labour combinations used in England were later applied in Germany, France, Italy and the U.S.A.

(c) The trade-unions in England even found a means of expression in politics. Members were used to vote for certain candidates and in 1893 a separate party called the Labour Party, organised. Not until 1900 did they succeed in electing a member to parliament. In 1906, seven labour candidates were sent to represent labourites in the government. Two famous cases the Taff Vale case (1901) and the Osborne Judgement (1909), accentuated political activity on the part of the labourites. The Taff Vale decision declares that trade-unions might be sued and, if convicted, be forced to pay damage for loss incurred to a company's property

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through strikes. Enough pressure was brought to bear on the ~~force~~ Parliament to pass, in 1906 the Trade Disputes Act, which practically reversed the decision. The Osborne Judgement declared it illegal for trade-unions to defray the expenses of members in Parliament. As members of Parliament received no pay, it was virtually impossible for a representative of the workers to serve, because of lack of funds. In 1911, the Labour Party members requested a bill for the payment of salaries to all members of the House of Commons, and it was passed. The Labour Party was strong enough during the First World War to become a part of coalition government.

### (2) Germany :

German labour organisations go back at least to the Franco-Prussian War. Labour leaders faced a hostile government. Anti-socialist laws were on the statute books in Germany until 1890, but by 1914 labour was well organised. German employers resisted labour groups by organising to oppose them. The Central Union of German Industrialists, made up of the colliery proprietors and iron-masters of Westphalia, is an example. They attempted to boycott the unions by refusing to give employment to trade-unionists and socialists. The struggle was still going on when World War I broke out in 1914.

### (3) France :

Labour organisation in France was slower and more irregular than in England or Germany. Labour combinations were forbidden by Napoleon; the problem was discussed at great length in the famous Penal Code of 1810. There was no marked relaxation until after the Revolution of 1830. At that time, the progress of Saint Simon and Fourier began to attract attention. Napoleon III revived the labour legislation of the great

Napoleon in 1851, and it was not until 1864 that combinations of workmen were legalised. The famous Waldeck-Rousseau law of 1884 gave labour recognition in France that it had gained in Germany and England. The "Confédération General du Travail" or the General Confederation of Labour (CGY), one of the largest and most influential labour organisations in the world, was organised at Limoges in 1895. It excluded politics and declared that its sole object was the unification of workingmen. The society was active in the propagation of revolutionary syndicalism. Its published a paper, which carried ideas to the workmen so effectively that in 1906 there were 1,309 strikes involving 4,38,466 workmen.

#### IV. EUROPEAN LABOUR MOVEMENT BETWEEN WORLD WARS :

##### (1) England :-

Labour movements survived the First World War in all the parliamentary democracies of Europe. In Britain, workmen had the hardest time. For, technology destroyed jobs and unemployment became chronic. Shop stewards, who had appeared during the war to fill an organisational gap assumed leadership. Simultaneously, the Labour Party under the influence of its socialist wing, increased its vote enough to form a government (with Liberal help) in 1923 and 1929. Even with the aid of strikes, neither the trade unions nor the party was able to solve the problems of the economy.

##### (2) France :

In France the labour movement was no more successful. The old membership of the CGI was replaced by new elements, mostly unskilled, with a wide variety of socialist persuasions. In late 1918 the CGI announced a new programme, revealing a willingness to accept the government, as a partner with a demand for rationalisation of key industries. In 1920, the French socialists sympathetic to Communist influences precipitated a general

and the socialists called a general strike (1934) which was joined by a million parisiens including the communist party, and which was the first successful general strike in French history. In 1936 the Socialist and Communist Parties merged with the Radical Socialists to elect a popular Front government headed by Leon Blum. These events released a reservoir of suppressed hope among French workers. Almost instantly 2 millions went on strike. Blum managed to persuade employers to accept the inevitable; Parliament legalised the right to organise and to bargain collectively, along with establishing a 40-hour week. Membership of the trade unions mushroomed to unprecedented levels.

(c) In Germany, however, Hitler had destroyed the German trade-union movement with one legislation decree in 1933.

#### CONCLUSION:

When the second World War ended (1945), labour movements quickly revived and moved almost in concert throughout Western European countries towards three goals:

- (1) enlargement of power ;
- (2) more government control of the economy; and
- (3) expansion of welfare programmes.

In Britain, the Labour Party won a parliamentary majority. In France, where the CGT claimed five million members, a coalition of communists, socialists and moderate took over control of the provisional government and created a new Constitution (Fourth Republic) with the traditional aims of labour guaranteed. In both Britain and France labour-influenced governments nationalised a portion of industry. In Britain, Parliament rewrote earlier social legislation in accordance with W.H. Beveridge's proposals, while in France the social security system was overhauled.



strikes. The event proved so great a fiasco that the CGT expelled its Communist members who, established their own confederation.

### (3) Germany :

The German workers recovered quickly from the war. They rejuvenated their old organisations, assumed a place of importance within the government of the Weimar republic and persuaded employers to make a compact providing for more freedom to organise and for an 8-hour day. All though the 1920's German trade unions operated cautiously, to preserve democracy and to promote their social gains. They accepted a works-council system, inspired by middleclass politicians, establishing committees within industrial units to advance peaceful labour-management relations. They hunted out and expelled trouble-making communists. But the world-wide Depression brought drastic change. The declining economy produced an ideological political war in Germany that reached fruition in 1933, with the Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party in control.

### (4) Hitler's effect on European Labour Movement :

(a) In Britain, where workmen focussed on rising unemployment and agitated for nationalisation of mines and railways, a shift occurred in public attitudes. For the first time, non-industrial elements among the British people revealed sympathy for labour's plight. The shift encouraged a growth of membership in the Trade Union Congress (TUC); workmen benefitted through collective bargaining; and a new atmosphere of mutual responsibility was created. As British moved towards greater cooperation with the government in preparing for resistance against aggression.

(b) In France, dissatisfaction with parliamentary democracy grew rapidly. Farm prices and middle-class incomes had declined, reduction in government pay rolls and in tax receipts were blamed on the government which seemed singularly inept compared to the efficient totalitarian governments of Mussolini and Hitler. After a clash between native fascists and communists, the CGT

