PART-B

1 **CHAPTER**	*International Historical Context and World History for International Relations from Ancient Times till the Rise of Europe*

After reading the chapter, the reader will be able to develop an analytical understanding on the following:

➢ Need for history in International Relations
➢ Illustration–Afghanistan and historical repetition
➢ Evolution of the concept of International Society
➢ Hedley Bull's theory on international society
➢ International history of the ancient world, medieval times and modern times.

INTRODUCTION

The chapter introduces us to international history from the ancient to modern times. The task of this chapter is to demonstrate to the reader through theory and multiple case studies the basic principles of diplomacy existing from ancient to modern times. Our attempt in the next three chapters will be to study how the past has not only shaped our modern world but what patterns have emerged over a period of time in the past giving us potential indicators of the world ahead. For the ease of chronology, this chapter will be discussing events from ancient times till the rise of Europe. The next chapter (chapter two) will focus on the events leading up to World War I uptil World War II and chapter three will examine in detail global events during the Cold War. The fourth chapter is a brief description of the ongoing post-Cold War period and the hints on the future of the post-Cold War period.

THE NEED FOR HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

We study history in International Relations because the subject of history and politics are interlinked with each other. It is from the interaction of the two subjects that we see the birth of diplomacy. Thus, to understand the nuances of diplomacy, the study of history and politics helps. The study of past plays an important role because it helps us to get equipped with the background and context of the present nature of the world. Also, the study of past eases our day understanding as it is aptly stated that history repeats itself.

Illustration—Afghanistan and Historical Repetition

Our understanding of the past of Afghanistan helps us to understand its present. Due to its strategic location, Afghanistan has always been important for various powers. The British tried to control it in the pre-World War II period by having a puppet ruler Shah Shuja on the throne. In the post-Cold War period, it is the Americans who moulded much of recent Afghan history with their close proxy rulers namely, Hamid Karzai and Ashraf Ghani. History not only repeats itself but, it also teaches patterns of repetition as visible above.

THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

Every society has certain rules and practices. Societies also do not act and exist in isolation. All societies do interact and the interaction amongst the societies has been going on since ages. But in the past, many times societies did interact with each other based on certain rules and practices which were common to all those societies which interacted. This gave birth to the idea of international society. It is understood that when some common rules and practices bind interactions in society, the world in which these societies are bound becomes an international society.

Thus we can conclude by saying that international societies play an important role in the understanding of history and politics. International societies emerge when nations form associations on the basis of certain values, rules and interest. The concept owed its origin to European nation states but today, in the post-Cold War world, this order is applied to distinct political arrangements amongst distinct political communities.

According to a scholar named **Hedley Bull**, when a group of states, on the basis of common interests and values, form a society and get bound by common rules of interaction amongst themselves, this is the time when states accept no power higher than themselves, thus existing in a situation of international anarchy.

The proper origin of the idea of an international society owes its origin to Europe where, in the modern times, especially after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, we witness the rise of the European state system which was based on core ideas, rules and practices which knitted the nations on themes like non-interference, sovereignty, equality, and so on. After 1648, the system that emerges in Europe not only gave rise to modern diplomacy but also paved way for a drastic re-haul of the structures of the world leading to the birth of the modern world.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT TIMES

Our study of the ancient times begins from the period of the rise of successive civilisations. We do not include the time period when man was a hunter and a food gatherer, since it is part of pre-history, that is, the time period from where no historical record has survived and evidences mostly include only fossils and archaeological findings.

In our study of the ancient period, we shall have a look at cases of ancient Indian foreign policy, the case of the special hegemonic system of ancient Greece and the diplomacy in ancient China. In the study all of three cases, it will become clear to us that since ancient times, diplomacy did indeed exist. Even during this period, the countries/civilisations conducted themselves according to a well-defined foreign policy. Elements of modern international diplomacy, like alliances, treaties, self interests, strategy, and exchange of diplomatic envoys, hegemony and shifting conditions were deeply present during this period. In fact, the first ever traces of diplomacy go back to as early as 3000 BC in Mesopotamia, which showed the earliest recorded evidences. Traces were also visible in 2300 BC when a peace treaty had been recorded between the Ebla King of Syria and the King of Assyrians.

In case of civilisations in the ancient times, things were very different than the modern state system, where we have societies that have a well defined territory and exist

on the principle of legal equality and sovereignty. As man gradually transformed from being a hunter-gatherer and began to lead a settled life, the situation led to a rise in economic complexity within the group, necessitating trade.

Due to trade between communities not only did people from one region come into contact with others, it also fuelled an urge amongst territory controllers (later known as 'kings') to extend authority over more and more land. War certainly was one option but another peaceful way out was negotiation through diplomatic envoys and treaties. A very interesting feature of the ancient period was that not only was it monarchical but the king was also ordained with divine powers and the reflection of this divinity found manifestation in diplomatic missions as well.

For example, during ancient times, in the Middle East, not only did the kings sign treaties on border trade, grazing rights, and so forth, these treaties were accompanied by ceremonies and rituals and the treaties were concluded by diplomats. But more importantly, in these treaties, there were frequent delineations of detailed and elaborate procedures to be followed upon the violation of treaties. The violation of treaties was perceived to have divine retributions as the treaties were supposed to have been bestowed with divine sanctions. Though nation states do not use divine concepts in official diplomacy in modern times but divine words are still very much in fashion in the Middle East and North Africa.

Illustration–Divinity–Iran and Saudi Arabia

Recently, in January 2016, when Saudi Arabia executed Sheikh Nimr Al Nimr, who was a religious Shia leader in Saudi, executed for on terrorism offences, the Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatallah Ali Khomeni warned Saudi Arabia of "divine revenge".

Now let us turn our attention to the core text and case studies and have a look at ancient India's foreign policy to identify certain core principles of ancient diplomacy to begin with.

|

India and Realism in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*

The ancient Indian period saw numerous religious norms exercised within the purview of international relations. There were elaborate rituals on diplomacy. The birth of the idea of diplomatic envoys goes back to the times of the *Rig Veda*; however, the existence of diplomatic missions in reality emerged much later. The conduct of the state in war and at times of diplomacy emerged during the times of the scholar Kautilya. His *Arthashastra* specially talks about diplomacy. It is only in *Arthashastra* that we get an in-depth idea of ancient Indian diplomacy.

Arthashastra advocated that self-interest is the driving force of diplomacy and that the state is the primary actor in politics. (Later in the chapter on Realism, we will see that the modern realists have propounded similar notions while advancing the theory of Realism in international relations.)

All states act to maximise their self-interest. *Arthashastra* says that State A may make State B its ally, but this alliance between them will be based upon some kind of self-interest A may achieve on alliance with B and vice-versa. More so, even if a state may behave in an altruistic fashion, it certainly would be having a touch of self-interests in some subtextual context or other.

Alliances were deemed important for various reasons. Self-interest is the driving force of an alliance but alliances could be made for acquisition of territory, acquisition of uninhabited areas, and joining forces together to crush rivals or as a defence against other powers. In any case, alliances were to be formed by elaborate treaties to be signed by the king in good mutual faith.

Apart from emphasis on self-interest in diplomacy and alliance formation, *Arthashastra* advanced the Mandala theory of foreign policy. This theory states that a state's immediate neighbour will be an enemy state and the neighbour of the enemy state is an ally (we shall see later how India actually practises Mandala Theory in bilateral relations with Afghanistan).

The most interesting aspect of *Arthashastra* is its linkage of diplomacy and war. It advocates that diplomacy is a subtle act of aggression done with an intention to weaken the enemy and gain advantage for oneself with an ultimate aim towards conquest. The role of ambassadors finds a special mention in the *Arthashastra*. Ambassadors are potential spies with diplomatic immunity. They play an important role in apprising the ruler with all inside information of the kingdom they reside in. At the level of foreign policy, the advice of Kautilya is that in foreign policy matters, one either conquers or suffers conquest depending upon the role of the diplomats and the kings. To explain this, in *Arthashastra*, he advanced an idea of foreign policy based on expediency. He argued that if the domestic state's king is weaker than the neighbouring king, then the domestic king needs to maintain peace and if domestic king is stronger than the neighbour then foreign policy should be driven by war with

an ultimate aim towards conquest.

Thus, we can see that when it comes to *Arthashastra,* it clearly asserts self-interest of a state as the core guiding tool for foreign policy. It also talks about alliances, treaties and diplomacies as was undertaken in Greece or in China (as we will see ahead).

Sun Tzu, Liberalism and Competitive Diplomacy in China

The Chinese concept of diplomacy in the ancient period was relatively different. The Chinese understanding of political domination was based on the promise of cultural superiority as the Chinese identified themselves in cultural terms and, in cultural hierarchy of the world, saw themselves on the top of the world.

Some accounts of Chinese foreign policy analysis can be culled from the ideas advanced by ancient Chinese scholar, Sun Tzu. Sun Tzu advanced the theory that countries should form great power relations on principles of cooperation and trust (similar to the ideals held by Liberalism in foreign policy). In fact, Sun Tzu rejected the idea of the use of force in form of war but advanced the idea of warfare by deception. The basic logic of warfare of deception was to subdue the enemy without fighting. As Sun Tzu aptly says in his book *The Art of War*: "When capable, reign in activity; when active; inactivity".

Sun Tzu propounded the idea of competitive diplomacy in which he states that to remove conflict, a nation must have a strategy for diplomacy and war. A country without a strategy would be easily made captive by the one having a strategy. Thus, in case of China, we can identify that the ancient times advanced an idea of cooperation and trust in diplomacy. Greece, however, is a different matter altogether. Let us turn our attention to the study of Greece.

The Ancient Greek Concept of the Balance of Power

Greece is an example where, during ancient times, we witness not only league formation (which surfaced in the form of alliances elsewhere in ancient times) but also instances of shifting alliances to maintain the balance of power. In fact, the origin of balance of power based foreign policy is seen in Europe during modern times, but was also evident in Greece as early as the ancient period.

The political entities in Greece in the ancient period were called **'city states'**. The city states had differing forms of political control ranging from monarchy to aristocracy to oligarchy but were commonly bound by religion and language. All city states were differently governed but were independent of each other. In our study, our concern is mostly about two important Greek city states, namely Sparta and Athens. Sparta is a classic example of how ancient Greece exercised the concept of power. The location of Sparta was such that in its north lay Athens and south of Sparta was the city state of Peloponnesian. In Sparta, the lower class people were called Helots. Sparta always believed the southern city states may use Helots to create trouble for the city state Sparta. Thus, to ensure that nothing of this ever happens, to ensure

security of its own city state, Sparta built up alliances in the Peloponnesian peninsula, exercised its influence and ensured that none of the Peloponnesian city state use Helots and encourage them to revolt. The Peloponnesian states existed independently but supported Sparta at times of need. Sparta also gave liberty to the Peloponnesians to exist independently and support Sparta in case of crises. Thus, through this alliance network, Sparta ensured its own security effectively.

In north, Greece had Athens. Athens was frustrated with repeated Persian invasions. To bring about an end to the Persian invasions, the city states of Athens formed a Delian League. This League consisted of around 200 city states, all which were vulnerable to repeated Persian invasions. Through this league, Athens successfully managed the Persian menace.

The story of Greece is not just about Athens and Sparta but other powerful city states like Corinth, Thebes and Argos which were also strong and played a role in maintaining the overall balance of power. In one of the wars in 404 BC, Athens got defeated. Seeing this, Sparta began to assert its hegemony. To control the Spartan's hegemony, Corinthians, Thebes and Athens formed an alliance against Sparta. Later on, a peace treaty was pushed with Sparta to control its assertion. Thus, one can see not only hegemonic tendencies but also anti-hegemonic coalition formed in Greece to ensure balance of power amongst the states.

Thus, through our study of the ancient times, it becomes clear that certain common core features in diplomacy did exist despite differences in space and time. These common threads include

- Alliance formations,
- Self interest of states,
- Importance of cooperation,
- Hegemonic assertions
- Role of treaties in diplomacy

Not only did all these undoubtedly continue in the medieval period, but they were then extended in the modern times, albeit in differing degrees of usage and in varying forms. The continuity is observed in Roman Empire in medieval times, including in the period of Renaissance and Reformation. Obviously, as the world became more complex, so did these core threads evolve with time. Let us look at the 'medieval Roman Empire and how it fell to Ottoman conquests,' finally paving the way for the rise of the modern world.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL ERA

As the ancient empires began to crumble, the kings who succeeded them were unable to exercise greater influence than their ancestors. This paved the way for the land-owning nobles, called the gentry or aristocracy to assert superiority. This period is often known as a period of feudalism in Europe. The nobles not only controlled the land but also the army. The kings had less and less power with time. The kings were mostly dependent upon the nobles to supply soldiers and ammunition for the royal army in case of conflict as the king himself did not possess resources to mobilise a strong army. The impact of feudalism is visible in the society too. The medieval society was a relatively closed society. The nobles had created a very hierarchical system where commodity production was highly

controlled. The goods were produced mainly to fulfil domestic societal needs. There was absolutely no need for extra production for any trade. This also proves why society in medieval times was more developed in villages and lacked development for towns and cities.

In the study of international relations, our interest in the medieval period shall be restricted to the West and the Eastern Rome. During this period the international diplomacy as a tool did not flourish in the way it did in the modern times ahead. The main reason was the slide of Europe into the dark ages due to feudalistic tendencies. This period was also marked by invasions, wars and ultimately, the Crusades. This period was also a period of transition. It ultimately began to decline from 1453, which paved the way for the rise of the modern world.

It is generally accepted by historians that Rome began to rise from 753 BC and continued its existence till 1453. The history of Rome in initial period from 509 BC to 27 BC is that it existed as a 'Republic'. The territory was managed by elected officials. It was only from 27 BC to 476 AD that Rome had an Emperor and it is under the leadership of later emperors that the Roman Empire began to expand. It is generally accepted by the historians that sometime around 117 AD, the Roman Empire was territorially at its peak. As the empire expanded, the governance of a large territory became difficult. It was due to administrative difficulties in governance of this mega-territory that in 285 AD it compelled the Roman Emperor Diocletian to split the empire. From then onward, one part of the territory was called Western Rome while other was called Eastern Rome or the Byzantine Empire. The Western and Eastern Rome began to have distinctive phases of history.

Almost beginning around 410 AD, various Germanic barbarians, namely Visigoths, began invading Western Rome. Western Rome had already depleted a sizeable amount of its resources in its conflict with Sassanid Persians. At the time of barbarian invasions, Western Rome was relatively very weak both on the economic and military levels. Thus began the gradual decline of western Rome and, for the next 500 years, almost till 10th century, Western Rome crippled and slipped into the dark ages. However, the Pope in Western Rome still managed to consolidate his presence though failing to exercise his authority beyond a particular point.

This was not the condition in Eastern Rome. The Byzantine Empire or Eastern Rome was located on land which was relatively resource rich. Also, its location was strategic in the sense that it acted as a transit hub for European and Asian trade. Thus, the rulers of Eastern Rome not only consolidated themselves after the separation, but also reformed their economic and military institutions at a time when the western part drifted into dark ages.

But the success of Byzantine was not to be long lasting. The stability of the Byzantine Empire had already roused the jealousy of the Pope. There were visible tendencies of interference from the Pope in East Rome. To counter and contain the rising authority of the East, the Pope in the West, in 800 AD, crowned Charlemagne as the Emperor. But all these attempts to revive the West as a counter to the East ultimately led to a split in 1054 AD between Holy Roman Emperor's Churches of the West and that of the Church of the East. This schism in the Church was followed by imperial feuds as to who

would be the successor in the East. This led to the East focussing more on internal feuds than in presenting a consolidated front to the Seljuk Turks who began to attack the Byzantine Empire. This internal fixation of the East led to the first blow which came when, in 1076 AD, the Seljuk Turks successfully defeated the Byzantinians in the battle of Manzikert. It was from this time that the decline of the East began. The decline of the East finally culminated in 1453 AD when Ottomans (who succeeded Seljuk Turks) defeated the Eastern Empire with the capture of city of Constantinople.

Thus one can see that in the medieval period, western society was a very complex mosaic of the Papacy and monarchy. The church did play an important role in laying down a behavioural norm for medieval societies. The role of the Papacy dominated this period. However, as we shall later see how, in the times ahead, the role of Pope declined with rise of modern states and absolute monarchies.

The entire medieval world order can be depicted as below:
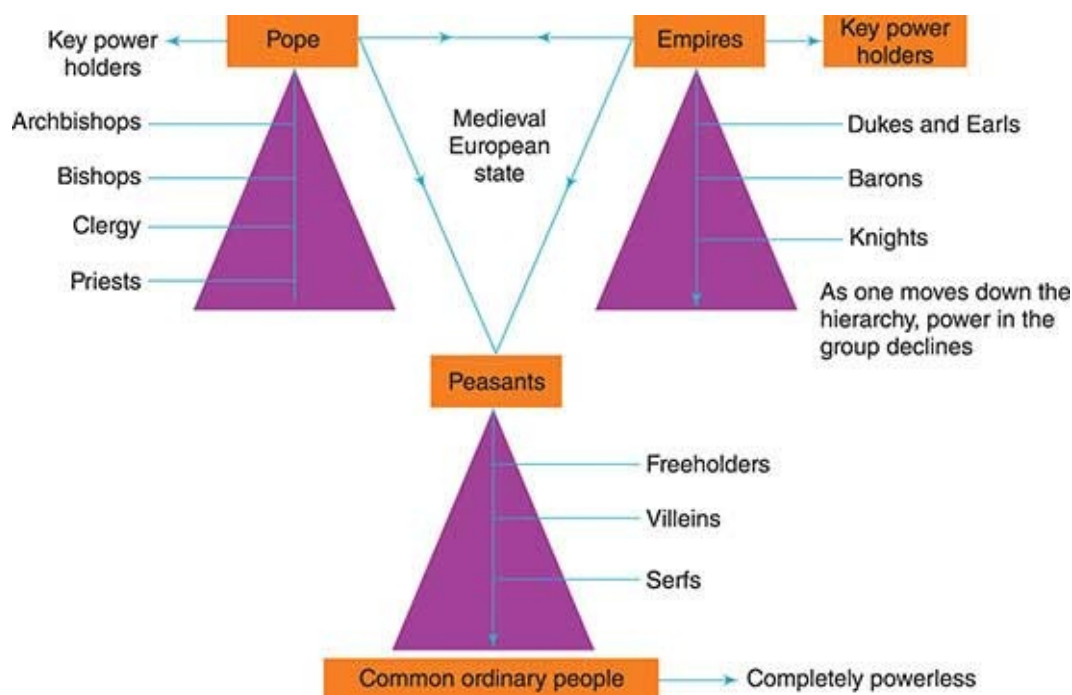
RISE OF MODERN EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY AND THE NATION STATES

In the medieval times, the Crusades had begun. Due to the Crusades, the Europeans had gradually come into contact with the people of the Far East. When the Crusaders came back to European lands, they brought back a lot of luxurious commodities from the east. As the Europeans gradually got accustomed to these luxuries from the East, the urge to acquire more of the same grew. Some of the rich nobles who tasted these luxuries demanded more of them. They started exerting pressures on the land and serfs to produce more in agriculture and crafts so that they could exchange them with the luxuries of the east. This pressure on the land and people, coupled with a desire to acquire luxuries, began to give the poor more reasons to acquire wealth and seek jobs to meet the rising demands.

Gradually all these energies pulsated outwards in its contribution to the gradual decline of feudalism. People began to expand not only their skills but also began to move to towns. Gradually, more towns and cities began to emerge. A group of people in towns and cities acted as merchants who took control of ensuring the supply of luxuries. As the

production in Europe began to increase and as merchants began to engage in more trade, the domestic income in the hands of the new rising middle class began to grow. This also created an urge amongst this middle class to taste the luxuries. A new system was about to emerge even as the old feudal order began to get dismantled. The trade with east began to prosper, only to be limited, however, by the Turkish invasion of Constantinople.

The Turks captured Constantinople in 1453 and it came as a final blow to the Byzantine Empire, which was already on the verge of decline since 1054 (the great schism in the church).

The situation in Italy in 1453 was relatively different. In Italy, there was negligible Papal control. The Papacy, over a period of time, had lost control of the Italian territory. Italy was largely controlled by merchants. An atmosphere of free thinking had prevailed here as the merchants were busy in trade. Due to merchant control, a lot of scholars in Italy were motivated by the ancient past and were busy digging ancient Greek and Roman Cultures.

The moment Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, scholars from Constantinople began to move to Italy. In Italy, they hardly faced any opposition from the merchants controlling the city and it began to serve as a sanctuary for scholars. These scholars, over a period of time, began to intermingle with the scholars in Italy. The scholars who fled Constantinople carried with them whatever ancient scholarly work they possessed. This led to a further impetus to the existing Italian scholars who were digging ancient Greek and Roman cultures.

Gradually, due to the integration of scholars in the system, coupled with an environment conducive for free thinking, Italy began to emerge as a centre of learning. Scholars in Italy increased their intensity in digging ancient Greek and Roman cultures. There was a sudden revival of ancient Greek and Roman cultures and a new urge to appreciate the ancient past and ancient classics.

The reading of the ancient past gave Europe a new lease of life. His thought processes gradually began to change. Man began to appreciate the ability to reason. For him, this revival of study of ancient past and subsequent gain of aspiration culminated in a landmark movement called the Renaissance. Renaissance freed man from the tutelage of the past and encouraged him to think beyond. Not only did his mental horizons begin to widen but it was coupled with another important invention—the press.

One of the most important things to happen during this period was the invention o he printing press. The press provided an impetus to making the greatness of the ancient past available to all. This was accompanied by a rise in the vernacular languages. The texts were now made available for the larger population to read. This increased the curiosity of the common people, who, after reading ancient texts, including, more importantly the Bible, began to develop a critical spirit of enquiry. This particularly laid the seeds for religious reformation.

Renaissance as a movement began to spread and it not only awakened man's mind but also taught him to appreciate other humans. This appreciation and love of humans saw its manifestations in art, architecture, sculpture, music, paintings, and so forth. It developed during this period as a force under humanism.

Renaissance certainly brought about the propensity towards rationality in the minds of people and encouraged them to think independently. It also encouraged people to criticise things that lacked logic. Renaissance revolutionised the human mind and inculcated a spirit of learning.

This period of Renaissance is also crucial for other developments that paved ways for the rise of modern Europe. Firstly, when Turks captured Constantinople, they also got hold of all trade routes by Europe and Asia. Europe witnessed a situation of deprivation of oriental luxuries. The Europeans were gradually becoming impatient. They understood that the Turks would act as obstructions in case of trade with the east. The Europeans now began to search for new trade routes and this search for the same paved way for the rise of geographical discoveries. The geographical discoveries gave rise to a new merchant class and a subsequent new middle class in Europe which became a new social force. This class began to accumulate wealth and made attempts to control municipalities and later on, state power. Geographical discoveries also increased the ambition of men to reach new territories to undertake more trade. Thus, this was the time period when we witnessed the rebirth of Europe. The Renaissance and geographical discoveries gave it the much-needed push.

Another important development of this period was invention of gunpowder. This brought about a radical shift in political power structures. In the medieval feudal world order, as we saw previously, the kings were basically dependent upon standing armies from the nobles and barons. As the invention of gunpowder happened, the kings now were not dependent upon nobles for armed support anymore. The relevance of nobles gradually began to decline, and taking advantage of invention of gunpowder, the kings began to take control of the armies and began consolidation of their positions. The kings began not only to consolidate their positions but also began to give impetus to the rising middle class and took steps to promote trade. The monarchs began to accept the new social rules and also decided to shed off the medieval social order in favour of the new social rules and a new society.

One of the other crucial things happening in this period was gradual birth of a movement called the Reformation.

The roots of Reformation could be very well traced in the ongoing revival or rebirth of Europe. Renaissance and geographical discoveries gave birth to trade and a rise of the merchant class. This new merchant class made cities their new homes. As people saw opportunities for intellectual and material growth in cities, they gradually began to migrate outwards from villages to cities. The intellectual revolution brought about by the Renaissance also encouraged people to challenge the medieval notions of the authority of the church. Over a period of time, as the printing press was discovered, not only did it contribute in making available classics of ancient past for people, but the boost to vernaculars also led to translation of Bible for the common man who was hitherto unable to read it in traditional Latin. As people read the Bible, they began to question the authority of the Church more than before. Two things clearly emerged out of this new situation. Firstly, the rise of a city life drastically reduced the revenue of the church. As people began to move to cities, they paid less attention on the church and focussed more on survival. This drastically reduced the availability of money to the church. Church

seriously needed finance to re-assert its authority over the people. Due to commercial revolution and a need to sustain oriental luxuries, there was a thrust amongst monarchs to promote trade and patronise the emerging middle class to consolidate their position. Due to this, many monarchs also felt lesser need to use church for state power. The monarchs also did not feel like risking the use of the church to suppress a newly emerging social order. Also, the past events like the Great Schism of 1054 had already caused cracks in the authority of the Church.

More importantly, the invention of the printing press facilitated the emergence of religious reformers like Martin Luther. In 1517, Pope Leo X desperately needed money to complete the construction of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome. To collect money, the Pope authorised the sale of something called indulgences. The idea of indulgences went back to the times of the Crusades. The logic was that if person committed a sin, he or she could ask for forgiveness from God by purchasing an indulgence from the Pope on offering the required payment. The justification involved was that a person paying for the indulgence is paying a part of his hard earned money as a sacrifice to the Church and thus, God would forgive the person for his sacrifice. In 1517, when Martin Luther saw the authorisation of indulgence sale by Pope Leo-X, he stimulated a debate on the sale of indulgences and began to question its rationality. This debate ended years later not only in religious reforms in the church but ultimately concluded with a split in Christianity, leading to the rise of Protestantism along with existing Catholicism. The religious question concluded with the Thirty Years' War which ended in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and finally ended the religious question once and for all in Europe.

Renaissance, the Reformation and new geographical discoveries not only created a new spatial awareness and an interest in cartography but also emphasised the need of territorial expansion and strictly defined boundaries. The balance of power now became a new instrument which would act to mitigate hegemony, thus rendering it a new tool in statecraft. As the developments mentioned previously brought about a new doctrine of sovereign independence in Europe, the rise of the nation states and absolute monarchy ushered Europe into a new phase of conflict. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) Peace of Westphalia, European settlements of 1648, which brought to an end the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Dutch and the German phase of the Thirty Years' War, was the peace negotiated, from 1644, in the Westphalian towns of Münster and Osnabrück. The Spanish-Dutch treaty was signed on January 30, 1648. This treaty finally ended the religious struggle of Europe which began with the Reformation. The Peace of Westphalia stated clearly that the rulers of states have the right to observe religious tolerance in their internal policies and there will be no Papal interference in religious affairs of the state. As the Peace of Westphalia accepted that rulers of the states would have the right to decide the religion of its subjects, it also was a clear acknowledgement of the state sovereignty. Additionally, Spain also recognised the independence of the Dutch Republic.

The Peace of Westphalia created a basis for national self-determination and established the precedent of peace established by diplomatic congress. It also founded a new system of political order in central Europe, later called Westphalian sovereignty, based upon the concept of co-existing sovereign states. Inter-state aggression was to be held in check by a balance of power. A norm was established against interference in another state's domestic affairs. As European influence spread across the globe, these

Westphalian principles, especially the concept of sovereign states, became central to international law and to the prevailing world order.

At the political level, in 1700, in Europe the crisis emerged again on the question of succession to of the powerful Spanish crown after the death of Charles II, the last Habsburg king of Spain. The concern was that whosoever would be the successor of Spain should be able to preserve balance of power. The challenge of succession was more dependent upon external forces like France and Austria, who, due to imperial relationships, made equal claims. The war of Spanish succession came to an end with the Treaty of Intercut in 1713 which recognised the principle of the balance of power.

As the kings consolidated positions, their energies pulsated outwards and the urge to conquer lands for sustaining the new commercial and intellectual revolution. All this firstly stabilised Europe, and secondly, gave birth to diplomacy. Not only did the states begin to rise to the logic of territoriality but the states' interests became so inextricably linked with each other that if one state took an unwelcome measure, it affected others and this led to a reaction by other states to normalise the unification, which gave way to rise of concept of the balance of power. States realised that they needed a path open to the other states through which important information and dialogue could flow. This paved way for rise of permanent ambassadors who began playing an important role in international politics of the newborn Europe.

The king also realised the need to rehabilitate the nobles who were disenchanted because of their deliberate neglect by the king and thus, initially, it was the nobility that acted as the first diplomats in the diplomatic corps of the modern times. This gave eliteness to the concept of diplomacy which happened due to rehabilitation of the nobles in the diplomatic corps and is visible even today in the practice of 21st century diplomacy. Thus, this period saw the rise of a professional diplomatic service that had the ability to maintain the balance of power through treaties which no more had religious sanctions but were based on an agreement as per international law. Thus, the period from Renaissance till the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 introduced in Europe the period of stability and brought about rise of the principles of modern society like sovereignty, non intervention, institutions of diplomacy, balance of power and international law.

Meanwhile, as trade flourished through new sea routes, it could not be financed anymore through money from individual merchants. There was felt a need for a more organised source of trade finance. This led to the rise of joint stock companies to finance trade. As geographical discoveries continued, there came an age of enlightenment. This enlightenment by intellectual scholars which was a continuation of the spirit ignited by the Renaissance and reason had a profound impact on European society. The age of Enlightenment encouraged the man to think freely and scholars and intellectuals lent support in building a societal foundation based on reason and critical enquiry. The Enlightenment had two consequences on the European history. It, firstly, produced the spark for political revolutions and secondly, gave impetus to experimentation which ultimately led to the industrial revolution.

The first cataclysmic event in the west was the American Revolution. The Enlightenment scholars had an effective contribution in igniting and sustaining the struggle. The sustained intellectual contributions of Jefferson, Locke, Milton and Thomas

Paine are a testimony to the fact. In 1776, America finally became a republic. It witnessed its own troubles in the form of civil wars in its road to stability. But the American Revolution had two important consequences. The first was that it sowed the seeds for a revolution in France and the second, the ideal of democracy was seen as an inspiration by the French. This paved way for the French revolution in 1789 which was based on the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. The ideas spearheaded by the French Revolution resonated deeply amongst Europeans almost till 1945.

This intellectual revolution also brought about an urge in man to indulge in experimentation. The manifestation of this spirit was seen at the industrial level where man began developing modern techniques of production. His thinking and application of reason in industry was encouraged through the ongoing period of Enlightenment. This intellectual revolution ultimately paved way for important changes in industrial production and gradually provided a strong imperative for the industrial revolution. As the industrial revolution progressed, the monarchs not only felt an urge to procure resources to fuel domestic industrial build-up but also felt the need to establish markets to sell their products. A strong need was felt to get resources and slaves for continuing the industrial revolution. At the economic level, the manifestation of Enlightenment was a new economic policy of 'Mercantilism' (dealt with later in detail) which developed and engulfed the thinking of European monarchs.

The search for new trade destinations for resources, slaves and later, markets for produced goods, fuelled the industrial revolution and later contributed to the increase in the interstate rivalry in Europe. As France, Denmark and Britain began to industrialise, they gave way to imperial endeavours. The British certainly had the edge considering they were the first amongst Europeans to stabilise politically through democracy which was established successfully after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. the situation created enormous desperation amongst Europeans to colonise distant lands in Asia and Africa. The impulse to colonise of Asia and Africa certainly owes its origin to the mercantilist and imperialist behaviour of these absolute monarchs.

The fight amongst the Europeans to colonise the other part of the world created intense inter-European rivalry. This rivalry ultimately paved way for urge amongst Europeans to maintain balance of power. To maintain this balance of power, the Europeans experimented with a multitude of alliances. But, none of the alliance systems were adequate to prevent this rivalry from emerging again and again. This intense rivalry fuelled a situation of enormous mistrust and suspicion. These alliances certainly took the entire Europe to a very dangerous and volatile scenario where a major conflict was gradually becoming inevitable. Inter-state rivalry and the urge to stop the other nations to colonise distant lands and ensure one's own supremacy in the continent as a dominant power brought Europe to its first continental conflict which became a world conflict later, and was called the World War–I.

The next chapter creates a foundation of international history by explaining the events building up to WW I, the inter war period and WW II.